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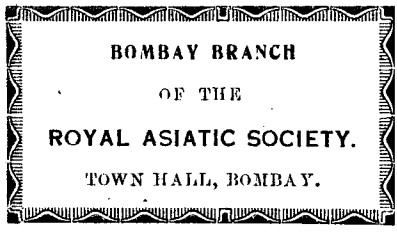

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THE

HOLY BIBLE

ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORIZED VERSION (A.D. 1611).

WITH AN EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL

Commentary

AND

A Revision of the Translation,

111450

BY CLERGY, OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

APOCRYPHA.

EDITED

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§ I. Importance of the Book; its Author.

AMONG the Jewish sacred writings outside the Old Testament perhaps the most interesting, in many respects, is that commonly known as 'The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach,' or *Ecclesiasticus*.[1] It cannot indeed be ranked, like the books of the Maccabees, among the sources of history, though here also it contains indications too often overlooked. But its chief importance lies in this, that it exhibits Jewish thought and religion at a period otherwise almost unknown; that it connects the traditions of the past with questions of the future; and that, while embodying both, it marks the transition from the one to the other.

The permanent and almost universal interest of the book is to some extent indicated even by the circumstance that it has in a sense furnished the substratum as well as some of the verses for two of the best known hymns of the Church. The Jubilee-Rhythm of St. Bernard of Clairvaux[1] is, even in its wording, the Christian application to Personified Wisdom of part of Ecclus. xxiv. (see the notes). And the *Te Deum* of Rinckart[2] (about 1648), "Now thank we all our God," is taken from Ecclus. l. 22–24. But, far beyond this, the special claims of Ecclesiasticus may be thus briefly summed up: It is the oldest known Apocryphon; it

[1] On these designations, see more in the sequel.

[1] Partially translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' Nos. 178 (also partly 177): "Jesu, the very thought of Thee;" and in its entirety by the present writer, in a small collection chiefly of Ancient Latin Hymns.

[2] The well-known German hymn, "Nun danket alle Gott," translated in 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.

[3] On the contention that Ecclesiasticus is older than our canonical Daniel, so confidently made by many Jewish and Christian writers (down to Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes,' vol. ii. p. 615), this is not the place to enter. Perhaps the note on Ecclus. xxi. 27 may here be helpful. Comp. (besides the foreign writers in defence of the canonicity of Daniel) Pusey, 'Lect. on Daniel,' pp. 303, &c.; and, for some aspects of the question, 'Prophecy and History' (the Warburton Lectures), pp. 291–296. But the date there assigned (p. 294) to the 'Book of Wisdom' is probably too early.

unquestionably originated in Palestine, and was written in Hebrew;[1] and it presents a new phase of Judaism. Historically it may be regarded as a continuation and development of those parts of the Old Testament which are known as the "Wisdom-writings." And yet it represents a new stage. We miss the higher tone and the spiritual elements of the canonical "Wisdom-writings." On the other hand, we are in the presence of new questions originating from contact with a wider world; and we find them answered in a manner which in one direction would lead up to Jewish Alexandrian theology, while the book itself is still purely Palestinian. From one aspect therefore it may be described as Palestinian theosophy before Alexandrian Hellenism. From another aspect it represents an orthodox, but moderate and cold, Judaism—before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees; before these two directions assumed separate form under the combined influence of political circumstances and theological controversies. In short, it contains as yet undistinguished and mostly in germ all the elements developed in the later history of Jewish religious thinking. But beyond all this, the book throws welcome light on the period in which it was written. If we would know what a cultured, liberal, and yet genuine Jew had thought and felt in view of the great questions of the day; if we would gain insight into the state of public opinion, morals, society, and even of manners at that period—we find the materials for it in the book Ecclesiasticus. Lastly, the unique position among the Apocrypha which this book has always occupied, alike in the Synagogue and the Church, constitutes yet another of its distinguishing claims.

But for the critical student Ecclesiasticus must always possess a peculiar interest and importance. This, in the first place, because the Greek translation in which it has come down is both historically and in point of time connected with the LXX. Version of the Old Testament, and hence necessarily reflects light upon it. But, besides, the Greek is not the only direct translation of the work from its Hebrew original. As will be shewn in the sequel, the Syriac Version of Ecclesiasticus, as well as the Greek, was made directly from the Hebrew. Thus we possess two independent versions of the work, controlling each other, by comparison of which the real text of the Hebrew original can often be ascertained. For in many passages in which the two versions differ, we have only to retranslate into Hebrew to perceive how these differences arose by some simple and obvious misreading, or else misunderstanding of a Hebrew word by the one or the other translator. In such cases it is not difficult to judge which of them rightly apprehended the meaning of the original. In other cases the comparison suggests that there must have been intentional alterations: in the Greek probably chiefly due to the Hellenising spirit of the translator, and in the Syriac to later redactors. But the comparison also throws light on some points in regard to the letter of the text which are full of interest. Thus we conclude that a Greek variant represents the better, if indeed not the corrected, reading, when it accords not only with the other version, but with what we judge to have been the underlying Hebrew original. And this in turn reflects light on the various *Codices*. Lastly, as regards the wider general question of the variations which a Hebrew text may be supposed to have undergone, the student has in Ecclesiasticus the opportunity of comparing, so to speak, three different recensions of a Hebrew text, dating from widely different periods and coming from distant countries: in the Greek, the Syriac, and—including the Talmudic quotations from Sirach—the Aramaic versions of our book.

Concerning the AUTHOR of the work just described, we possess unfortunately only very scanty biographical details. In Ecclus. l. 27, when subscribing his name according to ancient custom, he designates himself as "Jesus the son of Sirach[1] [in the Vat., Seirach; in the Sin.,

[1] According to some (though erroneously), in Chaldee or Aramaic. We do not mean that this is the only apocryphal book which originated in Palestine or was written in Hebrew, but that in regard to Ecclesiasticus this has never been called in question.

[1] So not only the Alex., but the important MS. 248 [Fritzsche]. The Syr. omits what in

Seirak'[1]], the Jerusalemite" [from Jerusalem]. The addition "Eleazar" [after "Sirach"] in the Alex., Vat., and Sin., and "of Eleazar" in some MSS., is spurious, and probably connected with the legend of his descent from the High-priest, to which reference will be immediately made. The Hebrew name of our writer was יֵשׁוּעַ (Jeshua — abbreviated from Jehoshua) בֶּן־סִירָא (or בֶּן), "the son of Sira." It is by the latter designation (without the addition of "Jesus") that he is quoted in Talmudic writings.[2] In Walton's edition of the Syriac Version, the (evidently spurious) superscription to Ecclus. indeed runs: "The book of Jesus the son of Simeon Asiro: that book is called the Wisdom of the Son of Asiro." But the word "Asiro"—which has been generally rendered *vinctus*, "bound"—is probably only a corruption of *Sira* (the name of "Simeon" being introduced either as that of the High-priest of chapter l., or from the legend that our writer had been a High-priest). The Arabic Version, which commonly follows the Syr., has only the name: "Jesus the son of Sirach" (we take not any note of other additions in the Arab. superscription). And in Lagarde's 'Libri Vet. Test. Apocr. Syriace' (1861) the Syriac title as corrected from Cod. 12,142 in the Brit. Mus. (6th cent.) reads: 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.' The Hebrew *Sira* is represented by the Greek form *Sirach* or *Seirach*, which corresponds (as to the χ) with the reading ἀκελδαμάχ for חֲקַל דְּמָא. The name itself (*Sira*) does not otherwise occur in Rabbinic literature. It is generally translated "a coat of mail" or "a cuirass." But it may have only a designative meaning, and in that case perhaps be best translated by "a thorn" or "hedge of thorns."[1]

Of the outward circumstances of Ben Sira little is known. Omitting entirely groundless speculations,[2] he has been identified by some with Jesus, or (as he Grecianised his name) Jason, the son of the High-priest Simon II., who by bribery displaced his brother Onias III. from the pontifical office. But evidently one of such infamous memory in Jewish annals could not have been the writer of our book. The notion that he was by descent a priest (Linde, Zunz) finds already expression in Cod. Sin[i]. Ecclus. l. 27. Such passages in regard to the priesthood as in Ecclus. vii. 29–31, and the not unfrequent allusions to sacrificial worship throughout the book, do not indeed seem sufficient to warrant such an inference. On the other hand, the disproportionate length at which he dilates in ch. xlv. on the high-priesthood of Aaron (and his descendants), while only a few verses are devoted to Moses, the great hero of Jewish tradition, seems of more significance in this respect than critics, from Eichhorn[3] downwards, have assigned to it.[4] Any definite conclusion on this point is, however, impossible. And the idea of the priestly descent of our author may have originated in the notions anciently entertained about the occupations and qualifications of the priesthood, and in ignorance of what

the Greek are clauses *b* and *c* of ch. 1. 27 (viz.: "Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem . . . who out of his heart poured forth wisdom"); the Vet. Lat. has: *Jesus filius Siraeh Jerosolymita.*

[1] Possibly to this may be due the later Rabbinic miswriting סירח or סירך (Wolfius, *u. s.*, p. 255) and סירוק (Jost, 'Gesch. d. Judenth.' i. p. 311).

[2] Later Jewish notices about Ben Sira are entirely without value. For particulars—most of them uncritical—the reader may refer to Wolfius, 'Bibl. Hebr.,' i. pp. 255–263. The story about Ben Sira being the son of Jeremiah occurs in the so-called 'Alphabet of Ben Sira'—of which more in the sequel. For the Constantinople edition of it (1519), see Buxtorf, 'Bibl. Rabb.' p. 324; other editions in Wolfius, *u. s.*, and Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 105, note *b*. The reader who is curious to know the unsavoury story there related about the birth of Ben Sira will find it in Bartolocci, 'Biblioth. Rabb.' i. 684–687. But I cannot help suspecting that the writer of the story had somehow mixed up בן סירא with בן סטדא, and that it is only another edition of the blasphemous references to the mother of Jesus.

[1] Since the name does not otherwise occur, may it not be an allegorical designation rather than a proper name? From that point of view comp. Eccles. xii. 11 *a*.

[2] For some Jewish suggestions, see Herzfeld, 'Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.' iii. p. 74. For the notion of the older writers (Corn. à Lapide, Calmet, Goldhagen) that Ben Sira was one of the seventy-two translators (LXX.), see Welte, 'Spez. Einl. in d. deuterokan. B.' p. 225.

[3] Eichhorn, 'Einl. in d. apokr. Schr. d. A. T.' pp. 31, 32.

[4] It is surely a somewhat strong assertion by Schürer (*u. s.* p. 594) that this opinion is *völlig grundlos.*

constituted the learned and thinking class in Israel. In any case the assertion of Syncellus ('Chronogr.' ed. Dindorf, i. p. 525), that the Siracide succeeded Simon II. (as thirteenth High-priest) and held the pontificate for six years, is historically untenable. It may have arisen from a misunderstanding of a passage in the 'Chronicon' of Eusebius (Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 594). Not less groundless is the inference (by Grotius) from ch. xxxviii. 1–15, that Ben Sira was a physician (see special introd. to ch. xxxviii.). But whatever his occupation, it could not have been any handicraft nor yet agriculture (comp., for example, xxxviii. 25–30). On the other hand, it is certain that he was one of the Jewish sages of his time, and that his eminence and fame in this respect procured his advancement to the prominent public positions which he occupied (see, for example, xxxviii. 24, 33; xxxix. 1–5). Another and a very remarkable feature in his history is that he not only travelled much, but regarded this as part of the necessary education of a "sage," and that, while his views were enlarged, his religious convictions were only strengthened by what he learned and observed in foreign countries (xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 1–4). We mark in passing that foreign travel would scarcely have been the advice of a pious or even patriotic Jew in, or immediately before, the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (that is, during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.). In any case it would be in direct opposition to the later exclusive views of the Pharisaic sages. All this seems to imply that our writer belonged to an earlier period in Jewish history. Indeed, we might almost doubt whether the younger Siracide would have reproduced these views if his translation had been made during the pontificate of the sons of Simon II.

It only remains to add that during these journeys Ben Sira appears to have incurred great personal danger (xxxiv. 12). It is probably to his deliverance from these perils that he refers in his hymn of praise (li. 1–12). In all likelihood his travels had extended both to Syria and to Egypt. In the latter country especially he would see and learn much that would leave its impress upon his mind. And the political relations of the two countries in regard to Palestine would account for the calumnies, intrigues, and perils to which a prominent and influential Jerusalemite might be exposed in those days.[1]

§ II. Date of the original Work and of its Translation into Greek.

Although the general spirit of Ecclesiasticus and some of the special views expressed in it form important elements in regard to the question of its date, it seems better to consider it in the first place on independent historical grounds. There are few subjects on which directly contrary opinions have been asserted with more confidence; few also on which (as it seems to us) absolute assurance on either side is less warranted.

The book itself furnishes two dates which might seem to fix the time both of its original composition and of its translation into Greek by the grandson of the author. The first of these is in Ecclus. l. 1, where the writer describes—apparently from personal observation—"Simon the high priest, the son of Onias;" leaving, however, the impression (lines *b* and *c*) that at the time of his writing Simon was no longer alive. The second date is in the Prologue to the translation by the younger Siracide, in which he states the time of his arrival in Egypt as "in the eight and thirtieth year under king Euergetes." But, as it happens, there were two High-priests, each of them "Simon, the son of Onias"—viz. Simon I., surnamed the Just, the son of Onias I., who according to the common reckoning flourished about 310–291 B.C.; and Simon II., son of Onias II., about 219–199 B.C.[2] And as there were

[1] See below, § II.

[2] These are the generally accepted dates. But considerable uncertainty prevails (see Ewald, 'Gesch. d. V. Isr.' iv. p. 351). Ewald's dates are: Onias I. died 310 B.C.; Simon I. died 291; Eleazar died 276; Manasseh died 250; Onias II. died 219; Simon II. died 199; Onias III. deposed in favour of his brother Jason, and he again in that of Menelaos. Herzfeld (*u. s.* pp. 185–189) gives the following dates:—Onias I. died 300; Simon I. died 287; Eleazar died 267; Manasseh died 240; Onias II. died

two High-priests of the name "Simon, son of Onias," so there were two Ptolemies who bore the epithet Euergetes, viz. Ptolemy III. or Euergetes I. (247–222 B.C.) and Ptolemy VII., Physkon, entitled Euergetes II.—but surnamed by his subjects Kakergetes—who, after having been co-regent with his brother for twenty-five years (from 170 to 145 B.C.), occupied the throne alone from 145 to 116 B.C. The question therefore is, which of these two Simons was the High-priest of Ecclus. l., and which of the two Euergetes is referred to in the Prologue of the Greek translator?[1]

At the outset we have to dismiss a consideration which, either avowedly[2] or perhaps unconsciously, has influenced critics. In the Prologue of the younger Siracide the usual arrangement of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa is supposed to be indicated in the expression "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers." It is argued that this implies the closing of the O. T. Canon and the completion of the LXX. Version, which again, according to certain critics, could not have been so early as in the reign of Euergetes I. Even if these premisses were correct, it would be vicious reasoning to determine an unknown quantity (who was the Euergetes of the Prologue?) by another equally unknown (the close of the Canon or the completion of the LXX.). But in our view the passage in the Prologue, above referred to, so far from presupposing an arrangement of the O. T. into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, really gave rise to this tripartition. Not only is there not any earlier indication of it, but it is not supported by the arrangement in the LXX. Besides, the Prologue gives not any indication what these "other books of the fathers" were, nor yet whether or not they included all our present *Hagiographa*. And Ecclesiasticus itself, while it makes reference to the Law and the Prophets (the historical books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets), for reasons presumably good and valid (whatever they were) contains no mention of Mordecai or Daniel, nor even of Ezra. This, although there are unquestionable references not only to Nehemiah, but also in the text (see the notes, *passim*) to the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and probably Job. We dismiss therefore this preliminary *à priori* argument, and ask ourselves:

1. Was the Euergetes of the Prologue the first or second of that name? The arguments here turn on the meaning of the words used by the younger Siracide. Those who hold that Euergetes I. is referred to in the Prologue regard the Greek words ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου as meaning "in the eight and thirtieth year" of the writer, not of the reign of Euergetes. This necessarily, since Euergetes I. did not reign thirty-eight years. On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. maintain that the expression can only mean the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes; and although Euergetes II. was not sole occupant of the throne for such a period of time, yet his reign must (according to Porphyrius in Euseb. Chron.) be reckoned from the time of his co-regency with his brother. As regards the true meaning of the Greek words quoted, writers are hopelessly at issue. So great an authority as Professor Westcott maintains that the meaning of the words "can only be, that the translator 'in his thirty-eighth year' came to Egypt during the reign of Euergetes," and he stigmatises the other translation as "absolutely at variance with the grammatical structure of the sentence" (Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' i. p. 479, note). On the other hand, those who contend for Euergetes II. equally strenuously maintain the

226—which makes the accession of Simon II. seven years earlier, or in 226. This is not the place to discuss these differences. Indeed, the exact chronology of the priestly succession offers no little difficulty. Happily it does not affect the present argument.

[1] We only note in passing the statement of Mr. Stanton ('The Jewish and the Christian Messiah,' p. 111), that Ecclesiasticus "may have been written any time between the High-priesthood of Simon son of Onias and the Maccabean rising." Is this really so? and to which of the two High-priests of the name of Simon does Mr. Stanton refer in this brief dismissal of a question of such importance?

[2] So, on the one side, Winer ('Bibl. Real-Wörterb.' i. p. 555) and others, even Fritzsche, p. xvi.; and, on the other side—we suspect—writers such as Böhl ('Forsch. n. e. Volksb.' pp. 35, &c.).

other rendering.[1] But it must be admitted (Winer, *u. s.*) that the words mean in the first place something different from "in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes." Similarly, Böhl (*u. s.*, p. 36) argues, adducing the testimony of Bernhardy ('Grundriss d. griech. Lit.' i. 502, 519) in favour of the structure of the sentences and generally of the style of the Prologue, that so able a writer would not have expressed such a meaning in so "ungreek" a manner. Winer holds that, according to common usage, he would have had to write: ἐν . . . ἔτει τῷ ἐπὶ τ. E. The defenders of the other translation point, indeed, to certain parallel or similar expressions — the latter in the Apocr. (1 Macc. xiii. 22; xiv. 27); the former in the LXX. (Hagg. i. 1, ii. 1; Zech. i. 7, vii. 1). But alike Winer and Böhl deny the conclusiveness even of the latter instances as at least admitting of exceptions. On the whole, therefore, the impartial student will probably judge that the argument in favour of either the one or the other translation cannot be considered conclusive.[2] In any case the main question as to the date of the original work is left open.

2. Of much greater importance than the other is the inquiry whether the Simon son of Onias of Ecclus. l. 1, and in the Syriac version also of l. 23, was Simon I. or Simon II. The Syriac presents in this chapter several important variants. Thus in *v.* 25—which, however, we regard as a later interpolation—instead of "mountain of Samaria" the Syr. rightly has גבל, which, just as גבלה in the Samarit. version of the Pent., is the rendering for *Seir* [Edom]. This the Vet. Lat. follows [against all the Greek MSS] by translating: *in monte Seir*. [For some other variants see the introd. to the ch. and the notes.] Again, while in *v.* 28 the Greek reminds us of the sentiment in Rev. i. 3, the Syr. translates: "Happy the man who meditates on these things, learns, knoweth, and doeth them." Lastly, *v.* 29 [30] is rendered in the Syr.: "Exaltedness is of the religion of God: it is exalted above all things. Behold it, my son, and do not forsake it." In all these instances we believe the Syriac to represent the Hebrew original more accurately than does the Greek text. This disposes us to receive favourably the Syriac version of *v.* 23: "And let there be peace among them, and let it be established with Simon the Just[1] and his seed, as the days of heaven." If this rendering be correct, it follows that the Hebrew original had expressly designated this High-priest Simon as the same who was surnamed "the Just."

But apart from this, there cannot, we believe, be any reasonable doubt that the Simon whom both tradition[2] and Josephus designate "the Just"[3] was Simon I. Josephus indeed twice expressly tells us that Simon I. "was called ὁ δίκαιος," and explains that this designation was given him "because both of his piety towards God and his kind disposition towards those of his own nation." And when Jewish tradition gives to a High-priest Simon exactly the same title—הַצַּדִּיק—and is never weary of speaking of his piety, glory, and miraculous Divine attestation[4]—it would seem a perversion of history not to identify the Simon I., the Just, of Josephus with the Simon, the *Tsaddiq*, of the Mishnah.[5] This con-

[1] Schürer (*u. s.* p. 595) puts it thus absolutely: "Mit dem 38. Jahre meint er natürlich nicht sein eigenes Lebensjahr."

[2] In view of this we have not thought it necessary to discuss at length the argument on which Böhl so strongly insists—but which seems very doubtful—that the reign of Euergetes II., having been marked by persecution and exile of the learned, would not have been a suitable period for the publication of the translation of the younger Siracide. But there is absolute evidence of literary activity among the Hellenists in that reign.

[1] Grätz ('Gesch. d. Juden,' ii. p. 235, note) ingeniously, and as I believe rightly, argues that the right reading in the Syr. must be שמעון חסידה, Simon the Just, and not חסידה.

[2] In Abh. i. 2; Par. iii. 5.

[3] 'Antiq.' xii. 2, 5; xii. 4, 1.

[4] The reader who is curious to know the Jewish traditions about Simon the Righteous is referred, among others, to Otto, 'Histor. doctor. Mishnic.;' Derenbourg, 'Hist. de la Palest.' pp. 47, &c.; and Grätz, *u. s.*, ii. pp. 255, &c.

[5] It was surely an ill-considered statement on the part of Dean Stanley ('Hist. of the Jewish Church,' iii. p. 247) that M. Derenbourg has conclusively established "that Simon the Just was Simon II." Derenbourg asserts it, but does not make any attempt to "establish" what it would be beyond the power of any man to prove. A late writer on the subject (Hamburger, 'Real-Encykl.' Abth. ii. p. 1116) cuts the knot

clusion is confirmed by the circumstance that the Mishnah describes this Simon as "of the remainders of the great synagogue," which had long passed away when Simon II. succeeded to the pontificate. In general, the terms in which tradition speaks of Simon the Just could not have been applied to Simon II., nor yet to the circumstances and relations of his time. They seem intended to convey that with Simon the Just one great period of Jewish history—that of spiritual glory, peace, and Divine attestation—had come to an end. All this could be said in regard to the pontificate of Simon I.; it would have no meaning in regard to that of Simon II.[1]

In these circumstances it would seem inexplicable that the writer of Ecclus. l. should have omitted from his catalogue of worthies Simon I.—the last of the great synagogue, the great priest-hero of Jewish tradition, "the Just" one of Josephus—and introduced in his stead such a figure as Simon II. Of the latter Jewish tradition does not say anything,[2] nor yet have we any other record of him —at least of a favourable character. For as the account in 3 Macc. ii. is universally admitted to be fabulous, the only references to Simon II. which we possess are those in Jos. 'Antt.' xii. 4, 10 and 11. These, as we shall immediately see, reflect anything but favourably on his political administration. Such a man could not have been described as in Ecclus. l. But this is not all. In Ecclus. l. 2–4 we have mention of certain great undertakings by Simon, notably of his restoration of the fortifications of Jerusalem. But for this there was absolutely no occasion during the pontificate of Simon II., the circumstances of the time rather implying the contrary. On the other hand, there was urgent need for it under the pontificate of Simon I., after the taking and dismantling by Ptolemy I. of the fortified cities of Palestine, inclusive no doubt of Jerusalem.[1]

It is indeed argued in favour of Simon II. that Ecclesiasticus contains not unfrequent allusions to sufferings and persecutions of Israel, and that it displays in this respect, rather than religiously, a feeling of great bitterness towards the Gentiles and their rulers (comp. chaps. xxxv., xxxvi.; see the special introductions to these chapters). And, since the time of Simon I. was one of peace to Israel—although in view of the wars of Ptolemy I. this is doubtful—while (which is also open to contention) the times were much more troubled during the administration of Simon II., it has been urged that these references point to the pontificate of the latter. But there is a twofold mistake here. The sufferings alluded to are apparently rather of the past and threatening the future, than in the present, which seems quiet and prosperous (comp. xlv. 26; l. 22–24). Further, it is apparently forgotten that although Ecclus. l. implies that the writer had himself seen Simon, it also conveys that he was no longer alive. Hence the references to the condition of Israel apply not to the time of Simon—be it the first, or the second—but to that of their successors. This opens a line of argument which has hitherto been overlooked. Before adverting to it, we must make a final reference to two points in Ecclus. l. which seem strongly in favour of its application to Simon I. The first is the manner in which the Samaritans are spoken of (l. 25, 26). This can easily be accounted for by events in the time of Simon I., but not in that of Simon II. Secondly, in Ecclus. l. 5, the High-priest is described in his "outgoing from the house of the Veil" [marg. A. V.—ἐν ἐξόδῳ οἴκου καταπετάσματος[2]],—unquestionably, the most Holy Place. But as the High-priest entered it only on the day of atonement, this part of the description must be of him on that most solemn festival. But it deserves special notice that the Jewish legends about

by the strange assertion that both Simon I. and Simon II. bore the designation "the Just." (See also the Jewish traditions about Simon the Just in Hamburger, *u. s.*)

[1] The Syr. Version has in l. 1: "Chief among his brethren and the crown of his people Simeon, the son of Nathanya."

[2] I am aware that those who plead for Simon II. invest him with a history, taken partly from Ecclus. l.—thereby begging the whole question—and partly from what tradition ascribes to Simon the Just, who, as we have shewn, was Simon I.

[1] See Grätz, *u. s.*, p. 230.

[2] The expression does not occur anywhere else, either in the LXX. or the Apocrypha.

Simon I., the Just, are chiefly connected with the day of atonement. Thus we read that during the (forty) years of his pontificate the lot which designated the goat for Jehovah (Lev. xvi. 8, 9) always fell to his right hand; that during the same period the scarlet strip by which the goat for Azazel was designated always turned to white, indicating that Israel's sins were forgiven (Is. i. 18) [Jer. Yoma, 43*c*; Yom. 39*a*]; and lastly, that during his whole pontificate, as he entered and left the most Holy Place he was accompanied by a venerable figure arrayed in white, but that in the last year that figure had entered indeed with him but not accompanied him as he left the sanctuary (Jer. Yoma, 42*c*; Yom. 39*b*). Nor was that apparition ever seen before or afterwards.

Whatever value may be attached to this coincidence of Jewish legend concerning Simon I. with the description in Ecclus. of his appearance on the day of atonement, a historical line of argument, hitherto strangely overlooked, leads up to the same conclusion. As already stated, the exact date of the composition of Ecclesiasticus was not during the pontificate of Simon—whether I. or II.—but in that of one of his successors. But in Ecclus. xlv. 25 we find this curious notice, that the pontifical succession, like the royal, was to be from father to son. The notice is so abruptly introduced, and so uncalled for, that we regard it as an allusion to some historical occurrence in the near past. Now we know that while Simon II. was succeeded by his son Onias III., Simon I. was not followed by his son Onias II., but by his two brothers, Eleazar and Manasseh, and only after them by the already aged Onias II. We believe that the allusion in Ecclus. xlv. 22 is to this: that the older Siracide wrote at the accession of Onias II., and that he addressed to him the words of congratulation and hope that follow in Ecclus. xlv. 26. If this be so, and the older Siracide was a friend of Onias II. and supporter of his policy, it would also account for the great dangers to which, according to ch. li., he had been exposed from the calumnies of enemies. For at that time Palestine was divided between allegiance to the king of Egypt—the *de facto* suzerain — and intrigues with the ruler of Syria. We know that Onias II. refused to pay the yearly tribute to the king of Egypt. Josephus ('Ant.' xii. 4. 1) imputes this to avarice, but there can be little doubt that the High-priest was actuated by political motives. If the Siracide was an influential member of the same party, we can easily understand what dangers may have threatened him on his arrival in Egypt.

To these some subsidiary arguments may be added. As it seems to us, such language as in Ecclus. xlv. 26 might indeed be addressed to Onias II., the son of Simon I., who was the undisputed civil head of his people till the popular appointment of Joseph, the son of Tobias, in 230 B.C. ('Ant.' xii. 4. 2, 3).[1] But it would not have been suitable in regard to Onias III., the son of Simon II. Nor could sentiments such as those in that verse have been expressed in the time of Onias III., while they might have deep significance in regard to the political position and aims of Onias II. Lastly, the whole tone of the book is quite different from what we should have expected, if it had been written in the days of Onias III. For then the Grecian counter-Reformation had already made terrible progress in the land, assumed a hostile attitude, and led to the formation of the party of the *Chasidim*. In those circumstances the writer of Ecclesiasticus, who displays a spirit of liberal tolerance which seems in sympathy with much in foreign thought, while yet remaining faithful to Judaism, must have taken a more decided part with the one side or the other. At any rate he could not have absolutely ignored their existence. Thus the spirit and tone of the book also point to the period preceding the great struggle between Grecianism and Judaism as that of the composition of Ecclesiasticus—that is, to the time of Onias II., not that of Onias III.

For these reasons the probability in favour of the identity of the Simon of Ecclus. l. with Simon I., the Just, seems

[1] Although we found no argument upon it, it is significant that in Ecclus. xlv. 24 the High-priest is still described as προστάτης [in Sin.[2] we have λαοῦ instead of the common reading λαῷ]. But in 'Ant.' xiv. 4. 3 this is the very designation given to Joseph, the son of Tobias. Comp. the significant use of the term in 3 Esdras ii. 11.

to us so strong as almost to amount to a demonstration. In that case—if, what is not by any means certain, the Greek translator was the grandson of the older Siracide—it would follow that the Euergetes of the Prologue was the first, not the second, of that name. From the extracts preserved by Eusebius ('Praep. Evang.' ix.) from the Jewish historian Demetrius,[1] who flourished at that time, we infer that this period was one of considerable Jewish literary activity. Here we have to note what is at least a remarkable coincidence. If in the Prologue to his Greek translation the younger Siracide seems to refer to the interest in such studies which he found awakened in Hellenist, if not in wider circles, we have in the work of Demetrius evidence of its existence in the reign of Euergetes I.[2] On the other hand, if in the same Prologue the Siracide speaks of the difficulties of reproducing in a translation what was originally written in Hebrew, Josephus in referring to this very work of Demetrius excuses the occurrence of "lesser mistakes" in it on the ground of want of knowledge of Hebrew ('c. Ap.' i. 23). This twofold coincidence seems to throw some fresh light on the Prologue to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, and so far to confirm the view which, on the whole, we regard as the most likely—that the original work was translated into Greek in the reign of Euergetes I.

At the same time it is quite open to argue that, while the elder Siracide referred in ch. l. to Simon I., his younger descendant may have translated the work into Greek in the reign of Euergetes II. He speaks of the older Siracide as his πάππος; and although the term primarily means "grandfather," it is also used to denote a more remote ancestor (Arist. 'Pol.' iii. 2. 1; Dion. H. iv. 47—*apud* Liddell and Scott). At any rate, some writers of authority have adopted this view.[1]

§ III. Ecclesiasticus, the "Wisdom" Writings of the Old Testament, and Jewish Hellenistic Literature.

As previously stated, Ecclesiasticus affords glimpses of the intellectual history of a period over which otherwise profound darkness would rest. We might designate this as the formative stage in the history of a new period in Jewish religious thinking. The results of the past and the beginnings of a future development were still in juxtaposition—not amalgamated, but as yet not separated, nor were their further sequences in view. Alike the close of the old and the beginnings of the new are side by side in Ecclesiasticus. The former reaches back to the early times of Israel's glory; the latter points forward to that direction which was to find its home and centre, not in Palestine, but in Alexandria.

In the reign of king David, the Hebrew state had attained its definite and final stage. But with it also its exclusive national character may be said to have ceased. The outcome of the past period had been internal consolidation and external isolation. But under the rule of king Solomon, Israel for the first time came into close friendly contact with other nations, partly owing to the personal disposition of that monarch, partly from the new circumstances of the country, its growing wealth, and its commerce. But friendly intercourse between nations cannot be confined to the interchange of civilities or of wares: it means the interchange of ideas. There is not any barrier that can effectually arrest the progress of thinking, nor any quarantine that can prevent the spread of ideas. To encounter thought is to recognise it, and to recognise is at least partly to make it

[1] Eusebius has preserved five fragments of his work, extracted from a work 'On the Jews' by Alexander Polyhistor (a heathen). The longest of these excerpts is in 'Praep. Evang.' ix. 21, ed. Gaisford, ii. pp. 378, &c. Generally comp. Freudenthal, 'Hellenist. Studien.'

[2] The date of the work of Demetrius has, in our view, been conclusively established by Freudenthal (*u. s.*, pp. 57–63), and it is surprising that his arguments should have been ignored by Schürer ('Gesch. d. Jüd. V.' ii. p. 731).

[1] If we were asked to suggest a date for the composition of Ecclesiasticus, we might conjecture that the original work was written about 235 B.C., or earlier, but before the promotion of Joseph the son of Tobias in 230. If at that time the older Siracide was nearly 70 years old, his grandson, who translated it into Greek, might certainly have been in his thirty-eighth year under Euergetes I.

our own. King Solomon completed indeed the work of David and the religious institutions of Israel by the building of the Temple. Yet by the side of this he had not only to tolerate, but to give facilities for foreign rites. This, not merely owing to external circumstances, but—so to speak—from an inward necessity. With Solomon began a new phase in Jewish thinking. It was still deeply religious—but it was thinking, in this sense that men were no longer content, nor even able, to settle the great problems of thought by merely external authority, but felt that they must grapple with them individually—nay, even with that fundamental question of all: that of external authority. This was the commencement of the so-called (*Chokhmah*) Wisdom-literature of Israel. The wisest of kings began it; he was himself the first Jewish *Chakham*, or sage. The Hebrew sage differs from the Gentile philosopher[1] in that he does not search out for himself the highest problems of thinking, nor yet seek to attain their solution by means of metaphysical speculation. These problems are already there, set before him; and they are solved in Divine Revelation. His object, therefore, is to verify rather than to discover—to conciliate the teachings of Divine Revelation, which he implicitly accepts, with the difficulties suggested either by his experience of life (empirical difficulties) or by his own thinking (speculative difficulties). And the conciliation of these difficulties with Revelation constitutes *Wisdom*. Thus (subjective) Wisdom in man busies itself with (objective) Wisdom in, or rather with, God, which is the mode of God's manifestation of Himself—perhaps, more correctly, the mode in which His self-manifestation presents itself to our thinking. That manifestation is twofold. As regards man, it is exhibited in God's dealings with him; and as regards the higher (abstract) problems, antecedent to and irrespective of man, it is connected with the ways of God. Thus the problems which engage Wisdom in man—those of human life and the higher abstract questions—correspond to the twofold aspect of Wisdom in God. Hence the topics which occupy Hebrew Wisdom-literature are both subjective and objective in their character. From the first of these aspects they are practical, and connected with the ordinary questions of human life; from the second of them, they are speculative, and consist in seeking to apprehend the ways of God. Thus the seeming confusion in the Wisdom-writings, due to the close juxtaposition and apparent mixture of precepts for the conduct of life with higher speculative questions, is only outward, and resolves itself into a higher unity. The two are only the different aspects, or the different kinds, of the great problem which Wisdom (in God) sets before us in His manifestations, and which Wisdom (in man) has to solve by faith and obedience. Closely connected with all this is the form and manner in which Hebrew Wisdom expresses itself. It speaks not in the language of metaphysical speculation, but in Proverbs, in Parables, and even by paradoxes. The latter, because absolute faith cares not to smooth away seeming contrarieties; nay, would rather encounter them directly. The former, because the Eastern mind delights in such form of expression. But this is not all. For to the devout Hebrew, whose God rules on earth as in heaven, things on earth are ever the counterpart of things in heaven. Heaven and earth are part of one kingdom. He sees God reflected in Nature and in all things around, and he hears His voice in the streets and in the busy commerce of men. But there may be a still deeper reason for it. To the believing Hebrew the final solution of all difficulties (whether empirical or speculative) is in Revelation, and "Wisdom" consists, not in the discovery of truth, but only in its vindication: on the one hand, in the conciliation of seeming difficulties; and, on the other, in the placing of man's life and thinking on a line with the Will and the Ways of God. In this view all is Parable and all Proverbs: the solution of every speculative difficulty is in a Parable (1 Cor. xiii. 12 *a*); while that of every practical difficulty becomes and ought to be a Proverb in the people's mouth.

Solomon was, so far as we know, the originator of this parabolic, proverbial philosophy of religion among the Hebrews

[1] Compare also generally J. Fr. Bruch, 'Die Weisheits-Lehre der Hebräer.'

—or, at any rate, it gathered around the name of the Wise King. Whatever portions of the Book of Proverbs may be of his personal authorship, even the fact that other or later sayings gathered around this nucleus and name is of deep significance. In this truest sense the whole book is Solomonic. The same may be said of Ecclesiastes—a work thoroughly one in plan and contents. Assuming at the outset the standpoint of seeming indifferentism and epicurean self-enjoyment, the writer proceeds to discuss the great theological problem how to conciliate what seems either chance or fate with the personal Rule of God, till he gradually rises to the consciousness of a personal moral responsibility as the practical, if not speculative, solution of all. Although the book is undoubtedly much later than Solomon, it is (for the reasons above stated) not only truly Solomonic, but perhaps it may even have been intended to present in a concrete form the problems presented by the life as well as in the thinking of the wise king. Nay, its opening text (*v.* 2), "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," may even be directly Solomonic, or else set forth a summary of what after-ages regarded as the Solomonic problem.

It will readily be perceived how closely the book Ecclesiasticus is connected with this ancient *Chokhmah*-literature, not only in form but in substance. In truth, it is a continuation of it: for, that road once entered, standstill or abandonment would be no longer possible. By the side of the purely legal and even of the prophetic teaching of Scripture, this would now become a distinctive phase in Hebrew religious thinking. Nor should we forget that alike the predictions of the final ingathering of all nations and the commencement of *Chokhmah*-literature were historically connected with a closer contact with the empires of the world. Even the prophetic comments on sacrificial worship—their protest against the merely *ex opere operato* view of it—might here acquire a new significance and meaning. As an illustration of the manner in which the later *Chakhamim* understood or developed such sayings, we would point to Ecclus. xxxiv. and xxxv., which gain in significance from their connexion with the reference in ch. xxxiv. 9–11 to what the writer had seen and learned in foreign countries. Similarly a special *Chokhmah* meaning might be attached not only to the numerous prophecies that foretold the conversion of the Gentiles, but even to the prophetic addresses to them and to the implied recognition that, despite the present state of rebellion, the earth and all nations were the Lord's. This may explain how, in the description of a sage (Ecclus. xxxix. 1–3), an understanding of prophecy is conjoined with knowledge of the wisdom of the ancients, of parables, and of proverbs; while, on the other hand, in Ecclus. xxiv. Zion and Israel are indeed stated to be the special dwelling-place of "Wisdom," where she has her fixed abode, but her presence is also recognised among all nations (*v.* 6).

It scarcely needs to be stated that the full and final development of this must be sought, not in Palestine, but among the Greek-thinking and Greek-speaking "dispersion" of the West, of which Alexdria was the intellectual capital. But in Ecclesiasticus we have, in a sense, a prehellenistic Grecianism. It is still strictly Palestinian, not Alexandrian, and it does not treat the simple language of Scripture as if it consisted of allegories, representing so many formulæ for abstract ideas. But for all this it is, if not Grecianised Judaism, yet a Judaism influenced by Grecian thought. Thus it appears that the first origin of what is called Jewish Hellenism has to be traced to Palestine, not to Alexandria, and was only fully developed there under favouring circumstances. And these circumstances were analogous to those which first called forth Hebrew *Chokhmah*-literature.

Considering the condition of the small, intellectually almost contemptible, remnant which returned from the Babylonian exile, and the state of those who remained behind, it seems a strange historical assumption to regard this age as one of the most fruitful thinking or of great literary activity. The awakening and new progress of thought are organically connected with the general life of a people: they are always in line with stirring events in the history of the world or of a nation. Such wakening came with the conquests

of Alexander the Great and the founding of the Macedonian world-empire. It was not only that Israel was now brought into direct contact with Grecianism, nor yet that it felt the electric shock which passed through the ancient world, nor even that from its subjection to the Macedonian conqueror and his successors it constantly experienced Grecian influences. But there was a chain of purely Greek cities within the land of Palestine itself, as well as around its borders. The constant and close intercourse resulting from it, must have led to the gradual introduction of Grecian ideas. These would appear in the first instance, so to speak, in a friendly form—and only afterwards become a hostile power with which war for life or death must be waged. In each case outward events must have corresponded with this state of feeling. The period of outward peace and of the friendly influence of Grecianism terminated soon after Simon I.—who is accordingly designated as the last link in the "great synagogue." The period of open and bitter hostility to Judaism, alike politically and religiously, began immediately after, if not under, Simon II. This brings us back to our former conclusions about the date of Ecclesiasticus. As the last outrunner of Palestinian *Chokhmah*-literature, it belongs to the former, not to the latter, period. It marks a time of transition when by the side of the old, as then understood, we discover all the germs of a future development. In respect of the latter we might almost characterise it as alike Pharisaic before the Pharisees, Sadducean before the Sadducees, and Hellenistic before Hellenism. And yet it is not eclectic—only preparatory. It could not have belonged to a period when Grecianism had become a hostile power in Church and State, and evoked a reaction that led to the formation of the nationalist party and finally issued in the Maccabean rising. The nationalist party was known by the title *Chasidim*, "the pious" (1 Macc. ii. 42, vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6). That name was undoubtedly derived from the description of the *Chasidim*, "the pious," in the Psalms (Ps. xxx. 4; xxxi. 23; xxxvii. 28). We conjecture that this movement included also a protest against and a separation from the whole *Chokhmah*-direction of the period immediately preceding, which might be regarded as having been fraught with terrible consequences to Israel. If the one party had spoken of *Chokhmah* and appealed to Solomon, the other party would now go a step further back and appeal to David and the Psalter, and to the *Chasidim* of which they wished and professed to be the representatives.

We cannot here follow the further development of their history. But we submit that what has been stated sufficiently answers the question, often and learnedly discussed, as to the relation between Ecclesiasticus and distinctively Alexandrian views. Gfrörer ('Philo u. d. Alex. Theos.' ii. pp. 21–52) calls our author an Eclectic, and supposes that certain parts of his book (notably ch. xxiv.) were derived from an Alexandrian work. That there is a close relationship between Ecclesiasticus and Alexandrianism cannot indeed be doubted—and this not only in ch. xxiv. but in some of the other instances adduced by Gfrörer (comp. the special introd. to ch. xliv.). But their relation is other than that scholar supposed. Ecclesiasticus is not dependent on Alexandrian teaching, but the latter had its roots in the direction represented by our book. On the other hand, Dähne ('Gesch. Darstell. d. jüd. Alex. Relig. Phil.' ii. pp. 144, &c.) rightly calls attention to the genuine Palestinian character of our book as a whole. But he is mistaken in attributing the Alexandrian elements in it entirely to alterations introduced in the Greek Version by the younger Siracide, and to interpolations. Such undoubtedly there are, and of a very marked character. But they are not of such wide sweep as is supposed by Dähne, and the hypothesis as a whole is forbidden by the Syriac Version, which was made directly from the Hebrew original.

§ IV. The Writer and his Book: its Philosophy, Theology, and Ethics; Comparison with the New Testament and with Philo.

Before making a closer survey of the book, it may be convenient to refer

to some of its general characteristics. We have already seen that the circumstances of the time and the religious standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus throw light on each other. The same may be said in regard to the social and moral relations reflected in Ecclesiasticus. If the allusions in it are sometimes coarse, if its tone is the reverse of high, and if the references to sexual and other excesses are both frequent and unpleasant, this is due to the state of matters at the time. Again, bearing in mind that the main subject of the book is *Wisdom*, the treatment may seem fitful, from the frequent and sudden transitions to apparently wholly different and even trivial topics connected with the rules of daily life. This has already been partly accounted for by the view which the writer took of "Wisdom." Besides, such transitions—often abrupt—from one subject to another are characteristic of Eastern writing. So to speak, they give emphasis to the discussion of the graver questions. Nor is the treatment of "Wisdom" so fitful as might seem at first sight. For "Wisdom" is the subject treated of in the beginning of the book (ch. i.), in the middle of it (ch. xxiv.), and especially at the close (chaps. xxxiii.–xliii.). Indeed, this latter portion reads almost like a separate treatise on the great problems of *Wisdom* (see the special introductions to these chapters). And even the abruptness of the transitions is more apparent than real. This also is characteristic of Eastern thinking, which moves in the succession of time, as one thing suggests another, rather than in that of logical order, where one topic is evolved from the other.[1]

That the writer of Ecclesiasticus was a man of high culture, fully acquainted with the sacred literature of Israel, is not only stated in the Prologue, but appears from almost every part of the book. Moreover, we infer even from such allusions as in xxiv. 28, xxxiii. 16, xxxix. 1, 2, that he was familiar with the thoughts—perhaps the writings—of others in Israel whose mental direction and studies were kindred to his own. And here we also recall that he had travelled abroad for the enlargement of his knowledge, and profited by what he had seen and learned (xxxiv. 10, 11; xxxix. 4). Again, although his dogmatic horizon was bounded, and his views defective, even erroneous, Ben Sira cannot be charged with scepticism. Thoroughly liberal in his conception of Judaism, he was yet an earnest believer in it. Deeply touching is the account which he gives (li. 15–22) of his inner experience. In early life he had in earnest prayer, both private and in the Temple, sought for that Wisdom which—like Solomon of old, or, to quote a lower instance, like Philo—he regarded as the highest aim of life. And he was resolved to pursue it to his last day. By the guidance of that Wisdom he had walked from his youth in the right way, ever following the good. In earnest moral observance of the Law he had stretched out his hands towards heaven, deeply mourning any aberrations due to ignorance, and ever aiming after purity. And even the success which had come to him in life he attributed to this pursuit, and thanked God not only for it, but still more for the gift of that Wisdom through which he had attained it, in a life not untroubled by sorrow and beset by dangers. Best of all, he had inward peace and joy. Higher experience than this we cannot expect on the part of the writer of Ecclesiasticus. He was not an inspired man, and, personally, he stands as far below the prophets of old as his own ideal standard falls short of that of the New Testament. Still on every page of his book God is first and foremost: His fear, His Law, and the right and true. Sometimes his praise of the great Creator is almost sublime (as in ch. xxxix. 13–25), while his prayers are fervent and lofty in tone. In general, the one great aim which he sets before himself in his book is to vindicate the ways of God with man. As a believing Israelite, he throughout recognises the leadings of God with His people of old; and he has unshaken faith in the fulfilment of the promises to Israel. Lastly, the main practical object of his work is to warn and instruct others (comp. the Prologue; xxxix. 32; l. 27, 28; li., closing stanza).

From another point of view—that of mental difficulties—we have to emphasise that the speculations of Ben Sira never

[1] Yet although this is prevalently, it is not uniformly, the case in our book.

issue in doubt. He seeks to answer questions, rather than to solve doubts (xxxix. 16–21). In truth, such do not exist for him. For in God is all Wisdom: and he sees it exhibited equally in creation, in Providence, in history, and in Revelation. Hence he severely condemns, as afterwards Philo, those Jews who, in their spurious enlightenment, would neglect the observance of the Mosaic Law or the ancestral rites. For in his view the Law is the highest exhibition of Wisdom (xxiv.); and its observance the first of duties (comp. i. 26; vi. 37; xiv. 11; xix. 20; xxxv. 1–11).

We proceed to give a brief summary of the philosophical and theological teaching in Ecclesiasticus.

1. The theme of the book is, as previously stated, Wisdom. For the fullest exposition of the writer's views, we here turn to chapters i., xxiv., and to the section beginning with chapter xxxiv. All wisdom comes from God, with Whom it ever is (see generally ch. i.). It transcends the comprehension of man. Wisdom is the firstborn of His creatures: rather, it is the mould and the archetype for all the works and ways of God. And yet in His goodness He has manifested His Wisdom — and that to all men. Understanding of Wisdom and the fear of the Lord coincide—the one is the speculative, the other the practical, aspect of Wisdom. Hence Wisdom is also true happiness. In ch. xxiv. Wisdom is represented as created "from the beginning," "before the world"—as coming forth "from the mouth of the Most High," and as the creative, or at least formative, agent. This seems to mean that Wisdom, immanent in God, became outwardly manifest when God created all things: that it was alike the creative word and the creative thought. It need scarcely be said that in all this there was not any idea of a hypostatisation of Wisdom or presenting it as a Person. The writer did not even think of it as separate from God. Ecclesiasticus marks indeed an advance in this respect on the teaching of the Book of Proverbs; but it still falls far short of that of Philo. The latter proceeded on the idea that God was an abstraction, and that He could not be in direct contact with anything concrete — least of all with matter.[1] Again, manifestly there is absolutely a gulf between such speculations—whether in Ecclesiasticus or of Philo—and the teaching of the New Testament. On another and kindred point we mark the same difference. According to Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, as the active principle in creation, was poured out upon the earth, and in measure imparted to all nations (i. 9, 10, 15; xxiv. 3–7). But it was concentrated in the revealed Law of God, and became permanently resident in Israel. Here we have the second fundamental principle afterwards developed by Philo. In the New Testament all this is quite otherwise set forth. There the Logos is shewn to be a Person, Who became Incarnate; and in the Logos God is the Father of all men, who are to attain to Him not through abstract Wisdom but through the mediation of the Personal Logos—that is, by grace. Lastly, in the final section of Ecclus., Wisdom, as previously presented, is vindicated against all speculative difficulties. Similarly, in the practical parts of the book, Wisdom is vindicated in its practical aspect, the object being to shew that the ordinances and directions of Wisdom are not only right, but good, and such as lead to prosperity.

2. We have seen that Wisdom is immanent in God. It is the sum of all His qualities, and hence of all His manifestations. It follows almost logically that in the strict sense God must be incomprehensible to man. In truth, this was a necessary position in the theology of Ecclesiasticus. Philo arrived at the same conclusion, though by a different process. In his system this was the outcome of philosophical ideas about the Being of God and His absolute separateness, as well as from his views concerning the material world. In Ecclesiasticus the incomprehensibleness of God is, more biblically, traced back to His *supremeness*.[2] The two ideas are presented

[1] See the article PHILO in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.' vol. iv.

[2] No doubt can attach to this that the Siracide firmly held the strict Personality of God. If in xliii. 27 God is thus described, "He is the All" (καὶ συντέλεια λόγων Τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός), we have no hesitation in regarding this as a bold later addition by the younger Siracide (see

in Ecclus. in a whole series of passages, notably in xviii. 2–7, xlii. 17, &c.; but especially in xxxix. 16–21, and in the last stanza of ch. xliii.[1] If God is incomprehensible and supreme, it also follows that He is *omniscient, almighty, and irresistible.* This brings us to the two great problems which our writer seeks to solve in the third section of his book. But the Son of Sirach only states the facts; he does little to explain them. How are we to account for the difference in the outward lot which, apparently without any cause, befalls men: nay, more, for the moral difference in their dispositions, the diverse shaping of their spiritual history, and their end? Ben Sira's answer is simply Predestinarianism. But in such case what may be distinguished as the natural and the moral qualities in the Deity are apparently in antagonism. The writer of Ecclesiastes had also faced this problem. But he turned from it, almost with a shrug of the shoulders, in view of the indifference and smallness of earthly things. But if he attempted not any solution of the difficulty from its objective aspect — rather admitted it — he sought to transfer the whole question into the region of personal moral responsibility. The writer of Ecclesiasticus seems disposed to follow his predecessor, but he attempts a little philosophy of his own on the subject—although with small success. St. Paul also had to face this great problem. He knew the awful facts, and perceived their "antinomies" of reason and theology. But he viewed them in the surrounding and transforming light of the infinite love of God in Christ. And in this solution the Christian heart can thankfully acquiesce (comp. Rom. xi. 32–36).

But the older Siracide was simply a Predestinarian (comp. here such statements as xvi. 26; xxiii. 20; xxxiii. 10–13; xxxix. 20, 21). The same may be said of Philo.[2] But Ben Sira laboriously tries to make a way through the maze to this as his final conclusion (in ch. xxxix., last stanza, *vv.* 32, &c.), that "all the works of the Lord are good." The reasoning by which this result is reached commences in ch. xxxiii., and is carried on to the end of chapter xliii., although with interruptions or rather intercalations caused by things suggested by the way. We add that here we catch glimpses of Aristotelian philosophy, and, for that matter, of Zoroastrianism,[1] in the idea, broached by our writer, of an essential Dualism of contraries: one thing being set against the other—good against evil, life against death, and so on (see ch. xxxiii. 7–15). Yet with all this he escapes falling into fatalism by emphasising (as in Ecclesiastes) the absolute freedom of the will and personal responsibility (comp. here especially xv. 14–20; and such sentences as xvii. 6).

The Son of Sirach seems to feel more certain and satisfied when he shifts the ground of his argument to the moral properties of God: His justice and mercy. God is not only the Maker of all things: He is also the Ruler. Hence ultimately good will certainly follow upon right-doing. And although the righteous may suffer—since suffering is the common lot—yet their sorrows are not like those of the wicked, and they have also both immediate and final consolation under them. We cannot here enter into further details, but we mark that our author traces this quality of *Justice* in God's dealings not only with individuals, but with nations, and especially in God's ways with Israel. Alike the fulfilment of the promises to them and the destruction of the heathen ultimately resolve themselves into the exercise of Justice. By the side of this quality—as its complement and, in a sense, its other aspect—Ben Sira places that of *Mercy.*[2] This mercy extends to

introd. to ch. xliii.). In the Syr. the whole section from *v.* 11 is wanting. The Vet. Lat. solves the difficulty by rendering: *ipse est in omnibus.*

[1] Ch. xvi. 20, 21 refers to something very different. See the notes. As to ch. xliii., see also the previous note.

[2] See the article in Smith and Wace's 'Dict.' previously referred to.

[1] Comp. Bruch, *u. s.* pp. 301, 302.

[2] Merguet (*u. s.* p. 11) notes the following terms for it: ἔλεος (this mostly), ἐλεημοσύνη, ἐξιλασμός. But there is not any mention of the free outgoing of Divine *Love.* The latter is only evoked in return for our love of Wisdom; comp. iv. 14. The solitary reading χάρις in i. 13, quoted by Merguet, is extremely doubtful, and in any case could only mean "favour." In xxiv. 16 it stands for "grace" or beauty.

"all flesh," but is specially shewn to the poor, afflicted, and needy, and yet more particularly to the prayerful, the believing, the penitent, and the merciful.

3. Little need be said about the *Cosmology*, the *Angelology*, or even the *Anthropology* of our book. As regards the former, the world is not represented as an emanation from God, but as His creation. At the same time we find, as in ch. xvi. 26, 27, expressions about the order and rule in the *Kosmos*, which afterwards acquired a special meaning in the system of Philo, although it is very doubtful whether anything of the kind was in the mind of Ben Sira (see notes). Belief in Angels seems implied in Ecclesiasticus (xvii. 17—see the note about the Jewish tradition on the subject; xlviii. 21; and possibly, though doubtfully, xlv. 2). But it seems to be a subject on which our author is reluctant to enlarge. Even this is indicative of Ben Sira's standpoint, since developed Angelology is characteristic of post-exilian theology. He is still more chary in his reference to Satan (xxi. 27). On the other hand, if in xxxix. 28, &c., he may seem to identify such "messengers of God" with punitive agencies in nature, we must bear in mind that, in later Jewish theology also, the Angels are sometimes represented (alike as regards their names and agency) as personifications of powers, or of Divine dispensations. There is not any ground for supposing that the Son of Sirach believed in the doctrine of the fall of man through the sin of our first parents —or rather, in original sin in the New Testament sense. He traces, indeed, the *beginning* (ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας), but not the *origin* of our sin to Eve (xxv. 24; see specially the note on that verse), and he attributes to her the universal prevalence of death. But this is very different from tracing to this source moral guilt or native depravity. On the "after death" the views of the Siracide are very unsatisfactory. As regards the body, so far from cherishing the hope of a Resurrection we have such dreary pictures as in ch. x. 11; xxxviii. 21–23; xl. 1, 11; xli. 1–4. What becomes of the spirit in Hades, seems scarcely clear to our writer (xiv. 12). Probably he thought of it as in eternal sleep. There man is in dark, eternal rest, whence he can never return (xxii. 11; xxx. 17; xxxviii. 23). Thither no pleasure enters (xiv. 16). Hence we should enjoy all that we may in this life (xiv. 14–17). Nay, not even the praise of God rises from this dark abode (xvii. 27, 28). Man is "no more" —he lies in "eternal sleep" (xlvi. 19; comp. a somewhat similar mode of expression in Jer. li. (in Sept. xxviii.) 39). The reward or punishment of a man after this life consists in the permanence, or else the loss, of his possessions, in his children, and in a good or evil reputation (for example, xi. 28; xxi. 4; xxiii. 24–27; xxxix. 9; xl. 15, 16; xli. 5–13; xlvi. 11, 12). Forgiveness of sins may indeed be looked for from the mercy of God (ii. 18; xvi. 11, &c.; xvii. 24, 29); but this is chiefly dependent on almsgiving and prayer (iii. 30; xvii. 25; xxix. 12; xl. 17). Repentance is frequently enjoined (v. 7; xvii. 26; xviii. 21). Of free forgiveness and the love of God to sinners there is not a word. There are, indeed, passages which seem to imply that some at least of the dead are not for ever unconscious — such as the references to Enoch, Samuel, and Elijah (xliv. 16; xlvi. 20; xlviii. 9–11; xlix. 14). But on closer study it will appear how little even these references to the great biblical heroes and events imply.

4. *Ethics.*—The ethical teaching of Ecclesiasticus is even more unsatisfactory and disappointing than its dogmatics. If evidence were required of the need of the personal indwelling of the Holy Ghost or of His transforming power, we should find it in the code of morals laid down in this book by one of the most distinguished *Chakhamim* of the post-exilian period. Without entering into a detailed analysis, we may briefly indicate the favourable and the unfavourable aspect of Ecclesiasticus in this respect. In the former we include the constant and prominent references to God and the ever-recurring admonitions to fear and obedience of Him. Closely connected with this is the essen-

In this sense it occurs several times, as also in that of "favour," "thanks," "praise." In the sense of bountifulness, or the bestowal of gifts, it only occurs in xl. 17—and there as on the part of man, not of God.

tial distinction made throughout the book between the righteous and the sinner. As in the view of our author Wisdom in its objective aspect is fully presented in the revealed Law of God, so in its subjective aspect it coincides with the fear of the Lord. Hence also the pious is throughout represented as the wise, and the sinner as the fool (and *vice versâ* also).[1]. On the other hand, if Ben Sira so frequently and emphatically insists that God will certainly requite the righteous and the sinner, we have to bear in mind that the requital which he expects is of and in this world. Similarly, if he enjoins observance of the rites and worship of Israel, it is too often rather because they are ancestral, than because of their absolute and intrinsic importance; because they are Israel's rather than because they are God's. Of any deeper understanding of the spiritual or the typical import of sacrifices or the other institutions of the Old Testament we cannot discern a trace. On the contrary, almsgiving and prayer—and that as an *opus operatum*—seem to constitute in the view of our author the substance of religion, although (as already explained) he insists on strict and even joyous observance of the ordinances of the sanctuary. Very characteristic and generally instructive in all these respects is the first stanza of ch. xxxv. Most curious and interesting are the extensive, evidently Christian, alterations introduced in this chapter in the Syriac Version.

Even a cursory perusal of the book shews that the general moral tone of the writer is not at any time lofty. Often it is decidedly low, and his allusions become coarsely realistic. But, apart from this, we feel throughout that moral questions are placed on a low level and viewed in a wrong light. Ben Sira seems to be always arguing that after all religion is that which profits best: alike as regards man and God. And in the latter respect we have besides to bear in mind that even the return which he expects from God is mainly, if not exclusively, earthly, and consists of prosperity, a good posterity, and an excellent reputation. The spiritual and the eternal are not in his view. From another aspect also the book may be described as a most unpleasant mixture of selfishness and Eastern world-wisdom with religiousness. And the religion which it commends is very jejune, while the wisdom of which it boasts often resolves itself into high-sounding platitudes. The model-man of Ben Sira seems to be always thinking of himself—what men will say of him or how a thing will affect him either in life or when he comes to die. When we come upon any expression of distinctively Jewish faith, it impresses us rather as a mixture of religious respectability with something very like superstition. Even the sublime idea of the absolute supremacy of God leads him, at the thought of sorrow, not to believing submission nor the recognition of what is higher, but if not to a species of fatalism yet to a kind of indifferentism. Lastly, although the writer as a keen observer of men, and having ample knowledge of the world, often gives utterance to shrewd sayings which, alas! have their application to all ages, they are mostly of the kind best described by the term "worldly-wise." On the whole, the ethics of Ecclesiasticus are neither pleasant nor profitable reading.

5. *Eschatology.*—On this subject little need be said in addition to our previous remarks. We have seen that the Siracide had apparently not any distinct faith in another and higher life after death. How he combined with this belief in the spiritual part of man or even in a personal God, it is not for us to determine. To the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and the final judgment there

[1] Characteristic are the designations of Wisdom and the Wise, marking the different aspects of his conception. They are: *σοφία, παιδεία, πανουργία, σύνεσις* (and *διάνοια συνέσεως*), *ἐπιστήμη*, and *θεοσέβεια*. Corresponding to these are the terms in which he speaks of the *σοφός*, or the *εὑρὼν σοφίαν*, as: *συνετός, ἐπιστήμων, νοήμων, φρόνιμος, πεπλανημένος, πολύπειρος*; he is *ἀνὴρ βουλῆς, μακρόθυμος, πιστός, εὐσεβής, φοβούμενος κύριον, ζητῶν νόμον, ταπεινός, ἐλαττούμενος καρδίᾳ*, even *ἀγαθός* (Merguet, *u. s.*). The designations of the fool and sinner Merguet groups under four classes: (a) *μωρός, ἄφρων, ἀσύνετος, ἀνόητος, ἀπαίδευτος, ἀκάρδιος*; (b) *ἀσεβής, καταλιπὼν τ. κυρ., παραβαίνων ἐντολάς, ἄνομος, ἄδικος, ἐχθρός, ἀλλότριος*; (c) *ἁμαρτωλός, πλανώμενος, κακὰ ἐργαζόμενος, πονηρευόμενος*; (d) *κακός, ψυχὴ πονηρά, ὑπερήφανος, δόλιος, σπαταλός, λοίδορος*, and *ἀναιδής*.

is not any allusion in Ecclesiasticus. Nor yet do we find any trace of expectancy of a personal Messiah. But apparently Ben Sira did look for what may be called a (Messianic) "kingdom"—although without a king. It is not easy, however, to form any clear conception of what he associated with that happy period. He certainly regarded it as the fulfilment of the prophetic promises to Israel. He frequently refers to judgments that were to come upon the Gentile nations; and he anticipates the gathering of all Israel, their liberation, and even their triumph—the latter being preceded by the advent of Elijah. Yet, after all, these statements only give rise to questions to which there is no answer in our book. The following are important passages in regard to the eschatology of Ecclus.: xxxv. 18, 19; xxxvi. 1–17; xxxvii. 25 *b*; xliv. 21, 22; xlvii. 11; xlviii. 10, 11, 24. Generally comp. the introduction to ch. xlviii. But we cannot close without calling attention to xliv. 21, 22. The reference there is to the special (Messianic) blessing promised to Abraham (in Gen. xxii. 18) and afterwards continued to Isaac. It is the contention of most modern critics that the Hebrew of these verses should not be rendered (as in the LXX.): "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," but that the correct translation is: "with thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves." It is instructive to find that, in opposition to the confident assertions of these critics, the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) adopted the first translation, probably quoting from the LXX.

§ V. Language, Title, and Arrangement of the Original Work.

The work of the Son of Sirach was originally written in Hebrew, and not, as some critics have supposed, in the later Aramaic dialect. Jerome had still seen a copy of the Hebrew original (*Hebraicum reperi*[1]). The quotations from the work in Talmudic writings (see § X.) are, with three exceptions, in Hebrew,[2] and they are chiefly made by Palestinian authorities. But the Hebrew is that of a later age.[1] The work seems, however, at an early period to have been translated into Aramaean—probably in Babylon—and to have been elaborated with additions, not always worthy of the original composition, into a book from which quotations are made by Babylonian Rabbis.[2] If any doubt could still be entertained that the work was originally written in Hebrew, it would be removed by a comparison with the Syriac translation (see § VIII.). And we know that Hebrew was at that time, and long afterwards, the language used by the learned and in the schools.

In Hebrew the book had borne the title משלים, Proverbs (in Aram. מתלין). Jerome (*u. s.*) expressly states that it was entitled 'Parabolae' ("non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolas praenotatum"). Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the original Greek title in the MSS., Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, "The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach,' originated in the Church. Even the Solomonic books (Prov. and Eccles.) were designated by the Jews as ספרי חכמה, the Books of Wisdom,[3] and we know that the Book of Sirach and apocryphal 'Wisdom' were ranked with them. The account of Melito of Sardis (Eusebius, 'Hist. Eccl.' iv. 26), which adds to the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' the words ἡ καὶ Σοφία, seems derived from a Jewish source.[4] Similarly, in MS. 12,142 (Brit. Mus.), the Syriac title of the book—evidently taken from a Hebrew source—is 'Wisdom of the Son of Sira.'[5] Even the designation of our book as ἡ πανάρετος σοφία (or more briefly: ἡ πανάρετος[6]), which first appears in Eusebius,[7]

[1] 'Praefat. in vers. libr. Salom.'

[2] Comp. Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 104.

[1] Comp. Zunz, *u. s.*, note *b*, and the instances given by Delitzsch, 'Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie,' p. 205, note 2.

[2] For the evidence see Zunz, *u. s.*, pp. 104, 105.

[3] Tosephoth to Babh. B., 14 *b*.

[4] Comp. Nowack, 'Sprüche Sal.' p. x.

[5] See Lagarde, 'Libri Vet. Test. Apocr. Syriace.'

[6] Jerome (l. s. l.): "Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber." Cassiodorus ('Div. Lect.' i. 5) explains: "propter excellentiam virtutum suarum παράνετον appellat, i.e. virtutum omnium capacem."

[7] Chron. (ed. Schoene) ii. 122; 'Demonstr. Evang.' (ed. Gaisford), viii. 2, 71. The designa-

may have had a Hebrew equivalent, just as the same designation seems to have been given to the Solomonic Book of Proverbs.[1] The common Latin designation (since Cyprian) 'Ecclesiasticus' (or 'Ecclesiasticus Sirach') could scarcely have been introduced to distinguish our book from Ecclesiastes, but probably meant "Church-(ecclesiastical) book." It obtained that name from its frequent use by the early Church, especially in the instruction of catechumens.[2]

It is the opinion of many critics that our book contains much which is not the writer's own, and was derived from other "sages." But this view cannot be accepted without important qualifications. Eichhorn,[3] who calls Ecclesiasticus "a rhapsody," supports the contention that Ben Sira had partly collected from previous writers, by referring to what he regards as repetitions in the book, or as contradictions in its different parts, and also to utterances which he considers unworthy of the Siracide and belonging to an earlier and ruder age. But, in his view, our author had mostly not literally reproduced such sayings of others, but recast them in his own language. Bretschneider[4] generally repeats and further develops the views of Eichhorn, though scarcely in a manner to command assent. For our own part, we have failed to discover any repetitions in the strict sense of the term; and still more any contradictions. For it must be remembered that the recurrence of the same idea in different connexions is not necessarily a mere repetition. Lastly, even such a statement as that in xxxiii. 16 does not necessarily imply that our author had incorporated the sayings of others. It might only have been intended to indicate (what we otherwise know) that there had been *Chakhamim* before Ben Sira, whose sentences and sayings had passed into popular parlance. But, when considered in connexion with the general arrangement of the book, it acquires a more definite meaning than this. At the same time we must respectfully but entirely dissent from the ingenious hypothesis of Ewald,[1] that the work embodies two previous collections of Proverbs: the first (chaps. i.–xvi. 21) dating from the 4th century B.C.; the second (xvi. 22–xxxvi. 22) dating from the 3rd cent. B.C.; and that only the third and last portion of Ecclesiasticus is the work of Ben Sira himself.[2]

With his usual perspicacity Eichhorn inferred that as 'Wisdom' formed the subject-matter of the book, its division into parts would be indicated by a fresh introduction of that theme.[3] This canon is undoubtedly correct. But further than this we are not able to agree with that great critic. Although every attempt at arrangement can only be matter of suggestion, we venture to propose the following. The theme of the book is *Wisdom*, and its fresh introduction marks the beginning of every part. The work consists of five Parts—like the Law and the Psalter. Part I. comprises chaps. i.–xxiii.; Part II., chaps. xxiv.–xxxii.; Part III., chaps. xxxiii.–xliii.; Part IV., chaps. xliv.–l. 21; lastly, Part V., l. 22–li.

Part I., chaps. i.–xxiii. *Wisdom is introduced*, ch. i. 1–10. Throughout this Part Wisdom is presented in its *practical* aspect. The Part consists of four sections, of which three admit of further subdivision. Section A (chaps. i.–vi.). Subdivisions:—1st, chaps. i.–iii.: Wisdom as the fear and service of God (in the widest sense), or practical Wisdom in its relation to God. 2nd subdivision:—chaps. iv.–vi.: practical Wisdom in relation to ourselves—the section closing with a eulogy of Wisdom (vi. 18–end). Section B (chaps. vii.–xiv.). Subdivi-

tion does not yet occur in the quotations by Clement and Origen: comp. Schürer, *u. s.* p. 596.

[1] Comp. Nowack, *u. s.*

[2] Herbst-Welte, 'Einleit.' p. 204.

[3] *u. s.*, pp. 42–55.

[4] 'Liber Siracidae, Graece,' pp. 25–32.

[1] 'Gesch. d. V. Isr.' iv. pp. 342–347. Comp. 'Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.' iii. pp. 125, &c.

[2] Ewald thinks that the work had in its original form been much larger, but suffered from abbreviations and transpositions. He even attempts to restore it to its original form.

[3] The objections of Bretschneider (*u. s.*, pp. 20, &c.) are very superficial. Eichhorn arranges the work into three books: Book I., chaps. i.–xxiii. (in two sections: chaps. i.–ix.; x.–xxiii.); Book II., chaps. xxiv.–xlii. 14; Book III., chaps. xlii. 15–l. 24; the whole being concluded by the subscription and a grand eulogy. Eichhorn supposes that it was composed (collected?) at different periods of the author's life.

sions :—1st, practical Wisdom as regards our relations to others: chaps. vii.–ix. 2nd subdivision: practical Wisdom specially in relation to those in high places, in rule, and government—chap. x. 3rd subdivision: in relation to the more lowly—chap. xi. 4th subdivision: practical Wisdom in our mode of doing good — chap. xii. 5th subdivision: practical Wisdom in intercourse with the world — chap. xiii. 6th subdivision: with reference to property—chap. xiv. 7th subdivision: in regard to our moral bearing. Section C. The problems and difficulties of Wisdom in its practical aspect: chaps. xvi.–xviii. Section D might be entitled "Rules of life," viz.: 1st, Man towards man, chaps. xix., xx.; 2ndly, in regard to sin, chaps. xxi., xxii. —the whole Part closing with a grand prayer, chap. xxiii.

Part II. opens again with the praise of *Wisdom* (chap. xxiv.). The Part comprises chaps. xxiv.–xxxii., including, however, parts of chap. xxxiii. But those chapters cannot well be arranged into groups, like those in Part I., although we can trace a distinct connexion between them, as shewn in the special introductions. We regard this Part as embodying previous sayings of sages or popular Proverbs. But the whole has been put into orderly arrangement and connexion by the Son of Sirach. Its character, as chiefly if not wholly a compilation, appears from the somewhat loose manner in which various subjects are joined together; from the peculiar —often antithetic or else grouped—arrangement of the sayings; and, lastly, from chap. xxxiii. 16, which seems intended to indicate the nature of this Part as a whole.

Part III., chap. xxxiii.–xliii. Chap. xxxiii., however, partly belongs to the previous Part and generally forms a transition to what follows. It may be described as a discussion of the great speculative problems of Wisdom (see previous remarks and special introductions).

Part IV. historically illustrates Wisdom by the praise of the Wise (chaps. xliv.–l. 21), while Part V. contains the conclusion of the book (chap. l. 22–li.).

We need scarcely add that these five Parts, although distinct, are welded by the writer into a continuous and consecutive work. In form it is poetic and rhythmic; but its didactic portions are often extremely prosaic in tone. Here the writer generally speaks in the character of a "father" to his "son." In regard to the use of rhetorical figures, illustrations and the like, the book may, however, favourably compare with similar productions. The arrangement of the chapters in stanzas, the progression of thought, and the parallelism not only in the members of each verse but sometimes between the stanzas, are generally indicated with sufficient clearness. We have also marked a numerical arrangement in the verses and stanzas which may have been a form of later Hebrew compositions of this kind.

§ VI. References to the Book of Proverbs and in the Epistle of St. James.

1. *The Proverbs of Solomon.* — As might have been expected, the older Siracide had throughout taken the Proverbs of Solomon as the model for his work. And this, alike in respect of form and substance. As regards the former, whatever may be thought on the question whether or not Hebrew biblical poetry was metrical,[1] it is universally admitted that it was marked by a parallelism of members. The latter has been arranged[2] into *antithetic* parallelisms, in which the first and second members—lines *a* and *b*—are in antithesis; *synthetic*, or rather *progressive*, in which the second member marks a progression, though in the same direction; *synonymic*, or rather *continuative*, when the second member only continues the first; *parabolic*, where one member illustrates the other; and lastly, *consecutive*, in which one member expresses the logical sequence of the other. These various kinds of parallelism

[1] Comp. Saalschitz, 'Form d. hebr. Poes.;' Delitzsch, *u. s.*; Ewald, 'Die poet. Bücher d. A. Test.;' but especially Bickell, 'Carmina Vet. Test.' (pp. 219–234: "de re metr. Hebr.").

[2] Comp. here generally C. Seligmann, 'd. Buch d. Weish. J. Sir.' But we have not adopted his precise designation of the various kinds of parallelism in Hebrew poetry.

may be illustrated by an example of each kind in Ecclesiasticus, to which is added in brackets a similar instance from the Book of Proverbs: (*a*) Antithetic Parallelisms: Ecclus. xiii. 3 [Prov. x. 5]; (*b*) progressive: Ecclus. vi. 13 [Prov. xxii. 1]; (*c*) continuative: Ecclus. vi. 33 [Prov. xxii. 24]; (*d*) illustrative: Ecclus. xviii. 10 [Prov. x. 26]; (*e*) consecutive: Ecclus. xxv. 3 [Prov. xxvi. 5].[1] The first of these five classes of parallelism occurs the most rarely; the last is the most frequent in Ecclesiasticus. To these remarks about the form of our book we have to add that, as regards the outward arrangement of the subject and the mostly well-marked structure of stanzas, we observe distinct progress in comparison with the Book of Proverbs.

Passing from the form to the contents of the book, a similar correspondence exists between Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Proverbs. Thus Ecclus. i. 4 may be compared with Prov. viii. 22; i. 14 with Prov. i. 7, and ix. 10; Ecclus. iii. 13 with Prov. xxiii. 22; iii. 26 with Prov. xxviii. 14; iv. 5 with Prov. xxviii. 27; iv. 12, &c. with Prov. iv. 7, &c.; vii. 11 with Prov. xvii. 5; ix. 6 with Prov. xxix. 3; x. 25 with Prov. xvii. 2; x. 27 with Prov. xii. 9; xi. 8 with Prov. xviii. 13; xii. 9 with Prov. xix. 4; xii. 16 with Prov. xxvi. 24, &c.; xiii. 25 with Prov. xv. 13; xiv. 13 with Prov. iii. 27, &c.; xx. 1 with Prov. xxvii. 5; xxi. 10 with Prov. xiv. 12; xxi. 17 with Prov. xxiii. 12; xxii. 3 with Prov. xvii. 21; xxii. 7 with Prov. xxvii. 22; xxii. 15 with Prov. xxvii. 3; xxiv. 1 with Prov. viii. 1; xxiv. 3 with Prov. ii. 6; xxiv. 5 with Prov. viii. 27; xxv. 16 with Prov. xxi. 19; xxvii. 5 with Prov. xxvii. 21; xxvii. 22 with Prov. vi. 12, 13; xxvii. 25 with Prov. xxvi. 27; xxviii. 8 with Prov. xv. 18; xxviii. 10 with Prov. xxvi. 20, 21; xxx. 1 with Prov. xiii. 24; xxxi. 23 with Prov. xxii. 9; xxxiv. 21 with Prov. xxii. 22; xxxvii. 18 with Prov. xvii. 22 and xviii. 21; xli. 11 with Prov. x. 7.[2]

Other instances might be adduced. For these, as well as for parallelisms with the Psalter, the Book of Job, and especially with Ecclesiastes,[1] we must refer to the notes on the various chapters.

2. *The Epistle of St. James.* — In general, the critical student of the New Testament[2] will find in Ecclesiasticus much to interest him as regards the usage of words. At least one illustrative instance may here be adduced. The word *κατανύσσειν*, which in classical Greek[3] is not used for any painful affection, occurs in the New Testament only in Acts ii. 37 ("pricked in their heart"). It is used in the same sense in the LXX. Psalms, where its unquestionable meaning in Ps. cviii. (Heb. cix.) 16 must rule its use in Ps. iv. 5; xxix. (xxx.) 13; xxxiv. (xxxv.) 15. The word evidently bears the same meaning in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7 and in 3 (1) Kings xx. 27. Theodotion uses it in the same sense in Prov. xvii. 22, where the LXX. have *λυπηρός*. [In LXX. Is. xlvii. 5 and Dan. x. 9, 15 it may be used in a sense derived from its primary meaning. Perhaps LXX. Lev. x. 3 indicates the connexion between the two.] But the meaning of the word *κατανύσσειν* is fully established by its uniform use in Ecclus. (xii. 12; xiv. 1; xx. 21; xlvii. 20).

If the usage of the word *κατανύσσειν* seems to point to a special connexion between the LXX. Psalms and Ecclesiasticus, this is still more evident in regard to a word of such frequent use in the New Testament as *εὐδοκία*, but which only occurs in the LXX. Psalms, although frequently in Ecclesiasticus. Nor is this the only instance of correspondence between these two books; and the question may at least be suggested, whether it does not reflect on the date of the version of the Psalter (or part of it) relatively to our Greek Ecclesiasticus, since biblical terms of recent introduction would probably be in favour with a theological writer.

[1] Seligmann, *u. s.*, p. 32; Bruch, *u. s.*, p. 273; Delitzsch, art., *Sprüche* in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.'

[2] Comp. Seligmann, *u. s.*, pp. 21–29.

[1] Many of these have been collected by Dr. H. H. Wright in his 'Comment. on Eccles.' The objection of Seligmann that, in the passages quoted, Ecclus. agrees with Eccles. only in such cases in which Eccles. itself agrees with Prov. does not always hold good. Seligmann himself admits that there is not any other parallel to Ecclus. xviii. 22 than in Eccles. v. 3. Frequent references to Eccles. will be pointed out in the course of this commentary.

[2] As regards the LXX., see further on.

[3] Never in this exact form, and not in any form in pre-Christian Greek writers.

We have little doubt that there are passages in various parts of the New Testament in which either the sentiment or its mode of expression carries us back to Ecclesiasticus.[1] The instances are more numerous than those mentioned by Eichhorn,[2] nor can they be wholly explained either by unconscious identity of thinking or by popularly current sayings.[3] Two facts should here be kept in view. The frequent references to Ben Sira in Talmudic writings shew how popular (for one reason or another) the work had become in Jewish circles. On the other hand, we have seen that many of its views appear afterwards in a developed form in Philo. On these and other grounds we naturally infer that the book enjoyed if not equal yet similar popularity in Alexandria, the birthplace of its translation, and among the Hellenists generally. We here instinctively turn, on the one hand, to the Epistle to the Hebrews as the portion of the New Testament specially Hellenistic in its mode of expression and form of reasoning; and, on the other, to the Epistle of St. James, which is so Judaic in its language, allusions, and mould of thought that we can in many places find exact Rabbinic parallels to it. Both these books contain perhaps not exactly references to Ecclesiasticus, but they indicate familiarity with it. This holds specially true in regard to the Epistle of St. James. An illustrative instance from each of these writings may here be adduced. In Ecclus. xxv. 23 the words "relaxed hands and palsied knees" (*χεῖρες παρειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα*) are taken from LXX. Is. xxxv. 3. But there the word is not *παρειμέναι* but *ἀνειμέναι*, while in Heb. xii. 12 the wording is exactly that of Ecclus.[4] Much more remarkable is the parallelism offered by St. James v. 3. There the word *κατιόω* is used, which does not occur in any other place in the N. T., nor yet in the LXX. But it does occur in Ecclus. xii. 11—and means not "to rust," but "to tarnish" (see note on xii. 11). Nor is this all. The word used for "rust" in St. James v. 3 is *ἰός*, which does not occur in that signification elsewhere in the N. T. But it does occur as a verb in Ecclus. xii. 10 (and again in xxix. 10—see the note there). Lastly, beyond any merely verbal correspondence, we have the remarkable fact that Ecclus. xii. 10 and xxix. 10, on the one hand, and, on the other, St. James v. 3, are the only biblical passages in which the figure of rust as affecting unused silver and gold occurs. In view of all this it cannot be doubted that both the simile and the expression of it in the Epistle of St. James were derived from Ecclus.

We conclude by collating some from the many parallels between our book and the Epistle of St. James.[1] Thus St. Jas. i. 2–4 may be compared with Ecclus. i. 23, and especially with Ecclus. ii. 1–5; St. Jas. i. 5 with Ecclus. li. 13: and with regard to the expectation of the direct bestowal of wisdom by God, comp. Ecclus. i. 26; iv. 11; vi. 37; xliii. 33 (also the expression *ὀνειδιζόντος* in St. James with *ὀνειδιεῖ* in Ecclus. xviii. 18: comp. also xx. 15; xxix. 28; xxxi. 31; xli. 22). Again, St. Jas. i. 6-8 should be compared with Ecclus. i. 28; ii. 16; vii. 10; xxxv. 16–21. [Mark here the correspondence between *δίψυχος* in St. Jas. i. 8 and *μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃς* in Ecclus. vii. 10—and still more the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 6 and Ecclus. xxxiii. 2 *b*.] Again, St. Jas. i. 9–11 should be compared (in the choice of the words also) with Ecclus. i. 30; iii. 18; xxxi. 5–9—noting specially the remarkable similarity of figure between St. Jas. i. 10, 11 and Ecclus. vi. 2, 3. Again, St. Jas. i. 12 may be compared with Ecclus. vi. 28–31; or St. Jas. i. 13, 14 with Ecclus. xv. 11, &c. It would not be difficult, were this the place for it, to continue this comparison almost from chapter to chapter in the Epistle of St. James.[2] But if the result is to prove beyond doubt the familiarity of St. James with a book which at the time was evi-

[1] But the list given by Bretschneider (*u. s.*, pp. 709–722) is altogether fanciful.

[2] Eichhorn, *u. s.*, pp. 77, 78.

[3] Comp. an account of the literature of the subject—especially of parallelisms in the Epistle of St. James—in Boon, 'Dissert. exeg. theol. de Jac. Epist. cum Sirac. libr. conven.' pp. 2–11.

[4] For other instances as regards the Epistle to the Hebrews, we refer to the notes.

[1] The passages are selected from Boon, *u. s.*

[2] This has been done by Boon, *u. s.*

dently in wide circulation, it exhibits with even greater clearness the immense spiritual difference between the standpoint occupied in Ecclesiasticus and that in the Epistle of St. James.

§ VII. The Greek Version of Ecclesiasticus.

As unquestionably the oldest, the most important, and on the whole by far the most trustworthy rendering of the Hebrew original, the Greek version of Ben Sira deservedly holds the first place. The translator was, as he informs us in the Prologue, the grandson (or further descendant) of the author, and he executed his literary task in Egypt — at a time, as we infer, propitious for such undertakings. Beyond these scanty particulars and an uncertain chronological notice, we possess not any information about the translator. He pleads that he had used all diligence in his work, but also modestly excuses himself for any shortcomings or mistakes on the ground of the difficulty of exact translation from the Hebrew (see Prologue, and the notes on it). It must be admitted that he has ably performed his task, despite not unfrequent mistakes, due either to misreading or to misunderstanding of the original Hebrew. But besides these involuntary mistakes of ignorance, as we may term them, it cannot be doubted that the younger Siracide also allowed himself to make alterations of the original text. Such changes might be introduced (*a*) for apologetic reasons—the translator wishing to meet or anticipate objections, or to conciliate prejudice; or (*b*) when he felt not in agreement with the views of his grandfather; (*c*) from a desire to express those views more clearly (as he thought), or else (*d*) more forcibly—whether more realistically or more euphemistically; (*e*) by way of glosses; but chiefly (*f*) when he wished to introduce, instead of his grandfather's, his own Hellenistic views, thereby giving them the weight of the great Palestinian authority of the older Siracide. This charge may seem very serious, and in a sense it is so. But it must be remembered that the views of the ancients and their practice widely differed in this respect from ours, and we must extend to them a greatly enlarged measure of that literary licence which some seem to claim for themselves even in our own days. Indeed, while carefully guarding ourselves against the favourite but unwarranted general assumption of spuriousness, we may venture the opinion that probably few ancient religious writings have entirely escaped "redactions"—not to speak of interpolations. As regards Ecclesiasticus, the evidence of it comes to us from a comparison of the Greek with the Syriac text. Whenever we meet a distinctly Hellenistic sentiment in the Greek text, for which, on comparison, we find in the Syriac an ordinary Jewish sentiment, we suspect an alteration by the younger Siracide. Such modifications chiefly occur in passages specially treating of "Wisdom," but we also find them in others. To enumerate all the instances would require more space than this paragraph, and we must refer the reader to the commentary itself. But one or two examples will, at least, illustrate our meaning. In Ecclus. i. 3, 4, the Greek text has: "Who can trace out . . . and wisdom. Wisdom was created before all things, and intelligence of understanding from Aeon." This sounds distinctly Hellenistic. The Syr. omits "and wisdom" at the close of *v.* 3, and renders *v.* 4: "More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith." For our next illustration we naturally turn to Ecclus. xxiv. Here the alterations, as compared with the Syr., are so numerous and so important that we must refer to the notes on that chapter. A specially interesting instance of this occurs in *v.* 31 (see the note on it). For our last illustration we select Ecclus. xliii. It requires but slight knowledge to recognise the pronounced Hellenism of such a verse as Ecclus. xliii. 27. But the whole stanza which begins with that verse contains Hellenistic elements, nor would it be difficult to discern traces of them in the two preceding stanzas. We are not surprised that *v.* 27 is not found in the Syriac Version. But it is certainly remarkable that in the Syriac the whole text after *v.* 12 is wanting, and it raises the sus-

picion that it had somehow been tampered with, perhaps by a later hand.

Apart from these objections, we are bound to say that the Greek of the text (especially in the Prologue) is fairly good, although the translation is slavishly literal and contains many Hebraisms. These might mislead the reader, and if literally rendered would seriously mar a translation into English.[1] The latter occasionally offers considerable difficulties—not only in the Prologue, but in other passages. What might be termed our Authorized English Version follows the text of the *Complutensian* Polyglot (1514–1517). It has been retained in the body of this work. But in the notes the needed alterations have been made, both in accordance with the better readings and to reproduce the text with the utmost literality compatible with the proper exhibition of its meaning. Where the Syriac Version seemed more accurately to represent the Hebrew original, this has generally been indicated, although it must be borne in mind that the present is a commentary on the Greek Version of the work of Ben Sira. The corrupt state of our present Greek text has long been subject of complaint. It appears even from a comparison of the various *Codices*. Some at least of the alterations seem to point to later Christian emendation.

Of the various manuscripts the first and most important is the *Codex Vaticanus*, 1209 (*apud* Holmes, II.). It forms the basis of the Sixtine (or common) edition ('Vet. Test. juxta Sept. ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max.' ed. Romae, 1587). The professedly correct edition of the Vatican text by Mai (5 vols. Romae, 1857) is unsatisfactory. Far more trustworthy in this respect is the recent edition by Vercellone and Cozza (6 vols. Rome, 1868–1881). On the basis of it Nestle has added, as an appendix to the 6th edition of Tischendorf's edition of the LXX., a collation of the Vatican and the Sinaitic Codd. [S^1, S^2], which has also been separately published. The Vat. Cod. is regarded by Tischendorf as dating from the 4th century. (2) *Codex Sinaiticus*, discovered by Tischendorf in 1859, and dated by him as of the 4th century. The MS. is now in the St. Petersburg Library, and has been published in 4 vols., St. Petersburg, 1862. It is designated by X in Fritzsche's edition. (3) The *Codex Alexandrinus* (marked III. *apud* Holmes *et* Fritzsche), now in the British Museum, and supposed to date from the 5th century. It was edited (in 4 vols. fol., Ox. 1707–1720) by J. E. Grabe,—vols. i. (1707) and iv. (1709) during his lifetime; vols. ii. (1719) and iii. (1720) after his death, by Fr. Lee. Where the Alex. text was defective it is supplemented from the Sixtine edition or from other MSS., indicating this by smaller type, and similarly any conjectural emendations, marking in the latter case the Alex. reading in the margin in ordinary type. Unfortunately this is not uniformly done. (Other edition in 8 vols. 8vo, Oxon.; and corrected by Fr. Field, Oxon. 1859.) The beautiful edition by J. J. Breitinger (Tig. 1730–1732, 4 tom. 4to) follows the text of Grabe, and gives at the bottom the Sixt. and other readings, adding critical dissertations. Lastly, it has been reprinted in a facsimile edition of the original by H. H. Baber (London, 1816–1821, 3 tom. folio, with Proleg. and notes, 1828); and finally reproduced in autotype facsimile (vol. i., 1881; ii. and iii., 1883; iv., 1879).[1]

Next in order we have to mention the splendid edition by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827, 5 tom. folio), containing the Sixtine text, but adding what to the present time is the most complete collection of variants. (The Apocr. are in vol. v.) For these a number of Codd.—of which several are, however, defective—come into account for Ecclesiasticus. They are: Codd. 23 of the 9th cent., in the Libr. Ven.; 55 of the 12th cent.—being Cod. Vat. 1, once belonging to Queen Christina of Sweden; 68 (often defective), from the library of St. Mark, Venice, of the age of other good Codd.; 70, Cod.

[1] So for example the rendering by λόγος of דבר in its common later meaning of "a thing" or "a matter," as in Eccles. Similarly חן in the sense of beauty is rendered by χάρις, as in Ecclus. xxiv. 16. Thus also in other instances, of which at least the more obvious have been pointed out by Eichhorn, Bretschneider, and other writers.

[1] Comp. also the Introd. to the Cambridge edition of the Sept., by Dr. Swete, 1887.

Bibl. Monast. S. Annae, Augustae Vindelic.; 106, Cod. Ferrariensis, e Codd. Bibl. Carmel. at Ferrara, 14th cent.; 155; 157; 248, Cod. Vat. 346, about the 14th cent., containing Prov., Eccles., Cant., Job, Wisd., Sir., Esdr., Tob., Jud., and Esth.; 253, Vat., 14th cent.; 254, Vat., 13th cent.; 296 and 307, Cod. Bibl. Elect. Monach., olim 276, nunc 129; 308, Cod. Palat. Vindob. — the latter belonging to Lucian's recension of the Greek text (Field, 'Origen. Hexapl.' Prol., p. lxxxviii.).

The Codices just enumerated were used by O. F. Fritzsche in his Commentary on Ecclus. ('Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zu d. Apokr. d. A. Test.' 5te Lief. 1860), and in his critical edition of the 'Libri Apocr. Vet. Test.' (Lips. 1871). The latter work—although very valuable—is open to objection, not only in regard to the text, as proposed to be restored, but also because Fritzsche gives only a selection of the variants, and especially because he omits all reference to the Syriac Version, the importance of which he unaccountably fails to recognise. Besides these Codd., Fritzsche also made use of the fragments of the Cod. Ephraemi, which he marks by the letter C, and of the Cod. August., collated by D. Hoeschel, which he marks H. The palimpsest fragments of the books of Wisdom and Sirach, which Tischendorf brought from the East to St. Petersburg, and which he dates as from the 6th or 7th cent., have not yet been collated.

The first impression made by the great work of Holmes and Parsons is the wish that the collation of Codd. were made complete; the next, that the vast mass of materials could be reduced to order by grouping Codd. into families, and, if possible, determining their relation to the recensions of Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius. This has been already partly accomplished by the labours of F. Field, Cornill ('d. d. Buch T. Proph. Ezech.'), but especially those of Lagarde. But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, the most interesting and important of these *Codices* is that marked 248, which is followed in the Complutensian Polyglot (Co.). It—or, more accurately, its archetype—may be described as chief of a class, to which 23, 253, H, and partly 106 and 55, belong. It is apparently the work of one hand. A comparison with Clement of Alexandria shews that the text of 248 was known and used by him, and hence that it must date not later than the beginning of the 2nd century.[1] Another interest of the text of 248 lies in its frequent agreement with the *Vetus Latina* (see next §), but especially with the Syriac Version—and therefore with the original Hebrew text, from which the latter was made. It deserves special notice that 248 does not contain the undoubtedly genuine Prologue by the younger Siracide, in place of which an evidently later redactor has added the spurious Prologue (also incorporated in Co. and thence in the English Version) found in the *Synopsis*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius (Op., ed. Bened., ii. p. 173).[2] We further mark that of all MSS. only 248 (and after it Co.) preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. (see notes), which is inverted in all the other Codices. In this it agrees with the Syriac Version (which is followed by the Arab.) and with the Vet. Lat.—the latter a noteworthy fact as regards that version. When from these two important preliminary points we proceed to an examination of the text of 248, we are struck not only with the frequency but with the remarkable character of its correspondence with the Syriac Version. Nor is it perhaps less instructive to find that in many instances 248 does not agree with the Syriac. As a curious instance of this we would point, among many others, to Ecclus. xxx. 25 (see the notes). A detailed comparison of the readings in 248 (which are given in full by Fritzsche) with the Syr. would be necessary fully to exhibit the state of the case. But some illustrative instances will be given when treating of the Syriac and the Latin versions. Three theories might here be suggested, of which at least

[1] We have examined 56 quotations by Clement from Ecclus. In by far the largest number of them he quotes freely, *i.e.* not exactly according to any known text. But in five instances his quotations markedly correspond with the text of 248.

[2] The real author of this spurious Prologue is not known, but it probably dates from the 4th or 5th cent.

two seem on examination wholly untenable. The first is that 248 may represent an independent Greek translation from the Hebrew. But in that case the differences from our other Greek MSS. would be much wider reaching and more complete; in fact, 248 would be essentially different from them. Nor yet would we expect to find in it any of the Hellenistic alterations of the younger Siracide. But as a matter of fact we find—to choose a notorious example—that in Ecclus. i. 4, 5, Cod. 248 (as well as the Latin Version) has a spurious addition, evidently from a later Christian redactor. And so in other characteristic instances. The second theory would be that the text underlying 248 had been corrected from the Hebrew original. But this also we have to reject, partly on the grounds above stated, and for this additional reason, that 248 leaves the impression of corrections, not from a first but from a second source. The third explanation which may be offered is that the text of 248 was corrected from the Syriac Version. In its present condition the MS. has undoubtedly been revised and redacted, apparently by a Christian hand. In evidence of this we find not only the spurious Preface, but also such spurious additions as that previously mentioned at the end of i. 4, which from its insertion in Co. appears as *v.* 5 in our Authorized English Version, where the λόγος of God seems plainly to refer to Christ. [This addition in 248 (and Co.) occurs also in the dependent Codd. H, 23, 55, 70—slightly different and evidently corrupt in 106 and 253.] The inference (for further support of which we must refer to the commentary) would seem to be, that 248 represents an old text which had originally been emended from the Syriac, and was afterwards revised, expurgated, and added to by a later, probably Christian, hand, and in accordance with the then *textus receptus*. Or does the text of 248 stand in any connexion with those that underlie the recension of Lucian? According to Hug, that text was emended from the Peshittho; but according to modern, although not unchallenged, opinion, from the Hebrew.

Passing from the important question of the manuscripts, it only remains to add that the Greek text affords frequent evidence of the use of the LXX.; and that not only as regards the Pentateuch, but the historical and prophetic books, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. In truth, the meaning of many expressions in Ecclus. can best be ascertained by a reference to the LXX. For detailed evidence we must once more refer to the body of the commentary. Occasional deviations from the wording of the LXX. should not be always set down to ignorance of its text. They may have been due either to quotation from memory, or they may be another reading, or else attempted improvements, such as it has been (and probably still is) the fashion of making upon the A. V.

On the other hand, it is very curious to find in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11 an interpolation from Ecclus. iv. 21. Conversely, we have in the Syriac version of Ecclus. xxvii. 20 (21) an interpolation from Prov. vi. 5. Possibly these may have been originally marginal glosses which afterwards crept into the text. The same may be said of the inscriptions (or summaries of contents) which occasionally appear in the Greek text.

§ VIII. The Syriac Version and the "Vetus Latina."

We approach now one of the most important questions for the proper understanding of Ecclesiasticus. Till comparatively lately the almost unanimous opinion of critics has been that the Syriac translation had been made from the Greek Version. So far as we know, the learned Bendtsen ('Spec. exercit. crit. in Vet. T. libr. Apocr.' pp. 16, 29) stood alone in the opinion that the Syriac was derived directly from the Hebrew original. And, if we credit the statement of Jerome that he had seen the Hebrew original, there is not anything *à priori* incredible or even improbable in such a supposition.[1] But the decision of the question must

[1] The presumption in favour of a direct translation from the Hebrew seems to us greatly strengthened by the very able—although not on all points unassailable—dissertation of J. Perles on the age and authorship of the Peshittho ('Meletemata Peshitthoniana,' 1859).

necessarily depend on a detailed examination of the Syriac Version itself. Scholars in every way most competent for this task have of late pronounced unhesitatingly in favour of the view that the Syriac Version has been made from the Hebrew original. If the mere authority of names were here to prevail, we might appeal to such writers as Geiger (in an article in the 'Z. D. M. G.' vol. xii. pp. 536–543), Horowitz ('D. Buch Jesus Sirach,' 1865), Nöldeke ('Alttest. Lit.' p. 168, though he regards the Hebrew MS. used as very corrupt), Seligmann ('D. Buch d. Weish. Jes. Sir.' 1883), Professor Bickell ('Alphab. Lied Jes. Sir.'), and especially Lagarde ('Symmicta,' p. 88; 'Mittheil.' 1884; and his edition of the Apocr. in Syr., in which for this reason he gives the first place to Sirach). But hitherto the authority, or rather the contradiction, of Fritzsche (*u. s.*, xxiv., xxv.)—unsupported though it be by any detailed criticism—seems to have prevailed with those who treated the questions against the deliberately expressed views of Syriac scholars. The latest writer on the subject has even ventured on the brief but categorical sentence, that "the book [Ecclus.] has been preserved to us only in the Greek translation."[1] On the other hand, it must be admitted that while those Syriac scholars who hold the opposite view have adduced certain passages in confirmation of it, they have not submitted the whole book to a detailed examination with a view to the final settlement of the controversy. This has been attempted in the present commentary, with the result, it is hoped, of not only proving the derivation of the Syriac Version from the original Hebrew text, but also of obtaining through the Syriac in many passages a more correct view of what the original text had really contained.

As the argument here is not only direct —from certain passages—but cumulative, we must refer for the full evidence to the commentary itself, in which the comparison of the two versions is carried on. Within the compass of this section it is only possible to give a statement of some of the results arrived at, accompanied by illustrative instances.

Reference has already been made to the absence of the Prologue from the Syriac Version. Possibly this might be accounted for on the supposition that the writer had wished to give himself the appearance of having translated directly from the Hebrew. Not so the preservation of the right order of the text after ch. xxx. But these are only preliminary points. The evidence that the Syriac was translated from the Hebrew lies in this, that in many passages in which the Syr. and the Greek versions strangely and otherwise unaccountably differ, these differences can be traced back, and are due to one or other of these three grounds: (1) that the two translators had attached a different meaning to a Hebrew word which was capable of being rendered both ways; or (2) that they had vocalised (pointed) differently; or (3) that by a not uncommon mistake of similar letters they had read a word differently. Each of these explanations of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac leads to the inevitable conclusion that both translations had been made directly from the Hebrew original. As a well-known instance of the first kind, we may mention Ecclus. xxiv. 27, where the Greek has "as the light," and the Syriac "as the Nile." The Hebrew had no doubt בְּאֹר, which the Greek understood "as the light," while the Syr., after the analogy of Am. viii. 8, rendered it as = בְּאֵר, "as the Nile." As instances of the second kind (that of different vocalisation), the following two may serve. In Ecclus. iv. 15 the Greek renders: "he who shall give ear to her [wisdom] shall judge nations;" the Syr., "shall judge truth"—the Greek having pointed the Hebrew אמת: אֱמֹת (Gen. xxv. 16), the Syr. (no doubt rightly) אֱמֶת. Similarly in Ecclus. x. 15, 16. the Greek has: "The Lord hath plucked up the roots of nations," and again: "Lands of nations the Lord overthrew," where in both cases the Syr. has, instead of "nations," "the proud"—rightly (at least in *v.* 15), as the context shews. It

[1] Schürer, 'Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes' (the 2nd edition of his 'Neutest. Zeitg.'), ii. p. 595. He expresses himself even more strongly in the art. *Apokrypha*, in Herzog's "Real-Encykl." (vol. i. pp. 493, 494).

has been suggested that the original had גַּיִם, while the Greek pointed גֹּם. But we would suggest as more likely, that the original had גאים, which the Greek by an easy mistake in the ancient mode of making letters read גיים. It deserves attention that 248 corrects after the Syr. in *v.* 15, but not in *v.* 16—and the Vet. Lat. follows in both cases. [Was the Greek right in *v.* 16—or were 248 and Vet. Lat. influenced by a special (Christian ?) motive?] As instances of the third kind (that of the confusion of similar letters or else the transposition of letters) we may quote Ecclus. xlviii. 23, where (as through a similar mistake in other places) the Greek translates: "In his days the sun went backward," while the Syr. has: "by his means (his hand) the sun went back"—the one having read בימיו, the other בידיו (a rendering which neither 248 nor the Vet. Lat. adopts). Again, in Ecclus. xlix. 9 the Greek has, "He remembered the enemies in storm" [see for this the note on the passage], while the Syriac read "Job" instead of "enemies"—no doubt wrongly—and accordingly altered the whole verse, which this misreading had rendered unintelligible. Here the Syriac translator had evidently transposed the letters, reading אִיּוֹב (Job) instead of אוֹיֵב (an enemy), as the Greek correctly read it. We mark that 248 has not the mistake of the Syriac, thus furnishing another evidence that when the two agree, the Syr. has not borrowed from 248.

These instances might suffice. But that they may not seem exceptional—perhaps even accidental—we select some others from among the large number indicated in the commentary, and adding the readings of 248 and the Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xiv. 9 *b*. The Greek has: "*wicked* injustice drieth up the soul;" the Syr., "he that usurps what is his *neighbour's*"—the latter having evidently wrongly vocalised רַע instead of רַע: 248 does not follow the reading of the Syr. The Vet. Lat. paraphrases.

Ecclus. xiv. 10. Greek, "An evil eye is envious over bread;" Syr., "multiplieth bread." There is here evidently some misreading of the Hebrew, although we do not venture on a definite suggestion: 248 does not follow the Syr., but the Vet. Lat., although paraphrastic, may preserve some trace of the Syr. rendering in its *et non satiabitur pane* (or does it attempt to mediate between the Greek and the Syr. ?).

Ecclus. xiv. 27 *b*. Greek, "and he dwelleth in her glory;" Syr., "in her chambers," misreading חֲדָרֶיהָ for הֲדָרָהּ: 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syriac.

Or to pass over some chapters:—

Ecclus. xix. 5 (see the corrected translation in the notes). Greek, "he that *hateth* babbling;" Syr., "he that *repeateth* a thing"—the Greek misread שֹׂנֵא for שֹׁנֶה.

Ecclus. xix. 7. Greek, "and thou shalt fare never the worse;" Syr., "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek took the root of the word to be חָסַר, while the Syr. (as we believe, rightly) derived it from חָסַד, in the Piel, "to revile" (as in Prov. xxv. 10): 248 and Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr. [For the suggested reading of the original, see the note on that verse.]

Ecclus. xxi. 8 (see the notes). The Greek seems to have read חֹרֶף, "winter;" the Syr. rightly, חֹרֶב, "desolation:" 248 (also 106) follows the Syr., but not Vet. Lat.

Ecclus. xxi. 18 (see notes). The Greek, בַּיִת מָשְׁמָד, "a house destroyed;" the Syr., בֵּית מִשְׁמָר, "a prison:" 248 and the Vet. Lat. do not follow the Syr.

It could not serve any purpose to continue this comparison of the two versions. In the commentary it has been carried on from chapter to chapter. And we feel that the force of the evidence in favour of the direct translation of the Syriac text from the Hebrew cannot be fully appreciated by any number of isolated instances, while it becomes irresistible when the two versions are continuously compared.

Our further remarks must be brief. Although on a comparison of the differences between the Greek and Syriac translations, *where such differences depend on the different rendering of words*, we are disposed so often to give the preference to the Syriac, this is not by any means uniformly the case. Instances have already been given in which the

Greek translation seems correct and the Syriac wrong. Again, we notice in the latter occasionally a displacement of lines, as in Ecclus. xxiv. 25, 26. Sometimes it might almost appear, although this is very doubtful, as if there were indication of a later revision of the Syriac by the Greek [as in Ecclus. xxiii. 27].[1] That the Syriac had undergone some later redaction seems suggested even by the circumstance that in the Arabic Version, which was evidently made from the Syriac, there are differences and notably omissions as compared with the Syriac (comp., for example, those in chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.). Sometimes we meet in the Syriac what may be regarded as apologetic (or emendatory) alterations, as in Ecclus. xxv. 7 (see the notes). To say that the Syriac Version is, as compared with the Greek, often and largely paraphrastic, is only to express what might otherwise have been expected. For the Syriac bears the character of a Targum and was certainly intended in great measure as an *ecclesiasticus*, or Church-book, for homiletical and catechetical purposes. One very important point still remains to be added. If Perles (*u. s.*) has arrived on critical grounds at the conclusion that the Peshittho Version of the New Testament was made by Jewish Christians, our investigations have led us to the same inference as regards Ecclesiasticus. We infer the Jewish origin of the translation from the occasional occurrence of expressions in Rabbinic usage. The evidence of the Christian character of the version—although necessarily inferential—is found throughout the whole book. But we may here specially refer to such passages as Ecclus. xxiv. 5, 9, xxvii. 17, and also to chaps. xxxv., xlvi., xlvii., xlviii. (see on these the commentary). Very significant also in this respect seems to us such an alteration as the substitution in vii. 31 of *panem oblationum et primitias manuum* for lines *c* and *d*. [The additions in the Vet. Lat. are still more curious.] On the same ground we account for the omission in the Syriac of Ecclus. xlv. 9–14, containing descriptive details of the Aaronic priesthood. Besides these passages—which might be considerably increased — we would (here following Bretschneider) call attention to the remarkable substitution in the Syr. for the text in the Greek in Ecclus. i. after *v.* 20 to the end; to xi. 12, xiv. 16; and to xvii. 27, 28.

It only remains to add that our knowledge of the Syriac text has been rectified since we possess it not only in Walton's Polyglot, but in the critical edition of Lagarde (1861), which has the corrections from MSS. in the British Museum. Jeh. Löw Ben-Seebh has published a Syriac text in Hebrew letters, with a Hebrew and German translation and a brief Hebrew commentary (Breslau, 1798; in new and improved edition, Vienna, 1807; ib. 1818; ib. 1828—the Hebrew version metrically rendered into German by M. E. Stern, Vienna, 1844[1]). But its usefulness is marred by the great liberties taken, not only in the Hebrew version, but with the Syriac text, in the way of omissions, transpositions, &c.

The Vetus Latina.—This is reproduced in our ordinary editions of the Vulgate [most handy as a critical edition, with different readings, is that by Heyse and Tischendorf, Lips. 1873]. All the variants from four MSS. are given by Sabatier ('Bibl. Sacr. Lat. versiones,' ii., Reimis, 1743). Jerome tells us expressly that he had left the text of the Vetus Latina untouched (*calamo temperavi*) in the (apocryphal) Wisdom of Solomon and in Ecclesiasticus ('Præfat. in edit. libr. Salom. juxta Sept. interpr.' [ed. Vallarsi, x. 436]).

If the Syriac Version may be described as a Targum or a paraphrastic "Church-book," this designation applies with even much greater force to the Latin translation

[1] Bretschneider (*u. s.*, p. 701) adduces a few instances from which he erroneously infers that the Syr. translation was made from the Greek. They consist of instances in which, in his view, the Syriac rendering is accounted for by a slight alteration in the Greek. Although of no interest or value, they may, for completeness' sake, here find a place: i. 8, θησαυρούς for θρόνου; vii. 23, γάμησον for κάμψον; xi. 30, θηρεύθεισα for θηρευτής; xii. 11, κακιῶν αὐτόν for κατίωσε; xxii. 23, ποιῆσαι for κτῆσαι; or again, v. 3, ἀδικοῦμενος for ἐκδικῶν; ix. 2, ἐπιστῆναι for ἐπιβῆναι; l. 5, λαοῦ for ναοῦ. We only add that in all these cases 248 has the ordinary reading. The instances quoted by Bretschneider only prove the weakness of his case.

[1] See Fürst, 'Biblioth. Jud.' i. p. 105.

of Ecclesiasticus. Indeed, the student is bewildered amidst what seem redactions, interpolations, uncritical additions (some probably originally in the margin), alterations and paraphrases. In its present form the version leaves the impression that the main body of the text had been derived from the Greek. Yet this appearance may in some respects be deceptive. At any rate, we perceive a *stratum* which cannot be accounted for by any arbitrary alteration nor yet by derivation from any known Greek Codex. We have already observed that, like the Syriac and 248, the Latin preserves the right order of the chapters after ch. xxx. Likewise, it has been noticed that the Latin often has the same readings or emendations as 248. If these have been made from the Syriac [or else from the same sources], the suggestion would lie near that this *stratum* in the Vet. Lat. had been derived from the Syriac. It may indeed be suggested that it is traceable to other Codices or to sources which underlay the recension of Lucian. The latter view is supported by so great an authority as Ceriani (see the excellent Epilegomena to L. Van Ess's ed. of the LXX., 1887, p. 12). But here we may be said to be still partly on conjectural ground. And in any case the recension of Lucian brings us to Antioch. We can scarcely suppose that this *stratum* was taken from the text of 248 [nor from that group], since the Vet. Lat. so often leaves aside 248. If the translation had been made from that text, we would have expected more constant conformity to it. Not so, if emendations were here and there selected from the Syriac, nor even if the still remanent *stratum* represents an original use of the Syriac by the translator. There is, however, another supposition possible, viz. that this nucleus represents either a translation from the original Hebrew, or emendations from it. We confess that this does not seem likely to us—among other reasons, for this, that we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe that a translator who had access to the original would have produced such a version. The case would be otherwise if the translator was indebted to a not unfrequently paraphrastic version from the original. There he might more readily make selections, or a later redactor might even have struck out some of these selections. But the whole question is one of peculiar difficulty, and complicated by our uncertainty about the country and circumstances in which the Vetus Latina originated, and its relation to one of the three recensions of the LXX. What therefore we offer must be considered in the form of modest suggestion.

The conjecture that the Latin Version was derived from a Hebrew original—although from a Codex different from that used by the Greek translator—was first broached by Cornelius à Lapide ('Comment. in Ecclus.' p. 20). It was next mooted by the learned Sabatier (*u. s.* t. ii. p. 390), although without any attempt at proof. This deficiency was sought to be supplied by E. G. Bengel in the 7th vol. of Eichhorn's 'Allgem. Biblioth. d. bibl. Litter.,' 1796, pp. 832–864. The essay, as even its dimensions shew, is extremely slight, and the attempted investigation extends only over small portions at the beginning and in the middle of the book Ecclesiasticus. Bengel regards the Vetus Latina as dating "from the first centuries of Christianity."[1] He claims not certainty but probability for his theory that the Latin translation had been made with the aid of a Jew, or else by a Jewish Christian (as we have suggested in regard to the Syriac). The translator had rendered from the Hebrew, with aid from the Greek Version — the latter, either from special reasons, or this dependence was due to a *glossator* or to a later copyist. But, indeed, the use of the Greek in the rendering of the Vetus Latina seems beyond question. If detailed proof were required, even the passages adduced by Welte ('Einleit.' *u. s.*, p. 215) would suffice for the purpose. As a Roman Catholic writer, he pleads for the great trustworthiness of the Vetus Lat.

[1] According to Cornill ('d. Buch d. Proph. Ez.' p. 26) the Vet. Lat. was used by Tertullian, indeed was in general use in Northern Africa. But so far as Ecclesiasticus is concerned, we cannot discover any trace of it in the seven passages in which, according to the Index in the ed. Oehler, Tertullian is supposed to refer to our book. Indeed, in only two of these passages ('de exhort. castitatis,' ii., and 'de monogam.' xiv.) is there any reference to Eccl̃us. (xv. 18)—and even there it seems to me doubtful, and certainly is not literally taken from the Vet. Lat.

But even he is obliged to admit that the translator had corrected his work by the Greek text.

But to return. Bengel begins by criticising certain passages in the Latin Version which are supposed to afford evidence of having been derived from the Greek text, with the view of shewing that such is not always the case. But as in some of these the Vet. Lat. accords with the Syr. —and presumably the Hebrew—while in others it only displays a curious ignorance of Greek (and is this not also characteristic?), it seems needless here to discuss them. In direct proof of the connexion between the Vet. Lat. and the Hebrew Bengel adduces a number of passages from Ecclus. i. and xxxiv. Most of these are, however, beside the point, as will appear from the following examination of the first six:—

Ecclus. i. 1, "et cum illo *fuit semper et* est ante aevum."—The words italicised are neither in the Syr. nor in 248. But they are apparently only a Christian gloss.

Ecclus. i. 2, "*profundum* abyssi."—The word italicised is not in 248, but is found in the Syr.

Ecclus. i. 3 in Vet. Lat. This seems a Christian gloss—perhaps it is an adaptation from the Syr. of i. 4.

Ecclus. i. 6 *a*. Here also there seems a Christian gloss in the Vet. Lat. So also in 7 *b*.

Ecclus. i. 7 *a*, *b*; i. 8. To both these passages in the Vet. Lat. the previous stricture applies.

Welte (*u. s.*, p. 216), who seems on the whole inclined to regard the Vet. Lat. as primarily derived from the Hebrew original, selects from the essay of Bengel the following four passages as presumably in his view the best instances adduced:—Ecclus. i. 17: Greek *ἐπιθυμημάτων*, Vet. Lat. *a thesauris*—apparently a confusion between מטעמים and מטמנים [the latter word is actually used in the Talmud—Sanh. 100 *b*—in a quotation of Ecclus. xlii. 9, 10]. But the Vet. Lat. has here only the same rendering as the Syriac. Ecclus. i. 26: Greek *ἐντολάς*, Vet. Lat. *justitiam*, Hebrew (possibly) מישפט. But this instance does not really prove anything, and the slight alteration in the Vet. Lat. might even be due to anti-Judaistic motives. The next passage quoted is Ecclus. i. 29 *a*, where the Greek, misreading בְּפִי for בְּפָנַי, translates *ἐν στόμασιν ἀνθρώπων*, while the Vet. Lat. has *in conspectu hominum*. This, however, only once more sends us back to the Syriac, where we find the right rendering. Besides, 253 actually corrects: *ἐνώπιον*. The last instance adduced is Ecclus. i. 29 *b*, where the Greek has *πρόσεχε*, "and in thy lips take heed," reading תַּשְׂכִּיל (as in Prov. xvi. 23), while the Vetus Lat. has *et non scandalizeris*, reading אַל תִּכָּשֵׁל, taking the אל from the previous clause. But 248 has substantially the same emendation (*μὴ πρόσεχε*).

These and similar instances are manifestly insufficient to establish the hypothesis of Bengel. We now proceed to select at least a few instances which in our view support the suggestion that the Vet. Lat. was somehow dependent on the Syriac.

Ecclus. xxv. 9. Greek, "he that has found prudence;" the Syr.—by a wrong reading and then wrong Syr. punctuation: that has obtained "mercy." Without that wrong punctuation the misreading would have been "a friend" (the original misreading being רעה for דעה). The Vet. Lat. follows this misreading, but not the mispunctuation (which may be of later date), and renders *amicum verum*. Neither 248 nor any other MS. follows the Syr. and Vet. Lat., which here also differ from the Hebrew.

Ecclus. xxv. 12 [A. V.] is a Christian interpolation. It was certainly not in the Hebrew original, and is only found in H, 248, and Co. But it occurs in the Syr. and in the Vetus Latina.

Ecclus. xxvi. 3. This is very curious, as shewing the dependence of the Vet. Lat. alike on the Greek and on the Syriac. The Greek has: "it shall be given in the *portion* of them that fear the Lord." The Syr. rightly renders: "to the *man* who feareth the Lord." The Hebrew had בחיק, "into the bosom" = "to the man," as in the Syr., while the Greek misread בחלק, "in the portion." Then the Syr. adds the gloss—evidently *nôt* from the Hebrew—"in return for good works." The Vet. Lat. takes from the Greek

the first part, "*in parte* timentium Deum dabitur *viro*"—the latter word apparently from the Syr.; and it also adds from the Syriac, *pro factis bonis*. 248 has not this gloss, nor any other MS., nor was it in the Hebrew.

Mr. Margoliouth, although not agreeing with our views on this subject, points to the following passage as a most remarkable instance of accord between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. To exhibit its full force we give the passage in the three versions.

Ecclus. xx. 14, Greek: "The gift of one [who is] senseless shall not profit thee, for in his view [literally, his eye] *instead of one many*" [see notes].

Syriac, *v.* 13: "Donum insipientis inestimabile est apud ipsum, quoniam oculi ejus *ad compensationem septuplo majorem* [seportandam] *positi sunt.*" *v.* 14: "*Parum dat et multum exprobrat, et aperiens os suum male loquitur et blaterat.*"

Vet. Lat., *v.* 14: "Datus insipientis non erit utilis tibi oculi enim illius [so far the three versions agree] *septemplices sunt.*" *v.* 15: "*Exigua dabit et multa improperabit et apertio oris illius inflammatio est.*"

The agreement here between the Vet. Lat. and the Syriac [marked by italics] is not less striking than their difference from the Greek.

There are also what appear to us other, perhaps minor, indications of a connection between the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Thus it seems to mark alike the Christian character of the Syriac Version and its relationship with the Vet. Lat., that in Ecclus. xxxvi. 2 both these versions omit the word "*all*" from the sentence: "Send thy fear upon *all* the nations." If that word had not been in the Hebrew original, it is scarcely likely that the Hellenising Greek translator would have inserted it. And the word occurs in 248 and in all other MSS.; although 248—like the Vet. Lat.—adds after "nations" the Christian gloss, "who do not seek Thee" (Vet. Lat., *exquisierunt*), for which the Syr. has, "who have not known Thee." But, indeed, there are many traces of such Christian alterations in the Syr., but especially in the Vet. Lat., and their study is very interesting (compare, for example, the opening verses of chaps. xxiv. and xxxv., and the closing verses of the latter—such as xxxv. 25 in the Vet. Lat.). One of the most curious instances in which the Vet. Lat. follows the Syr. [against all the Greek MSS.], and in which both these versions have a marked Christian alteration, is xxv. 15 [see the note]. But the tracing of such indications is apt to become subjective, gaining force by their cumulation. It had therefore best be conjoined with a careful study of the text. This is not the place to continue the comparison of the two versions, but we may invite the consideration of such passages as, for example, Ecclus. xxv. 9, 12; xxvi. 3, 18; xxvii. 3; xxviii. 24, 25; xxix. 7. We add as an instance of the corrupt state of the text of the Vetus Latina that in Ecclus. xxv. 17, where the Vat. reading has "like sackcloth" and the Alex. "like a bear," the Vet. Lat. (*v.* 24) inserts *both:* "tamquam ursus, et quasi saccum ostendet"—evidently trying to make sense out of the two ("*ursus*" and then "quasi saccum ostendet"). Possibly one of these renderings may have crept in from the margin (see note on the verse). Similarly in xxv. 18 (Vet. Lat. 25) the Vet. Lat. combines the Greek with the Syriac reading, slightly altering the latter (see note on the verse). Instances of doublets and possibly triplets will be found in other places, especially in the earlier chapters.

§ IX. Other Ancient Versions.[1]

The Armenian, Æthiopic, Syro-Hexaplar, Coptic, and Palæoslavonic versions are all derived from the Greek.

1. The Armenian Version is published

[1] The notice of the versions enumerated in this paragraph is from the pen of Mr. D. S. Margoliouth, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. To the same scholar are also due the philological and critical parts of the notes from ch. xxxi. onwards; the introductions to these latter chapters, and the exegetical notes on them, being by Dr. Edersheim, who however holds himself also responsible for every part. Besides, the aid and co-operation of Mr. Margoliouth throughout this commentary—more particularly in the comparison of the Syriac text—are also here gratefully acknowledged. Some of his special suggestions are indicated in the places where they occur.

in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Bible, but in a fragmentary condition, having a lacuna from xxxv. 19–xxxviii. 14 (inclusive), and breaking off at xlii. 24; besides omitting minor portions, such as the whole of ch. viii., and single verses, *e.g.* xx. 15, 24*b*. Like the rest of the Armenian version of the Bible, it is minutely faithful and exhibits occasionally a very unusual knowledge of the Greek language. The text followed resembles that of the Alexandrian MS. The most important variants which it affords will be found quoted in xl. 6 and xli. 17.

2. The Æthiopic Version exists only in MSS., of which eleven are in the British Museum, and several in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. A short account of a copy at Tübingen was given by Ewald in the first volume of the 'Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.' The translation is ignorant and paraphrastic; in a few passages it shews signs of contamination with the Syriac (viii. 5, xxii. 15, xxxviii. 30, &c.).

3. The Syro-Hexaplaris is published in the magnificent seventh volume of Ceriani's 'Anecdota Sacra et Profana.' On this version generally, see the 'Bible Dictionary,' s. v. *Versions*. The text which it follows agrees minutely with that of MS. 253 in most places; but it also shews readings peculiar to 248. The translator would seem to have consulted the Peshittho in the interpretation of difficult words (*e.g.* iv. 30, φαντασιοκοπῶν, xxxiv. 21, xlv. 23).

4. The Coptic Version (in the Sahidic dialect) exists in a unique MS. of the 6th century at Turin, and has been published by Lagarde in his 'Aegyptiaca' (Göttingen, 1884). The MS. (which has suffered by age) was previously used by Peyron for his Lexicon. The text which it follows resembles that of the Sin., with several omissions and a few additions: in a very few cases it offers certain corrections of the Greek. A fragment of a Memphitic Version (chap. ii. 1–9) was published by Lagarde in 'Orientalia,' pt. i. (Gött., 1880).

5. The Palæoslavonic Version (published in the Slavonic Bibles), follows a text similar to that of the Complutensian edition, but with only a portion of the additions.

A copy of the Arabic Version corrected from the Greek is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence. The reviser has added a translation of the Prologue, in which he curiously makes the grandson state that he has translated the book into Syriac. A compendium of the Arabic Version is preserved in the Bodleian Library, but in an imperfect state.

The Scholia of Barhebraeus, to which reference is occasionally made, are taken from the Bodleian MS.

§ X. Authority of Ecclesiasticus in the Synagogue and in the Church.

The high authority in which our book was held in the ancient Jewish synagogue —whether on account of its age or its embodiment of universally received popular sayings—appears even from the frequency with which it is quoted in Talmudic writings. Zunz ('Gottesd. Vortr.,' pp. 101–103) enumerates no less than forty such citations—anonymous or expressly in the name of Sirach. Some of these cannot, however, be identified either in our present Greek or Syriac text, although some conjectural attempts have been made by Horowitz (*u. s.*).[1] What seems the earliest Mishnic reference to the words of the Siracide (Ecclus. ix. 9) reaches up to early Maccabean days (José, the son of Jochanan, Abh. i. 5).[2]

[1] For these quotations (mostly given in the present Commentary) see, besides Zunz (*u. s.*), Delitzsch ('Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie,' pp. 20, &c., 204, &c.); Dukes ('Rabbin. Blumenl.' pp. 67, &c.); Schuhl ('Sent. du Talmud,' *passim*); Fritzsche (*u. s.*, p. xxxvii., &c.); Joël ('Blicke in d. Relig. Gesch.' i. pp. 71, &c.); Strack in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' vii. pp. 430, 431; and others—latest, Hamburger in the Supplemental Part to his 'Real-Encykl.' pp. 77–86.

[2] It is certainly rather a reference, although a very close one, than a quotation. It is adduced as a saying of the sages. On the other hand, the saying of José, the son of Joezer, "Let thy house be the meeting-place for the sages" (Abh. i. 4), and this other saying of the son of Jochanan (Abh. i. 5), "Let the poor be the children of thy household," might be intended as a protest against the bacchanalian feasts alluded to in Ecclus (comp. also Ecclus. ix. 14–16). On José b. Jochanan comp. Frankel in his 'Monatsschr.' i. (1852), pp. 405–407; Grätz, 'Gesch.' ii. pp. 274, &c., iii. p. 7.

Outward circumstances induced the Jewish teachers at different times to pronounce differently upon the book of Ben Sira. First, we have a series of quotations in which our book is adduced with the same formula as the hagiographa, and indeed is apparently classed with them.[1] Next, we are warned that, unlike the books of Holy Scripture, "the writings of Ben Sira . . . do not defile the hands" ('Tos. Yad.' ii. 13, ed. Zuckerm. p. 683). This, however, only implies the emphatic exclusion of Ecclus. from the Canon.[2] But the Jewish Fathers went further. Rabbi Aqibha declared the book included in those "outside" writings the perusal of which involved the loss of eternal life (Jer. Sanh. 28 *a*, near top); and the Midrash on Eccles. xii. 12, by a play on the words "and what is beyond (besides) these (viz. the words of the sages)," explains that "the rest," viz. the bringing into the house of uncanonical books such as Ben Sira, only brings confusion (reading instead of וּיתר מֵהֵמָּה—מְהוּמָה, confusion). We would suggest that the change of feeling was connected with the Christian controversy—being due partly to apprehension of the danger of allowing the perusal of not strictly orthodox Rabbinical works, and partly to the wide use of Ecclus. in the early Christian Church. Be this as it may, the mood was only partial and transient. In consequence of a discussion on the saying of Aqibha, Rabbi Joseph, the head of the Babylonian Academy of Pumbadita, ultimately gave forth a statement which not only allowed the judicious use of the book, but leads us to infer that, as in the Church so in the synagogue, it was regarded as an *ecclesiasticus*, suited for catechetical and homiletic purposes (Sanh. 100 *b*). The passages specially recommended for this are the following, although from the modifications, additions or contractions, as compared with the Greek text, some of them are only hypothetically identified: Ecclus. xxvi. 3; xxv. 26; xxvi. 1; ix. 3, 8, 9; xxvi. 29; xi. 30 *a*, 32 *a*, 33 *a*; xi. 29 *a*; vi. 6; xxx. 21 or else xl. 7; xxxi. 4 (?). (Sanh. 100 *b*.) Indeed, we find references to our book not only in the Talmud, but in the Midrashim.[1] And from the first half of the 14th century comes the explanation that the Talmud had only intended to prohibit such a study of Ben Sira as should be made of the Bible, but not occasional resort to it (Ritba[2] in the En-Iaqobh to Bab. B. 98 *b*, *apud* Joël, *u. s.*, p. 76).

We only add that, although the so-called Alphabet of Ben Sira contains in the first (or Aramæan) Alphabet four quotations from our book, and in the second (or Hebrew) Alphabet two such citations, it must not be confounded with our Ecclesiasticus,[3] and is of very much later date.

Use in the early Christian Church.—Leaving aside the general question of the use of the Apocrypha in the Church (on which the view of the Church of England is sufficiently expressed in Art. VI.), we briefly note some points of historical interest. Reference has already been made to the evident acquaintance with Ecclus. implied in the Epistle of St. James. There can be little doubt that in the Ep. of Barnabas xix. we have a quotation from Ecclus. iv. 31. Tertullian seems to refer to our book (Ecclus. xv. 18) with the formula: *sicut scriptum est* ('de Exhort. Cast.' c. 2, and 'de Monogam.' c. 14). Clement of Alexandria frequently quotes Ecclus.: thirteen times with the formula ἡ γραφὴ λέγει,

[1] So often: see Zunz, *u. s.* Strack ('Proleg. Crit. in V. T.' pp. 64, 65) has certainly not succeeded in the attempt either to explain or disprove this. On the other hand, Joël's proposed emendations of the condemnatory terms used in the Talmud about Ben Sira are ingenious, but neither satisfactory nor convincing (Joël, *u. s.* pp. 72–75).

[2] For the meaning of the expression "defileth the hands," see 'Life and Times of Jesus,' ch. xxxi. (vol. ii.).

[1] Four in Ber. R. (c. 8; 10; 73; 91); one in Shem. R.; two in Vayyk. R.; one in Bamidb. R.; one in the Midr. on Prov. c. 22 (?); two in that on Eccles.; three in the Midr. Tanchuma, &c.

[2] The name is an abbreviation from *R. Iom Tobh b. Abraham* Ishbili [from Seville].

[3] For an English translation of the two Alphabets of Ben Sira, as well as for that of the Talmudic quotations from our book, I take leave to refer the reader to my 'History of the Jewish Nation,' pp. 559–563. Comp. also Dukes (*u. s.*), Delitzsch (*u. s.*), and the literature of the subject in Fürst, 'Biblioth. Jud.' iii. p. 341; a new ed. by Steinschneider ('Alphab. Sirac. utr.' Berlin, 1858).

φησίν and the like; nine times with that of ἡ σοφία λέγει, φησίν and the like; thrice as the words of the παιδαγωγός. But as he also twice designates the book as ἡ σοφία Ἰησοῦ, it can scarcely be argued that he placed it on the same level with the Solomonic writings (but see 'Strom.' ii. 5, 24). Similar in form are the quotations of Origen from Ecclus., although he expressly ascribed the work to Jesus the son of Sirach ('contra Cels.' vi. 7). Cyprian, who often quotes from it, seems to treat it as if belonging to the Canon.[1] On the other hand, Jerome expressly declares it non-Solomonic and non-canonical (see the quotation in a former paragraph), and equally emphatically Athanasius ('Epist. fest.' 39), who ranks our book with the *Didache*, 'The Shepherd,' &c. None the less was the book used and quoted by the Fathers in a manner similar to that of the Jewish Fathers. Lastly, St. Augustine ranks the book with the canonical writings on account of its authority in the Church, although he denies its Solomonic authorship ('de doctr. Christ.' ii. 8). It is enumerated in the Hebrew Canon by the Synods of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). The inclusion of the Apocrypha in the Canon by the Council of Trent (in the 4th Session, 8 April, 1546, 'Canon. et Decr.' ed. Tauchnitz, pp. 15, 16) is sufficiently known. (Comp. Herbst, 'Einl.' i. pp. 24, &c.; De Wette-Schrader, 'Lehrb.' pp. 596–599; Keil, 'Einl.' pp. 702, 703, 747; Schürer, *u. s.*)

§ XI. Literature of the Subject.

The references in the preceding paragraphs sufficiently indicate the works which have been chiefly consulted in preparing the present commentary. The literature of the subject is, however, very large. For its complete enumeration we must refer to the various Encyclopædias (German and English) and to the books of 'Introduction' to the Old Testament. The Greek text used has been that of Tischendorf ('Vetus Test. Graece,' &c., ed. vi[a], 1880), and generally referred to as the Vatican, though it scarcely deserves that designation (see § VIII.). The full Vat. and Sin. readings have been collated from Nestle's supplement to the ed. (Lips. 1887). Besides, the variants in the magnificent ed. of Holmes and Parsons have been referred to. The critical edition of the Apocrypha by Fritzsche (Lips. 1871) has been already described. Of the various separate editions of the Greek text of Ecclesiasticus—*with notes*—that of Linde has no special value ('Sententiae Jesu Siracidae,' Gedani, 1795); that of Bretschneider has been constantly compared ('Liber Jesu Sirac. Graece,' Ratisb. 1806). The Syriac text used has been generally that in Walton's Polyglot. For Hebrew translations we have had the rendering by Ben Seebh (previously noticed). The Hebrew is elegant, but the translation follows sometimes the Syriac, sometimes the Greek — sometimes scarcely either the one or the other. The Hebrew in the translation of the Apocrypha by S. J. Fraenkel (Lips. 1830) is not so elegant as that of Ben Seebh, nor yet much more faithful to the text. Translations into Hebrew of portions of the text—such as that of ch. xxiv. by Lowth, emended by Fritzsche, and of ch. li. by Professor Bickell—are noted in their places in the commentary. The German translation of Gutmann ('Die Apokryphen d. A. Test.' Altona, 1841) affords not any help. The English version by Dr. Bissell (in the vol. on the Apocr. supplemental to Dr. Schaff's American ed. of the English translation of Lange's Bible Comment.) resembles in character that of Fritzsche. The latter, which is not strictly literal, is appended to his Commentary on Ecclus. ('Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' 5te Lief. 1860).

The general questions connected with the book (such as its authorship, date, arrangement, versions, &c.) are discussed in the corresponding articles in the various Encyclopædias — such as (in German) those of Winer, Schenkel (by Fritzsche), Herzog (by Schürer), Riehm, and Hamburger—although with little variety or progression. So far as the Apocrypha and especially Ecclesiasticus are concerned, the like sameness characterises the account of our book in the various Introductions to the Old Testament:

[1] Comp. Schürer in Herzog's 'Real-Encykl.' art. Apokr., 487; 'Gesch.' 597.

De Wette-Schrader, Keil, Reuss ('Gesch. d. h. Schr. A. T.' 1882). To these must be added, as containing by far the fullest treatment of the subject, the account of Ecclus. by Schürer in the 'Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes' (1886), to which reference has already been made. A special place must, for various reasons, be assigned both to Welte's (R. C.) 'Einl. in d. deuterokan. B. d. A. T.' (in Herbst u. Welte's 'Einl.' Sect. II. part iii., Freiburg, 1844) and to Eichhorn's 'Einl. in d. Apokr. Schr. d. A. T.' (Leipz. 1795 —being vol. iv. of his 'Krit. Schr.'). Besides these German works, the articles *Ecclesiasticus* and *Jesus the Son of Sirach* in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible' (vol. i.) have been consulted, as well as the able and learned summary by Dr. Davidson in vol. ii. of his ed. of Horne's Introd. (1856, pp. 1024–1033).

On the relation of our book to Philo and Jewish Hellenism, the works of Gfrörer and Dähne and the art. *Philo* by the present writer in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.' have been referred to. For the relation of the Greek text to the Syriac and for other general questions the articles by Geiger in the 'Z. D. M. G.' xii. 1858, and by Horowitz in Frankel's 'Monatsschrift,' vol. xiv. (since published as a separate *brochure*, 1865), have been perused. For the relation of Ecclus. to Proverbs we have referred to C. Seligmann ('D. B. d. Weish. J. Sir.' 1883); for the references in the Epistle of St. James, to A. Boon ('Dissert. Exeg. Theol. de Jac. ep. cum Sir. libro convenientia'). As regards the relation of the Vetus Latina to the Hebrew original, special notice has been taken of Bengel's art. in Eichhorn's 'Biblioth.' vol. vii., which is repeated in summary in Bertholdt's 'Histor. Krit. Einleit.' pp. 2306–2309. On historical questions the works of Herzfeld, Ewald, and Grätz have been referred to. On the Wisdom-teaching and the Dogmatics and Ethics of Ecclus., the book of Dr. J. F. Bruch ('Weisheits-Lehre d. Hebr.' Strassburg, 1851) and the 'Schul-Programm' by Dr. V. Merguet (Königsberg, 1874) have been perused.

Beyond the works just referred to, an exhaustive study of all the Commentaries on Ecclesiasticus has not been attempted —the more so that it was wished to make a fresh study of the book. The Annotations in vol. v. of the 'Critici Sacri' deserve constant attention, especially those by Drusius and Grotius. The latter are mostly the source of the classical parallels, not unfrequently noted by writers. For this reason, and because they are often rather coincidences than parallels, it has not been deemed necessary to repeat them. It needs scarcely be said that the Commentary of Fritzsche (in the 'Exeg. Handb.') has been constantly compared and used. It is by far the fullest work on Ecclesiasticus, and its learning and ability are beyond question. The (American) Commentary of Dr. Bissell in vol. xv. of Schaff's ed. of Lange's Comment. chiefly follows that of Fritzsche. Besides these, the Commentary of Bretschneider ('Liber Jesu Siracidae') deserves and requires careful perusal, although the book bears marks of youth and haste. The brief annotations of Joach. Camerarius ('Sententiae Jesu Sirac.,' at the end of the Greek text, pp. 136–213) are chiefly interesting for the quotation of parallelisms from classical writers. The notes of J. G. Linde ('Sent. J. S.' Gedani, 1785) are very brief, but occasionally really valuable; the few Rabbinic annotations of M. Gutmann ('D. Apokr. d. A. Test.') are not only scanty, but also slight.

Lastly, we have now to add to the literature on Ecclus. the discussion of the book in Professor Cheyne's 'Job and Solomon,' pp. 179–198, which came too late to be used in the preparation of the present commentary. It is characterised by the learning, clearness, and beauty of diction of that writer.

THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH,

OR

ECCLESIASTICUS.

[*A Prologue made by an uncertain Author.*

Some refer this Prologue to Athanasius, because it is found in his *Synopsis*.

THIS Jesus was the son of Sirach, and grandchild to Jesus of the same name with him: this man therefore lived in the latter times, after the people had been led away captive, and called home again, and almost after all the prophets. Now his grandfather Jesus, as he himself witnesseth, was a man of great diligence and wisdom among the Hebrews, who did not only gather the grave and short sentences of wise men, that had been before him, but himself also uttered some of his own, full of much understanding and wisdom. When as therefore the first Jesus died, leaving this book almost ‖perfected, Sirach his son receiving it after him left it to his own son Jesus, who, having gotten it into his hands, compiled it all orderly into one volume, and called it Wisdom, intituling it both by his own name, his father's name, and his grandfather's; alluring the hearer by the very name of Wisdom to have a greater love to the study of this book. It containeth therefore wise sayings, dark sentences, and parables, and certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God; also his prayer and song; moreover, what benefits God had vouchsafed his people, and what plagues he had heaped upon their enemies. This Jesus did imitate Solomon, and was no less famous for wisdom and learning, both being indeed a man of great learning, and so reputed also.]

‖ Or, *collected.*

The Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus *the Son of* Sirach.

WHEREAS many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by others that have followed their steps, for the which things Israel ought to be commended for learning and wisdom; and whereof not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that desire to learn be able to profit them which are ‖without, both by speaking and writing: my grandfather Jesus, when he had much

‖ Or, *of another nation.*

Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us.] "Great," in the sense of important; "delivered," here δεδομένων, not παραδίδοσθαι, as usually and more aptly; "to us," viz. to the Jews.

by the Law, the Prophets, **and the others who followed upon them.**] Viz. the writers (not the writings) that followed—presumably, the authors of the Hagiographa.

for which it is due to commend Israel for culture (παιδεία, *disciplina;* De Wette, "instruction") *and wisdom.*] The two terms are again found immediately afterwards, and (though in inverse order) in Ecclus. i. 27. In the LXX. παιδεία is the equivalent of *ten* Hebrew words. Here it probably stands for the Hebrew מוּסָר, which is so rendered twenty-one times in the LXX. rendering of Prov., while the two terms, as here, are four times combined (Prov. i. 2, 7, xv. 33, xxiii. 23; Theod., S.-H., 23, and ten other Codd.), and in only two instances (Prov. x. 17 *b*; xvii. 8?) two other Hebrew words are represented by παιδεία in Prov. The Hellenistic tone of this commendation should be marked. It seems intended to strengthen the confidence of Israel in their position among the Greeks, and to conciliate the favour of the latter.

and since it behoves those who read (or, *readers*) *not only to become skilful* (*scientes*, "*einsichtsvoll*") *themselves* (X, C, H, 55, 155 read γενέσθαι), **but also that they who love learning** (are eager after knowledge) **should be able to be of use, both speaking and writing** (by verbal instruction and written works), **to them that are without.**] This is the common meaning of the expression. In that case the reference would seem to be to Grecian proselytes, or perhaps even to inquiring heathens, and only secondarily to the Jews in the dispersion. But in the usage of Polybius the expression only means "outsiders" or "others."

my grandfather Jesus.] Or, possibly: "my

given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom; to the intent that those which are desirous to learn, and are addicted to these things, might profit much more in living according to the law. Wherefore let me intreat you to read it with favour and attention, and to pardon us, wherein we may seem to come short of some words, which we have laboured to interpret. For the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them: and not only these things, but the law itself, and the ‖prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small ‖ difference, when they are spoken in their own language. For in the eight and thirtieth year cir. 133.

‖ Gr. *prophecies.* ‖ Or, *excellency.*

ancestor Jesus." On the meaning of this word and on the date of the work of the older Siracide, comp. Introd.

having given (devoted) **himself more** [than others] (so in the usage of Polyb.—*amplius;* but Wahl, "for longer") **to the reading** (study), *&c.*] The arrangement of the Old Testament into "Law, the Prophets, and the other books of the fathers" (comp. St. Luke xxiv. 27; Jos. c. Ap. i. 8), appears here for the first time. It is probable that this passage gave rise to the tripartite division of the Old Testament which was afterwards universally adopted.

and having gotten therein sufficient (= much, *sat multus, quod satis est*) **proficiency.**] So in the usage of Polyb.: "as the result of practice." In LXX. 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xvi. 7 the word stands for "height."

that those who love (are eager for) **learning.**] The next clause is ambiguous. Most modern writers render it: "becoming also attached to these things," viz. to this new contribution of the Siracide. But the rendering of the A. V., slightly modified, seems better: **and are become attached to these things,** viz. those things in which Ben Sira himself had gotten such skill—the Law, the Prophets, and other writings of the fathers. This agrees better with the plural number (*τούτων ἔνοχοι*: comp. *ἐν τούτοις . . . ἕξιν*), whereas the work of Ben Sira is referred to in the singular (*τι τῶν κ. τ. λ.*). It also accords with the general context. The object of the elder Siracide was to further in religion those who, comparatively ignorant, were desirous to learn, and had become attached to these things. On the other hand, it would be difficult to attach any definite meaning to their becoming attached to his new work.

might make all the more progress by a life (*living*) **according to the Law.**] The *διά* is generally rendered "in," not "by," but the sense is nearly the same in both cases.

Although the tone of this introductory statement is Grecian, it is Palestinian in spirit. For the Rabbis often urge the duty of those who had learned to teach others. Thus it was said that the promise Ps. cxii. 3 applied to those who, having learned, also taught the Law (Kethub. 50 *a*); and the expression "the law of kindness" (Prov. xxxi. 26) is explained to mean study in order to teach (Sukk. 49 *b*). On the other hand, we are told that there is not greater vanity than to have learned the Law and not to instruct others (Deb. R. 2). Indeed, according to Rabbi Meir, such an one "despised the word of the Lord," according to Numb. xv. 31 (Siphré, ed. Friedmann, p. 33 *a*). Similarly, in regard to the necessity of knowledge in order to attain purity of life, there was not any principle more generally current than that an uncultivated person did not fear sin, and that the ignorant could not be pious (Ab. ii. 5). Indeed, Rabbinic study was based on this idea.

In what follows the younger Siracide bespeaks "*favour and attention*" for the work of his ancestor, and as translator asks the readers **to pardon** (to have a lenient judgment) **wherein** (in those things where) **we may appear, while having bestowed diligent labour on the translation** (*circa interpretationem laborando*), **to have failed in some of the words.** It has, however, also been proposed to render the sentence: "Wheresoever we seem in our carefully elaborated translation in certain of our phrases to give no meaning." The next sentence—translated in the A. V. with sufficient accuracy, though not quite literally—explains as reason of such failure, that a translation could never quite convey the force of the original. **"These things"** refer to the present work. We note that the expression "Hebrew" (tongue) occurs here for the first time in Old Testament literature.

Lastly, the translator proceeds to give his reasons for undertaking the work.

For in the eight and thirtieth year, **under king** *Euergetes.*] See Introd. Rather: "I found **no small difference of culture.**"

coming into Egypt, when Euergetes was king, and continuing there some time, I found a ‖book of no small learning: therefore I thought it most necessary for me to bestow some diligence and travail to interpret it; using great watchfulness and skill in that space to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, which in a strange country are willing to learn, being prepared before in manners to live after the law.

‖ Or, *help of learning.*

CHAPTER I.

1 *All wisdom is from God.* 10 *He giveth it to them that love him.* 12 *The fear of God is full of many blessings.* 28 *To fear God without hypocrisy.*

B. C. cir. 200.

ALL [a]wisdom *cometh* from the Lord, and is with him for ever.

[a] 1 Kings 3. 9. James 1. 5.

The word which we have rendered "difference" has been variously translated, and also means "made like unto." But our version suits the context best. Having during his residence in Egypt felt the difference of culture —in modern parlance: of standpoint and development—between the Palestinians and Grecians (whether Jews, proselytes, or Greek friends and inquirers), he was anxious to present the work of his ancestor in a Greek garb. It will be noticed that, strictly speaking, the text gives not any information on the controverted question, at what precise date the younger Siracide had begun his translation, still less when he finished and published it, but only states that he had arrived and settled in Egypt under the reign of Euergetes.

Fritzsche inserts after "*most necessary*" οὖν (from X, C, H, 55, 105, *al.*, Old Latin); after "*thought*," καί, "*therefore I also thought*" (from III. and the previously-quoted readings). "Diligence:" rather, **zeal** [speed, trouble] **and laboriousness.** "To interpret it:" rather, "**on the translating of this book.**" "Using:" add "**indeed.**" "In that space:" rather, "**in the interval of the time,**" *i.e.* while he carried on his work, he robbed himself of sleep and employed all his knowledge and skill "**in order, having brought the book to an end** (for ἄγοντα read ἀγαγόντα, C, H, Alex., 55, 106, 155, 253, 254, 296), *to give it forth* (publish it) **also for those abroad** (in foreign lands, *i.e.* in "the dispersion") **who are,**" &c. The expression is used of sojourn in a strange land, as in Acts xiii. 17, 1 Peter i. 17; and in the same sense the verb (St. Luke xxiv. 18; Heb. xi. 9) and the subst. adjective (Acts vii. 6, 29; Eph. ii. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 11; and also frequently in the LXX., in the Apocrypha, and by Philo). "And are prepared," &c.: rather, "**prepare themselves in manners** (as to morals and customs) **to live after the law.**"

CHAPTER I.

This chapter naturally forms the Introduction to the whole work. It consists of two equal parts, each of fourteen (2 × 7) verses, viz. Part I., *vv.* 1–15 (omitting the spurious *v.* 5); Part II., *vv.* 16–30. The first part may be designated as the theoretical (or objective), the second as the practical (or subjective) aspect of the theme.

Each part is again subdivided into equal stanzas. [In general we notice that the numerical arrangement of stanzas, and even verses, throughout this book is marked, and indeed characteristic.] Part I. consists of two stanzas, each of seven verses (*vv.* 1–8, 9–15). The first stanza (*vv.* 1–8) opens with a statement of the general theme (*v.* 1)—the other six verses being an enlargement of *v.* 1 *b*, which sets forth that Wisdom is for ever with God. Similarly, the second stanza (*vv.* 9–15) takes up the first clause of the initial proposition (*v.* 1 *a*), that Wisdom cometh from the Lord. It is created, and bestowed by God as His gift to humanity (*vv.* 9, 10); it is moral and practical ("the fear of the Lord") as well as speculative, and bestows the best gifts in life and death (*vv.* 11–13); and it is a permanent gift alike to the individual and to humanity (*vv.* 14, 15). In the last two verses (14, 15) the author returns to the subject of the first two verses in the stanza (*vv.* 9, 10).

Part II. consists of three stanzas of five, five, and four verses—the last being, however, a double verse (*v.* 30). It may be described as the practical aspect of the subject. Stanza i. (*vv.* 16–20) sets forth what Wisdom is, and what Wisdom does for the wise. Stanza ii. (*vv.* 21–26) might be briefly thus inscribed: "The fool (= ungodly) and the wise (= righteous);" and stanza iii. (*vv.* 27–30) conversely: "The wise and the fool."

[On the relation of the Greek text of this chapter to the Syriac Version, see the notes.]

1. The manner in which Wisdom is set forth is extremely characteristic of the standpoint of Ecclesiasticus, as intermediate not only between the Old Testament and Jewish Hellenism, but between the latter and what afterwards was distinctively Palestinian teaching. Comp. here on the one hand such descriptions of Wisdom as in Wisd. vii. 21–27, and chap. viii.—or still further in the writings of Philo—and on the other hand the teaching of the Rabbis, which identified Wisdom with the *Torah*, or Law. Even the opening sentence

B. C. cir. 200.

2 Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?

3 Who can find out the height of heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the deep, and wisdom?

4 Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

5 The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom; and her ways are everlasting commandments.

of Ecclus. (*v.* 1) is both Grecian and Hebrew —the former element appearing in the word *all*, the latter in the derivation of "all wisdom" from God. And this "wisdom" is "for ever" with God (comp. Job xii. 13). The Old Lat. Version has: "and was with Him ever, and is before the Age" (*et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante ævum*).

2. The proposition in the second clause of *v.* 1 is farther carried out, both negatively and positively, in the following verses. That Wisdom is really with the Lord for ever, appears from the inscrutable mysteries by which we are surrounded (*vv.* 2, 3). The whole passage reminds us of Prov. xxx. 4. "The days of eternity"—lit. "**of Æon.**" The reasoning may be thus paraphrased: Who can compute either the numberless grains which make up the sand of the sea, or the drops in the rainfall, or the series of days which constitute Æon? To us it is all inscrutable. The term "Æon" occurs very frequently in the LXX.—almost exclusively for the Hebrew *Olam*. The expression "days of Æon," or of "the Æon," is found in the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 7; Is. lxiii. 9; Am. ix. 11; Mic. v. 2, vii. 14; Mal. iii. 4. Similarly, the expression "sand of the sea" is frequent in the LXX., and in the Bible is employed to denote an innumerable quantity. The reference to the rain-drops recalls Job xxxvi. 27, where the LXX. use the same words. It has, however, been also suggested that *v.* 2 may not be intended to mark the inscrutable character of what is there mentioned, but rather to indicate topics of comparison with the inscrutable character of Divine wisdom.

3. *find out.*] Rather, **trace out.**

the deep.] Rather, **the abyss.** The Armenian Version has: "the abyss of wisdom." The Syriac (as also Vet. Lat. and 70) omits "and wisdom." We regard the words as a Hellenising addition by the Greek translator. The language recalls the cosmogony of Philo ('de Mundi opif.' ed. Mangey, i. 6, 7; ed. Frcf., p. 6), in which first the "unbodily" heaven and the "unseen" (invisible) earth and "the idea" of air and vacuity were made by God in the "intelligible" (ideal) world. It seems the more likely that the younger Siracide may have entertained views kindred to those afterwards developed by Philo, since the same ideas appear in the LXX. rendering of Gen. i. 2: "And the earth was unseen (invisible) and unwrought" (unformed —the word occurs only here in biblical literature). Among the Rabbis we find similar speculations — although under ban of the authorities—about the pre-existence of matter and the formation, rather than the creation, of the world (comp. 'Life and Times of Jesus,' vol. i. pp. 50, 51). In these speculations water was mostly regarded as the original matter. One Rabbi (Ben Soma) thought that only two or three fingers' breadth intervened between the upper and the lower waters (Ber. R. 1); and that these issued from the *Thehom*, or abyss. The Hellenistic character of the views of the younger Siracide accounts for the otherwise apparently incongruous juxtaposition of "abyss" with "wisdom"—here in the sense of creative, formative wisdom.

4. *understanding of prudence.*] Rather, **intelligence of understanding** [purpose? thoughtfulness?]. The Armen. Vers. has the two words in apposition, as similarly Prov. i. 4; their conjunction in Prov. viii. 12, comp. i. 4. The verse seems another of the Hellenistic alterations by the Greek translator. The Syr. renders *v.* 4: "More abundant than all these is wisdom, and stronger is faith." The latter words suggest a Christian hand.

from everlasting.] Lit. **from Æon.**

On the negative statement concerning "Wisdom" (in *vv.* 2, 3) follows now the positive. Alike the first and second clauses of *v.* 4 seem parallel to, and are explained by the first and second clauses of *v.* 6. Verse 5 is found only in H, 23, 55, 70, 106, 248, Co. and in the Old Lat., and has been rightly omitted by Fritzsche. It is evidently an interpolation, intended to avert heterodox teaching or application.

In regard to the term "create" in *v.* 4, it is true that in Ecclus. it is used in the sense of "forming" or preparing (so probably, though not certainly, in Ecclus. xxxix. 25, and in xl. 1, xliv. 2, and more doubtfully, xlix. 14). But in these passages the word is evidently employed in a wider, almost figurative sense. Bretschneider is therefore not justified in contending that the word in our verse does not mean "to create." It might represent the Hebrew קנה, which the LXX. render in Prov. viii. 22 by "create" (so also in Gen. xiv. 19, 22, while generally they translate ברא by κτίζω). Although this view of "Wisdom" as created before all things is here probably

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [b] To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? or who hath known her wise counsels?

7 [Unto whom hath the knowledge of wisdom been made manifest? and who hath understood her great experience?]

8 There is one wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne.

9 He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.

B. C. cir. 200.

10 She *is* with all flesh according to his gift, and he hath given her to them that love him.

11 The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

12 The fear of the Lord maketh a

[b] Isai. 40. 13. Wisd. 9. 13. Rom. 11. 34. 1 Cor. 2. 16.

Grecian, it may also be referred to Prov. viii. 22. The Rabbis substituted for "Wisdom" the *Torah* (Law), which they represented as one of the six things created before the world (Ber. R. 1), or according to another passage, 2000 years before it (Midr. on Song v. 11). They commented on Prov. viii. 22 to this effect, that God had looked into the *Torah*, as an architect into his plans, and so created the world (Ber. R. 1). The second clause of *v.* 4 may probably refer to the details of creation. The personification of "Wisdom" in our verse is only figurative. It is interesting to mark that Philo also quotes Prov. viii. 22, interpreting it in a manner similar to the Siracide ('de Temul.' [ebriet.], ed. Mang. i. 362; Frcf. p. 244).

6. Rather, **was revealed, and who knew her subtle devices?** "Subtle devices," with the additional meaning of secrecy—Vet. Lat., *astutias illius*. The inscrutable character of "Wisdom" is farther shewn in regard to her root—as being in God, and to her working. The reference is not to Wisdom as in God, but to Wisdom as manifesting herself. The second half of the verse is omitted in the Armenian Version. The Syr. begins the verse with מן לקדמין—evidently the "from Æon" of the close of *v.* 4 in the Greek Version.

7. This is another interpolation, found in the same Codd. as *v.* 5.

8. **One is wise, and to be feared greatly, sitting upon His throne: the Lord.**] "To be feared greatly," comp. Joel ii. 11, and Ecclus. xliii. 29. In Him Wisdom is joined to power, although the reference may also be to His moral properties: He is the Lord. The Syr. and Arab. Versions have: "ruleth over all her treasures." The Syr. Vers. and the Old Lat. omit the words "wise and," which probably were not in the Hebrew original.

9, 10. Beginning of stanza ii. (*vv.* 9–15). The writer proceeds to give an account of Wisdom as Divinely bestowed. "Numbered her"—so literally. Although the words of the Hebrew original were probably taken from Job xxviii. 27 (see marg.), it does not follow that the younger Siracide mistranslated them because they differ from the rendering of the LXX. (ἐξηγήσατο). Some have translated: "He divided her," *i.e.* He bestowed on the things to be created, to each its part of wisdom. And this may be the meaning of the addition in the Syr. and Arab. Versions: "He numbered and gave it." We hesitate connecting the expression with the *Sephiroth*, or "enumerations" (emanations) of the Kabbalists, although to "enumerate" might be equivalent to creatively determining and setting it forth, and in that sense revealing it.

There cannot be any doubt as to the meaning of the next clause, with which the first part of *v.* 10 must be logically connected (the words "she is" are not in the original): "He poured her upon all (the Arm. omits "all") His works—*v.* 10*a*: [together] **with all flesh, according to His good will** (donation)." That this latter is here the correct meaning rather than "gift"—certainly not "appointed portion"—appears not only from the Syr. and Arab. Versions, but from the whole context, and seems supported by Ecclus. xi. 17, where the word δόσις in the first clause is parallel to "good pleasure" in the second. The expression "all flesh" means here "all mankind," as in Gen. vi. 12; Joel iii. 1. The word "with" seems at first sight to render the explanation difficult. But it may mean that wisdom has been bestowed on all God's works in connexion with man. It follows quite aptly (*v.* 10*b*) that "**He supplied** (bestowed) **her abundantly to them that love Him.**" Teaching similar to this, only in more developed form, occurs frequently in Philo. Notably, he tells us ('de Profug.' ed. Frcf. p. 470) that God pours of His etherial wisdom upon all generous and inquiring minds. But while they rejoice in it, they know not the author and source of it. This is God, who has given His word as the bread from heaven. These Divine precepts bring to the Israelitish, *i.e.* the receptive soul, light and sweetness. And then Philo proceeds to shew the superior happiness (as compared with that of the mere philosopher) of obedience to the commandments and the service of God.

B. C. cir. 200.

merry heart, and giveth joy, and gladness, and a long life.

13 Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last, and
‖ Or, *shall be blessed.* ‖ shall he find favour in the day of his death.

14 [c]To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and it was created with the faithful in the womb.

15 She hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue [d] with their seed.

B. C. cir. 200.

[c] Ps. 111. 10. Prov. 1. 7. & 9. 10.

[d] 2 Chron. 20. 21.

11. From this account of Wisdom, as Divinely bestowed—to which *vv.* 14, 15 correspond (see the introduction)—the writer passes in *v.* 11 to Wisdom in its practical aspect, which is the fear of the Lord, telling us what it is, and what it bestows, alike in life and death. The "crown of rejoicing" is a figure easily understood, derived from the custom on festive occasions.

12. **gladdens** (cheers) **the heart.**] The same expression occurs in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 9. The verbs, it should be noticed, are all in the future tense. For the last clause comp. Deut. iv. 40, vi. 2; Prov. iii. 1, 2, 16, x. 27; Ecclus. i. 20. The Rabbis also regard length of life as the reward of righteousness (Prov. x. 2): it delivered even from natural death (Shabb. 156 *b*), and death at sixty was "by the hand of God" (Jer. Bikk. 64 *c*). Similar statements frequently occur in the Midrashim.

13. In the margin, "shall be blessed," which marks the better meaning and reading of III., X, H, 23, 70, *al.*, Co., and the Old Lat. So also the Syr. and Arab. Versions. We should be glad to believe that the expression "**it shall be well at the last**" (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων) was intended to bear reference to the after-death. But the term (in the plural), which occurs in at least five other passages of Ecclus. (four of them wrongly marked in Trommius, 'Concord.'), refers in only one of these places (Ecclus. xlviii. 24) to what *we* would call "the last things," "the end of time." On the other hand, the dreary references to death by Ben Sira (as xviii. 12; xxxviii. 17–23; xli. 1–4) indicate a poor philosophy and an almost worse than Sadducean theology, which entertains not any real hope for after death. The single passage in Ecclus. xlviii. 11, quoted on the other side, requires special consideration (see the comment. On the subject generally see the Introduction). Bretschneider and Fritzsche understand the clause to refer to a gentle death (Ecclus. xi. 26). This seems somewhat jejune. But the Rabbis also speak of 903 different kinds of death [this by *gematria*, of which that "by the kiss" (of God) was the gentlest (Ber. 8 *a*), like drawing a hair out of the milk (Moed. Q., 28 *a*, *b*), while a painful death was to be the fate of the wicked. Inferences as to the condition of the soul were also derived from the look and even the posture of the dying (Ab. de R. Nath. 25). Perhaps the expression in Ecclus. may refer to death when children are left behind, especially sons. The Rabbis suppose that this is marked in Scripture by the expression "falling asleep," in contradistinction to dying (the former in the case of David, the latter in that of Joab). The second half of the verse, however, seems to refer to public acknowledgment upon death: and this, even accepting the reading in the margin, which is that of A, C, and other Codd., as well as of the Syr. and Vet. Lat. We know what value the Rabbis attached to public lamentations of the dead and to encomium at funeral orations.

14. This and *v.* 15 are extremely interesting from their connexion with *vv.* 9, 10, and the light which they cast upon them. The additions in the Vet. Lat. (Latin Version) are very curious and characteristic of their source. For the first half of *v.* 14 comp. Prov. i. 7; ix. 10. The second half is quite in accordance with the later teaching of Philo, who regarded as the highest class of virtue that from an innate good disposition. ('Leg. Alleg.' iii., ed. Frcf. p. 76; 'de Congr.' *u. s.* p. 429, and specially 'de Prof.' p. 474; comp. generally Siegfried, 'Philo,' p. 269, &c., and the art. "Philo" in Wace and Smith's 'Dict.') The views of the Rabbis were similar (comp. St. John ix. 2; see 'Life and Times of Jesus,' ii. p. 178). "The faithful" are the *neemanim* (2 Macc. i. 2) of the Jews. The same expression occurs also in the LXX. and the N. T.

15. The rendering of this verse is very difficult. Literally translated, the first half of it could scarcely mean anything else than: **And with men, as an eternal foundation** (the same word for the Heb. word "place" in LXX. Job xviii. 4; Is. xiii. 13), **she has built her nest**—since the verb (νοσσεύω) is not a transitive. But as this would present a strange mixture of figures, we can only suggest that there is here a misreading and misrendering of the original, as in LXX. Prov. xvi. 16—perhaps in imitation of it—in which case the Hebrew original really meant: "And she has acquired an eternal foundation (place, habitation) with men." And it is probable that the substantive (νοσσιά) is used with the same application in Ecclus. xxxvi. 26 *c*. The rendering of the second clause is scarcely less difficult. Fritzsche translates what he supposes the original (תֵּאָמֵן) by "she shall be continuous," or "accredited, faithful (approved)," but the better rendering seems to

B. C. cir. 200.

16 To fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom, and filleth men with her fruits.

17 She filleth all their house with things desirable, and the garners with her increase.

18 The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish; both which are the gifts of God: and it enlargeth their rejoicing that love him.

19 Wisdom raineth down skill and knowledge of understanding, and exalteth them to honour that hold her fast.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 The root of wisdom is to fear the Lord, and the branches thereof are long life.

21 The fear of the Lord driveth away sins: and where it is present, it turneth away wrath.

22 A furious man cannot ‖ be justified; for the sway of his fury shall be his destruction.

‖ Or, *escape punishment.*

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be: **she shall be credited** (*fide digna habebitur, vel reperietur*). As regards the meaning of the verse, Ecclus. xxiv. 7, 8 seems to leave no doubt that the reference in the first clause is to the Mosaic Law, as wisdom that had obtained an eternal foundation in Israel, although it seems doubtful whether "their seed," among which the Law is to shew itself worthy of credence, or to be approved, refers to mankind generally, or to the descendants of Israel.

16. The verse is not merely a repetition, but opens the second part of the chapter, and begins a new stanza (see introduction). The connexion with *v.* 14 should be marked. As "to fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" (*v.* 14), so "the fulness" or "abundance" "of wisdom"—the determining substantive being here used in the sense of a superlative—is once more "to fear the Lord" —wisdom begins and ends there; "**and makes them drunk**," *i.e.* fully satisfies them. See a similar use of the figure in Deut. xxxii. 42, and a similar expression in LXX. Ps. xxii. 5 (A. V. xxiii. 5).

17. Comp. Prov. viii. 18, 19. "All their house:" rather, **all her house**. The Syr. has: "she filleth her treasuries with *wisdom* and her *treasures*," &c.—the Syr. reading מטמנים for מטעמים, or perhaps חכמה for חמדה. "With her fruits:" more literally, **her products**. We have little doubt that here the Greek rendering preserves the Hebrew original of the older Siracide.

18. The relation between fear of the Lord as the beginning and the fulness of wisdom in *vv.* 14 and 16 is inverted in *vv.* 18 and 20. This is not the case in the Syr., which has once more "the beginning of wisdom," and also more correctly renders the second clause: "and increaseth peace, and life, and health." "Perfect health:" literally, **health of healing**—health restored. **The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom** (perhaps in the sense of Wisdom being crowned when this fear shall universally prevail), **making to flourish** (here probably a Hebraism) **peace** (between man and man) **and health of healing** (the healing of all present breaches). The sentiment, which in its Greek form is one of the modifications of the original by the younger Siracide, reappears in Philo. There we find the same anticipations fully, and in exact correspondence, expressed in the descriptions of Messianic times, specially in 'de Præm. et Pœn.' ed. Mangey, ii. 421, &c.; ed. Frcf. pp. 923–925. The clauses in the A. V. after "to flourish" must be struck out.

19. The A. V. omits (with 253, 248, Co.) the opening words of the verse: **And He saw and numbered** (or revealed) **her**. The clause, which is precisely parallel to *v.* 9 (see the note), once more points forward to Philo. But it cannot be omitted, if only because it supplies the subject—God—for what follows. The word "Wisdom" with which *v.* 19 begins in the A. V. does not occur in the original, and the subject is God. The idea of presenting Him as "pouring down, like rain," "skill and knowledge of understanding," is thoroughly Hellenistic. Indeed, the first two clauses of this verse, which are quite different in the Syr., must be attributed to the younger Siracide. In the same manner Philo applied the expression "I will rain bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4) to the showering down from above of Wisdom on all who are receptive ('de Prof.,' c. 25, ed. Frcf. p. 470). "And exalteth them to honour:" rather, **heightens** (increases) **the honour of them**, &c. On the whole comp. Prov. iv. 8.

21. This verse in our A. V. is not found in the best Codd., and must be omitted. From *v.* 20–27 the Syr. contains an entirely different portion.

22. The verse begins a new stanza.

A furious man.] The better reading is **unrighteous anger**, although A. V. represents a correct gloss: comp. Prov. xv. 18. **Shall not be justified**—that is, before God; nor yet will it be vindicated or established before men. In general the expressions must

B. C. cir. 200.

23 A patient man will bear for a time, and afterward joy shall spring up unto him.

24 He will hide his words for a time, and the lips of many shall declare his wisdom.

25 The parables of knowledge are in the treasures of wisdom: but godliness is an abomination to a sinner.

26 If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee.

27 For the fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction: and faith and meekness are his delight. B. C. cir. 200.

28 ‖ Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor; and come not unto him with a double heart. ‖ Or, *Be not disobedient to.*

29 Be not an hypocrite in the sight of men, and take good heed what thou speakest.

30 Exalt not thyself, lest thou fall, and bring dishonour upon thy soul,

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be taken in their widest and most manifold application. "The sway of his anger," in the sense of *momentum, impetus*, "shall be his destruction"—rather, **to his fall**—it shall be the cause or occasion of it. The second clause of the verse does not give the reason, but rather explains the meaning of the statement in the first clause, and carries it further. The transition here from *v.* 20 *b* is abrupt, although *v.* 22 may possibly be intended as a demonstration and continuation of *vv.* 19 *e*, 20 *b*.

23. In contrast to this "man of wrath" (Prov. xv. 18) is he who is patient, long suffering (*μακρόθυμος*, אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם), as in Prov. xiv. 29; xv. 18. See also the similar rendering by Aquila of אַאֲרִיךְ נַפְשִׁי, Job vi. 11. Instead of "will bear," Fritzsche renders, after another reading (*ἀνέξεται*): "will hold out." But the alteration does not seem to be sufficiently supported, and the ordinary reading and rendering best accord with the context. He **will bear till the time** (*not* "for a time")—עֲדִי־עֵת—viz., of his vindication and deliverance by God.

24. *He will hide his words* **till the time.**] Till the right time, that appointed of God for his vindication and deliverance, he will keep back, restrain, his speech. Comp. Ps. xxxix. 1; Prov. x. 19. The second part of the verse shews how ample his public vindication shall be. Grotius aptly: "Silentium illius in tempore compensabitur multorum de ipso sermonibus." The Wisdom here spoken of is not abstract (*σοφία*), but practical (*σύνεσις*)—intelligence, prudence.

25. **In** [or **among**] **the treasures of wisdom is a parable** (or else in the collective sense, "are parables") **of understanding**—the latter indicating their quality or the kind of parable. But quite the opposite are the views of life and the conversation of the sinner, *v.* 25 *b*.

26. The theoretical and the practical are here combined: the way to acquire wisdom is obedience to the commandments. Yet this wisdom is not in any way the *reward* of obedience: **and the Lord will abundantly furnish thee with it.** This is not a distinctively Judaic (Rabbinic) sentiment, but the writer occupies Old Testament—we had almost said, New Testament—ground.

27. This verse, which opens the last stanza, continues the reasoning of *v.* 26. It also looks back on the beginning of the previous stanza in *vv.* 22, &c. Practical wisdom in the fear and service of the Lord is here represented as quiet, patient bearing in well-doing, in opposition to the wrathful self-assertion of the proud sinner. "Faith and meekness"—gentleness—"are His delight:" rather, **good pleasure**, that with which He is well pleased, which He approves and loves. The word *εὐδοκία* occurs in the LXX. only in the Psalms (there eight times) and in the Apocrypha only in Ecclus.—giving another indication of the connexion in time between the version of the Psalms and our book. [In Cant. vi. 3—LXX. 4—the name *Tirzah* is so rendered.]

28. The clause "when thou art poor" must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. It is evidently an explanatory gloss. The rendering "distrust not," "disbelieve not" (which seems supported by LXX. Is. xxx. 12), appears to correspond better with the second part of the verse than the "be not disobedient" of the margin. "A double heart" (comp. Ps. xii. 2)—one that alternates between faith and unbelief: comp. St. Jas. i. 8; iv. 8.

29. To inward truth outward truthfulness must correspond. "What thou speakest:" lit. "in thy lips." With the exception of 250 the Greek Codd. read, instead of "in the sight of men," "in the mouths [or mouth] of men." The Greek translator evidently misread בפי for בפני. The Syr. read it correctly, and the Vet. Lat. follows it: It seems needless to limit the verse to a spurious public profession of religion. The wider view is fully borne out by the next verse.

B. C. cir. 200.

and so God discover thy secrets, and cast thee down in the midst of the congregation, because thou camest not in truth to the fear of the Lord, but thy heart is full of deceit.

CHAPTER II.

1 *God's servants must look for trouble,* 7 *and be patient, and trust in him.* 12 *For woe to them that do not so.* 15 *But they that fear the Lord will do so.*

B. C. cir. 200.

MY son, if [a] thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation.

2 Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure, and [‖] make not haste in time of trouble.

3 Cleave unto him, and depart not away, that thou mayest be increased at thy last end.

4 Whatsoever is brought upon

[a] Matt. 4. 1. 2 Tim. 3. 12. 1 Pet. 4. 12.

[‖] Or, *haste not.*

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30. Comp. St. Matt. xxiii. 12; St. Luke xviii. 14. "Discover:" in the sense of reveal, —make publicly known that which had been hidden. On the first part comp. Prov. xxvi. 28; on the last clause, Acts xiii. 10. The Syr. has in the closing verses several other renderings, some of which probably depend on a different reading of the Hebrew. One very clear instance of this (pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth) is in *v.* 30; for "thou camest not" the Syr. has "thou bearest the name" (omitting "not")—evidently the one reading נקרבת, the other נקריח.

CHAPTER II.

The arrangement of this chapter into three unequal stanzas (1–6; 7–11; 12–18) is well marked. The first of them (*vv.* 1–6) connects itself with the penultimate stanza of the previous chapter (i. 22–26). Similarly, stanzas ii. and iii. of chapter ii. (especially stanza ii.) look back on the last stanza of chap. i., and further develop the idea of "the fear of the Lord," referred to in the opening and closing verses of that stanza (i. 27 *a*, 30 *e*).

Thus viewed, the first stanza of chapter ii. continues and carries out what had been set forth in the previous chapter—especially as to faith, patience, and meekness. The second stanza (*vv.* 7–11) is well marked by a threefold "Ye that fear the Lord," to which an admonition or a promise is in each case attached. The two concluding verses of the stanza—or perhaps three verses, since *v.* 10 is double—furnish the ground for each of the preceding admonitions. We mark that each of the three verses of admonitions has its corresponding couplet of lines in the two (or three) following verses (*vv.* 10, 11).

In stanza iii. (*vv.* 12–18) the three "Ye that fear the Lord" of the previous stanza have as their counterpart a threefold "Woe" (*vv.* 12–14)—in which we also mark correspondence with the first stanza of the chapter. The threefold "Woe" is followed by a threefold "They *that fear* the Lord" (*vv.* 15–17) —but here of a descriptive, not (as in stanza ii.) of a hortatory character. The concluding verse (*v.* 18) furnishes the ground of what had immediately preceded, and thus corresponds with *vv.* 10, 11 in stanza i.

1. *if thou come.*] "Come forward," "set out." Practical advice is now given to him who really wishes to serve the Lord, in opposition to those referred to in the closing verses of ch. i. The first thing to be remembered is that temptation will meet us by the way. Such temptation may, as Drusius rightly remarks, come by adversity or by prosperity. But the reference here is to adversity, as the following verses shew.

2. **Guide thy heart straight,** direct, govern it (so in LXX. Josh. xxiv. 23). This is the literal meaning of the word. **"And be steadfast,"** which probably gives the meaning more fully, as the verb signifies both "to be staunch" and "to endure patiently." This in opposition to making haste in the time of trouble—of **distress or misery** (Bissell, "visitation"). The verb is often used in Philonic writings of afflictions sent. In such seasons we are to be staunch — not perturbed nor hasty in thought or deed. Comp. Ps. xxvii. 14. The verse is wanting in the Syr.

3. *depart not.*] Viz. from God—turn not aside (the Hebrew סוּר מִן). "Increased:" in the sense of compensating exaltation afterwards, at his end, or rather at a later time, when affliction and temptation well endured shall give place to happiness. But there is no reference here to the "after death." Comp. St. Jas. v. 11. For "mayest be increased at thy last end" the Syr. has: "mayest be wise in thy paths"—(as has been noted) reading באורחותיך, while the Greek read באחריתך.

4. *brought upon thee.*] Viz. by God; "take," viz. upon thyself—accept it, submit to it. The word "cheerfully" should be omitted, as not properly authenticated. "When thou art changed to a low estate" gives the meaning correctly—lit. "in the changes of thy humiliation," *i.e.* when changes come by which thou art brought into a low estate. But the reading of 248, ἀλλάγματι (in the singular), is supported by the Syr. and better.

B.C. cir. 200. thee take cheerfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low estate.

[b] Prov. 17. 3. Wisd. 3. 6. 5 [b]For gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity.

[c] Ps. 37. 3, 5. 6 [c]Believe in him, and he will help thee; order thy way aright, and trust in him.

[d] Ps. 37. 7. 7 Ye that fear the Lord, [d]wait for his mercy; and go not aside, lest ye fall.

8 Ye that fear the Lord, believe him; and your reward shall not fail.

9 Ye that fear the Lord, hope for good, and for everlasting joy and mercy.

B.C. cir. 200. 10 Look at the generations of old, and see; [e]did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded? or did any abide in his fear, and was forsaken? or whom did he ever despise, that called upon him?

[e] Ps. 37. 25.

[f] Ps. 86. 15. & 145. 8. 11 [f]For the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, longsuffering, and very pitiful, and forgiveth sins, and saveth in time of affliction.

12 Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways!

13 Woe unto him that is faint-hearted! for he believeth not; therefore shall he not be defended.

14 Woe unto you that have lost

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5. The higher reason of the direction of *v.* 4 and the comfort in it are indicated. Such changes are divinely ordered to try and to purify us. "Adversity:" lit. humiliation. The figures employed frequently recur in Holy Scripture (Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; Zech. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 3; 1 Pet. i. 7).

6. *Help* or "take part with thee." The idea of helping, as in St. Luke i. 54. "Order thy way aright" gives correctly the sense of the original—lit. **guide** (make) **thy ways straight** (set, direct them)—certainly not in the sense of "straightforwardness." "*Trust:*" rather, **hope.** For "hope in Him" the Syr. has: "and He will direct thy paths."

7. This verse, which begins the second stanza (see the introd.), farther indicates the duty of waiting for the merciful deliverance of God, and the danger of attempts at sinful self-deliverance. In this and the following two verses the progression of thought is always in the second clauses.

8. The promise that their "reward shall not fail," or be lost, must—at least by us—not be taken in a Judaic sense.

9. The admonition passes now from the individual to the general, and hence must be considered as applicable to the pious at all times and in all circumstances. This should be kept in view in the interpretation of the expression "everlasting joy and mercy." The term "everlasting" can scarcely be regarded as equivalent to "lasting" or "long enduring." Nor yet does it seem to refer to what we understand by "everlasting." Rather does it seem to mean that they who fear the Lord may *always* look for joy and mercy from God. That this is the right interpretation appears from the review in *v.* 10 of the experience of believers in the past.

10. The last clause should be worded like the two which precede: "**Or did any call upon Him, and He** despised them;" rather, **took not notice of them?**

11. And this, although we cannot plead freedom from sin and its ill desert. The words "longsuffering and very pitiful" should be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities.

12. This verse opens the third stanza. The writer now turns to those who neglect his admonitions. The antithesis between *vv.* 12–14, and both that which had preceded and that which follows, should be marked. The threefold "Woe" is not to be regarded as a denunciation of judgments, but rather as equivalent to "**Alas for those.**" Each of them bears reference to want of that steadfast faith and unswerving trust previously recommended. In the first "woe" failure in a staunch and straight course is denounced; in the second, failure of courage and assurance; in the third, that of patient endurance.

faint hands.] Rather, **hands that hang down** (Heb. xii. 12). The expression is parallel to that in Job iv. 3 and Is. xxxv. 3 (the latter being rendered in the LXX. in nearly the same manner). "Fearful hearts" is no doubt the equivalent of the Heb. in Deut. xx. 8 (in the A. V. "faint-hearted"), where the LXX. employ exactly the same words. Similarly also in 2 Chron. xiii. 7, both in the Heb. and the LXX. To "go **upon** two ways" refers not to uncertainty, but to want of decision and the attempt to keep in with both sides. The classical reader will remember the "duabus sellis sedere" (with our proverbial sequence of "falling between two stools"); while the biblical student will recall, both as to expression and

B. C. cir. 200.

patience! and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?

15 They that fear the Lord will
g John 14. 23. not disobey his word; and g they that love him will keep his ways.

16 They that fear the Lord will seek that which is wellpleasing unto him; and they that love him shall be filled with the law.

17 They that fear the Lord will prepare their hearts, and humble their souls in his sight,

h 2 Sam. 24. 14. 18 *Saying*, We will h fall into the hands of the Lord, and not into the hands of men: for as his majesty is, so is his mercy.

CHAPTER III.

B. C. cir. 200.

2 Children must honour and help both their parents. 21 We may not desire to know all things. 26 The incorrigible must needs perish. 30 Alms are rewarded.

HEAR me your father, O children, and do thereafter, that ye may be safe.

2 For the Lord hath given a the father honour over the children, and hath confirmed the ‖ authority of the mother over the sons.

a Exod. 20. 12. Deut. 5. 16. Matt. 15. 4. Mark 7. 10. Eph. 6. 2.

3 Whoso honoureth his father maketh an atonement for his sins:

4 And he that honoureth his mother is as one that layeth up treasure.

‖ Or, *judgment*.

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meaning, Prov. xxviii. 6, 18. (Comp. also 1 Kings xviii. 21.) The verse presents a climax: heart, hands, walk—moral defect in either always leading to that in the other.

14. "*Patience:*" in the sense of endurance rather than of hope (the latter, Fritzsche). For "*have lost* patience" the Syr. has "*polletis* fiducia"—perhaps a confusion of אַבְרֵי with אֹבְדֵי.

15. The opposite course is traced as that which characterises the "fear of the Lord." One of the most valuable parts of this chapter is the Old Testament view which it presents of the "fear of the Lord." "Will not disobey"—in the Syr. "will not hate"—a different rendering of the word מֹאֵס in the original. "His word:" rather, **words**. Mark that as in *vv.* 7–9 we have a threefold admonition to those who "fear the Lord," and in *vv.* 12–14 a threefold "woe" upon failure in this, so in *vv.* 15–17 a threefold description of what may be expected of them who "fear the Lord"—the expression "they that love Him" (*v.* 16 *b*) being almost parallel to it.

16. *that which is wellpleasing unto him.*] This is misleading. The right rendering is, **His good pleasure** (εὐδοκίαν). "Filled with:" in the sense of satiating themselves with it, seeking, aiming, and living only after His Law.

17. For "*humble* their souls" the Syr. has: "he that forsaketh him shall *ruin his soul*"—reading (as has been suggested) יִשְׁחַת for יִשְׁחָה.

18. *majesty.*] Rather, **greatness**. It is scarcely necessary to point out the reference to 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; only that in the present instance the reason of the choice is indicated in the preceding context, and also in the last clause of this verse, which is truly grand and Old Testament in its conception. It should be added that the Rabbis also noted that wherever God's greatness was spoken of in Scripture, there His condescension was also immediately indicated. So in Deut. x. 17, 18; Is. lvii. 15; Ps. lxviii. 4, 5 (Meg. 31 *a*).

CHAPTER III.

This chapter seems to be arranged into four stanzas. After an introductory line, the first two stanzas consist each of fourteen lines, in commendation of filial duty (*vv.* 1*b*–9; 10–16). The third stanza (*vv.* 17–24), also of fourteen lines, is in praise of humility; while the fourth, of twelve lines (*vv.* 26–29; *v.* 25 must be omitted), seems chiefly directed against pride of heart and mind, and intended to inculcate an opposite frame.

1. *your father.*] Rather, **the father**. This expression, and that of "children," must not be pressed literally, although the writer immediately proceeds to describe what is the proper filial relation. The "safety" here spoken of—*ut salvi sitis*—does not refer to that in the next world, as appears from what immediately follows.

2. "Given honour"—**extolled**. Fritzsche, however, renders "with, or in, the children," in the sense that according to Divine appointment the honour of a father consists in this, that the children honour him. "The authority of the mother over sons:" omit the article. The word "authority" probably expresses here the meaning better than any other. The Greek, κρίσις, no doubt corresponds to the Hebrew *mishpat*, for which it occurs in the LXX. not less than 132 times. But *mishpat* also means "a right" in the sense of that which is due (so in Deut. xviii. 3, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.) —and the "right" of the mother, that which is due to her, is equivalent to her authority.

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Whoso honoureth his father shall have joy of *his own* children; and when he maketh his prayer, he shall be heard.

6 He that honoureth his father shall have a long life; and he that is obedient unto the Lord shall be a comfort to his mother.

7 He that feareth the Lord will honour his father, and will do service unto his parents, as to his masters.

[b] ver. 2.

8 [b] Honour thy father and mother both in word and deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from them.

[c] Gen. 27. 27, 28, 29. Deut. 33. 1.

9 For [c] the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out foundations.

B. C. cir. 200.

10 Glory not in the dishonour of thy father; for thy father's dishonour is no glory unto thee.

11 For the glory of a man is from the honour of his father; and a mother in dishonour is a reproach to the children.

12 My son, help thy father in his age, and grieve him not as long as he liveth.

13 And if his understanding fail, have patience with him; and despise him not when thou art ‖ in thy full strength.

‖ Or, *in all thine ability.*

14 For the relieving of thy father

It need scarcely be pointed out how needful this admonition is.

3, 4. These verses carry the preceding into further detail. "Honoureth his father:" perhaps better **reverences**, which will also distinguish this verb from that applied in the next verse to one's mother. "Maketh an atonement"—according to the better reading, in the future tense: **shall make atonement**, not in the Christian sense, but in that indicated in *vv.* 14 and 15. "As one that layeth up treasure," providing for the time of need, so is he that showeth due honour to his mother. The word *ἀποθησαυρίζω* occurs only in this passage (not in the LXX.) and in 1 Tim. vi. 19.

5. *shall* **be rejoiced**—made happy—**by** *children.* Although the verb does not otherwise occur with *ὑπό*, there cannot be any doubt that this, rather than *ἐπὶ τέκνοις*, is the better reading. **In the day of his prayer:** this rather than as in the A. V., especially as it seems to point to special prayer—primarily, prayer in time of calamity.

6. "A comfort," in the sense of giving restfulness and refreshment. In the LXX. it mostly corresponds to the verb נוּחַ, in its various forms: and 2 Sam. vii. 1, 11; 1 Kings v. 4; 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18; Is. xiv. 3, but especially Prov. xxix. 17, may here be mentioned as parallels.

7. According to the weight of authorities, the first half of the verse should be omitted, but alike the preceding verse and the clause which follows seem to require it—although, on the other hand, it may have owed its origin to a feeling of abruptness in the text without it. The "service" spoken of is like that of a slave. The Rabbis also held that a child was bound to do a slave's service to his father, and likewise to his teacher. The construction with *ἐν* (*δουλεύσει ἐν*) occurs only again in LXX. Jer. xxv. 11.

8. **In deed and word** (comp. St. Luke xxiv. 19) **reverence thy father,** *that a blessing may come upon thee* **from him.** Thus according to the better reading, and literally.

9. Better the indefinite article: **a father, a mother.** The expression "houses" refers not only to the prosperity but to the permanence of a family. This appears still further from the second clause. But Ex. i. 21, 2 Sam. vii. 11, are scarcely parallels.

10. The verse begins the second stanza, which presents the negative aspect of what had formerly been inculcated. "Dishonour"—as generally in reference to fathers, a derivative of *τιμάω* is used. The verse accurately represents ancient Hebrew feeling, and rebukes the spurious modern boasts of independence from ancestry.

12 *b.* For "*grieve* him not" the Syr. has "*leave* not his glory"—as has been suggested, a confusion of תעצבנו with תעזבנו.

13. **Make allowance** — "have indulgence" with him. The Rabbis were wont to enforce this by an appeal to the beautiful legend according to which the broken tables of the Law were likewise preserved in the Ark (Ber. 8 *b*; Baba B. 14 *b*). "In thy full strength:" rather, **in all thy strength.** The Syr. has: "all the days of his life"—reading כל ימי חייו [or ביומי], while the Greek read חילך.

14. *relieving.*] Better, probably, the more general term "pity" or "mercy." "Instead of sins," that is in place of the evil and destruction which thy sins would have brought, **it shall be built up to thee again,** viz.

B. C. cir. 200. shall not be forgotten: and instead of sins it shall be added to build thee up.

15 In the day of thine affliction it shall be remembered; thy sins also shall melt away, as the ice in the fair warm weather.

16 He that forsaketh his father is as a blasphemer; and he that angereth his mother is cursed of God.

17 My son, go on with thy business in meekness; so shalt thou be beloved of him that is approved.

18 [d] The greater thou art, the more humble thyself, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord. B. C. cir. 200. [d] Phil. 2. 3.

19 Many are in high place, and of renown: but [e] mysteries are revealed unto the meek. [e] Ps. 25. 9, 14.

20 For the power of the Lord is great, and he is honoured of the lowly.

21 [f] Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength. [f] Prov. 25. 27. Rom. 12. 3.

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thy house (or, perhaps: "it shall be added to thee for building up"). The verb, without πρός, occurs repeatedly in the LXX., notably in Deut. xiii. 16; Jer. xviii. 9; Zech. i. 16; Mal. iii. 15.

15. **He** (Syr. "she") **shall remember thee**—the Syr. adds *to thee*—viz. for good, or for help and deliverance. The correctness of this rendering is attested by the Syr. **Like fair weather upon ice, so thy sins shall be dissolved** (melt away). The meaning is, that just as the warmth of fine weather dissolves the ice which is the result of cold, so would dutifulness towards parents remove the guilt and consequences of our sins. The moral and spiritual view here taken alike of sin and of duty towards parents is the opposite of elevated. In the Syriac, "as heat against ice, to the abolishing of thy sins;" in the Arabic we have, instead of the last clause, "shall drive away evils from thee, as cold is driven away by the fierceness of heat"—both explanatory rather than literal renderings.

16. In the Greek the order of the sentences in each of the two members of the verse is inverted (as compared with the A. V.), and this makes the meaning much more emphatic. "Forsaketh:" that is, leaves unhelped. "Angereth:" probably, by refusing aid. The tone of at least the first part of this verse rises to a greater moral height.

17. In the new stanza which here opens, the writer proceeds to admonish to modesty and humility; and this, first, as regards outward conduct and bearing (*vv.* 17–20); then as regards the mind (*vv.* 21–24), and, lastly, as regards the heart and feelings (*vv.* 25–28). The admonition to humility is supported by three arguments: 1st, it secures the goodwill of pious men—of such as are "approved," viz. of God (comp. ii. 5), *v.* 17; 2ndly, it gains the favour of God, *v.* 18; which, 3rdly, is the source of all success, *v.* 20.

18. Humility should increase with outward success. It almost seems as if the writer had in his mind that otherwise an envious fate would dispense calamity. A similar admonition, but from a much higher point of view, is given in 1 Pet. v. 5.

19. This verse is an interpolation.

20. "The power of the Lord," Syr. "the mercy of the Lord"—perhaps a confusion between חסד and חזק. "Honoured of:" rather, **glorified by**. Instead of the last clause the Syr. has: "and to the meek His secrets are revealed"—probably repeated from *v.* 19 *b*.

21. In the admonitions to humility which now follow, the reasoning is as follows: Abstain from useless speculations and attempts to comprehend that which is above human reason (*v.* 21). Practical obedience is required, not speculative knowledge, which is barren (*v.* 22). The latter employs our powers to no purpose, whereas all that is really necessary has been quite clearly told us (*v.* 23). Lastly, such speculations have led many fatally astray (*v.* 24). The argument is deeply interesting, not only as shewing that a spirit of inquiry and speculation was abroad, but as containing one of the passages quoted in Rabbinic writings as from 'The Book of Ben Sira.' The fullest recension of it is in Ber. R. 8 (ed. Warsh. 17 *a*), where *v.* 21 and the substance of *v.* 22 are quoted as follows: "Rabbi Elazar said in the name of Ben Sira (so also in Jer. Chag. 77 *c*), What is too great for thee, seek not out; into what is too strong (powerful) for thee, search not; what is too high for thee seek not to know; into what is hidden from thee, inquire not; what is within thy power (that which is within thy reach, that which is practically before thee), consider, and busy not thyself with secret things." The same saying is quoted, with slightly different wording, in the Jer. Talmud (Chag. 77 *c*), and in the Bab. Talmud (Chag. 13 *a*—there, as from 'The Book of Sira'), but without the first two clauses given in Ber. R. 8. There can be little doubt that the recension in the Talmud,

B. C. cir. 200.

22 But what is commanded thee, think thereupon *with reverence;* for it is not needful for thee *to see with thine eyes* the things that are in secret.

23 Be not curious in unnecessary matters: for more things are shewed unto thee than men understand.

24 For many are deceived by their own vain opinion; and an evil suspicion hath overthrown their judgment.

25 Without eyes thou shalt want light: profess not the knowledge therefore that thou hast not.

26 A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein.

B. C. cir. 200.

27 An obstinate heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the wicked man shall heap sin upon sin.

28 ‖In the punishment of the proud there is no remedy; for the plant of wickedness hath taken root in him.

‖ Or, *The proud man is not healed by his punishment.*

29 The heart of the prudent will understand a parable; and an attentive ear is the desire of a wise man.

30 ℰ Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins.

ℰ Ps. 41. 1, &c. Dan. 4. 27. Matt. 5. 7.

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with its four members in exact parallelism, is the correct one, nor yet that it—rather than the Greek—represents what had originally been written by the older Siracide.

22. The words "with reverence" and "to see with thine eyes" must be omitted. The last clause should read: **for thou hast no use** (or else, no necessity) **for** (*non pertinent ad te*) **the things that are hidden**—they are not required for any practical purpose.

23. Rather, **In the things which go beyond** (surpass, exceed—both in quantity and quality) **thy works** (the requirements of practice, referred to in the previous verse) **be not a busybody**—the same word as in 2 Thess. iii. 11: here probably in the sense of meddling with what does not concern one, wasting one's labour. **For what exceeds** (is beyond) **the intelligence of man** (*i.e.* is more than enough for his comprehension, his practical capacity) **has been shewn to thee** (marked out before thee).

24. The admonition to humility in abstaining from searching into what is beyond our ken concludes with a warning: **For many has their notion** (a notion on their part, or else, an assumption) **led astray** (misled), **and a wrong** (noxious) **supposition made their judgment to slip** (slide, fall on a slippery place). Others, however, have applied the substantives "notion" and "supposition" to excessive opinion of oneself =conceit, which led to entering on dangerous and misleading speculations.

25. This verse must be omitted, as not supported by the best authorities. In the Syr. and Arab. Versions it follows after *v.* 27, and in the Arab. rather as a paraphrase.

26. Here begins with the last stanza the commendation of heart-humility. The reference seems to wilful and proud neglect of the warnings previously given, leading a person to rush into the fatal dangers above indicated. Practically the same expression for a "stubborn heart" occurs in the LXX. Deut. x. 16; Prov. xvii. 20, xxviii. 14; Ezek. iii. 7. In 1 Kings (1 Sam.) xxv. 3 we have this about Nabal: *ὁ ἄνθρωπος σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι.* [The Syr. rendering of 26 *b*, "he that loveth good things shall attain them," is contrary to the whole structure of this stanza, in which the clauses of each verse are not in antithesis.]

27. *Sorrows*, or labours, cares, troubles. "The wicked man:" rather, **the sinner.** We mark as parallel to the second clause this saying of Ben Azai in Ab. iv. 2: "One transgression draws another after it."

28. Probably best rendered: **By** (in) **the calamity** (*ἐπαγωγῇ*—H, 248, Co. prefix *ἐν* —that which is brought to him in trial or punishment) **of the proud there is not healing:** it does not lead to his spiritual healing. The connexion of thought is as follows: Pride of heart will lead to danger and ruin (*v.* 26); sin will prove progressive (*v.* 27), and even trials will not act as corrective (*v.* 27).

29–31. The last three verses read like a practical application of the parabolic teaching of this whole chapter. In opposition to the stubbornness and conceit which had been condemned, we have here on the part of the prudent understanding of the parabolic or proverbial teaching just given him—his earnest desire being to learn and obey (*v.* 29). The expression "heart" is used in its wider Hebraic sense for the mind, or what we might designate the inner man.

30. This practical lesson comes to us parabolically, that the moral effect of alms

B. C. cir. 200.

31 And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth, he shall find a stay.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *We may not despise the poor or fatherless,* 11 *but seek for wisdom,* 20 *and not be ashamed of some things, nor gainsay the truth,* 30 *nor be as lions in our houses.*

MY son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long.

2 Make not an hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress. B. C. cir. 200.

3 Add not more trouble to an heart that is vexed; and [a]defer not to give to him that is in need. [a] Prov. 3. 27, 28.

4 Reject not the supplication of the afflicted; neither turn away thy face from a poor man. [b] Tobit 4. 7. Matt. 5. 42.

5 [b]Turn not away thine eye from [‖]the needy, and give him none occasion to curse thee: ‖ Or, *him that asketh.*

upon sins is like that of water upon fire—it puts an end to their destructive effect. Low as is the spiritual tone of such a sentiment, it is even more painfully and realistically expressed in the Book of Tobit (comp. iv. 8–11; xii. 9; xiv. 11).

31. The word "and" must be omitted; and instead of "that which may come hereafter," better: **the things which are after these** (*τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα*)—that is, after that which is now going on, our present condition, which may change to one of need. The Syr. has: "beneficus expeditus est *in via* sua"—reading אורחות for אחרית. Difference of opinion prevails whether the subject of the first clause is God or man. The former view has probably led to the insertion of the words "the Lord" in 106, 248, Co., H, Vet. Lat. But the reading is not trustworthy; and as man is the subject in the second clause, it seems natural to supplement also the same word in the first clause. Thus viewed, *v.* 31 forms the final link in the teaching of this chapter. The man who requiteth benefits—viz. those which he had received from his parents—**is remembered** in such changes and events as may come upon him hereafter, **and in the time of his falling shall find support** (stay, *succour*). Comp. iii. 1–16.

CHAPTER IV.

From the consideration of duty towards parents the writer proceeds to what is required of us in regard to our neighbour. As in the previous chapter, duty is here primarily viewed under the aspect of beneficence. Hence the relations indicated are mainly those towards the poor. Here also the writer shews that true religion, which in his mind consists in the practice of good works, is true wisdom. This explains the transition to the praise of wisdom (*vv.* 11–19). Wisdom is practical religion in well doing; on the other hand, sin is evil doing and the loss of wisdom. This appears also in the third stanza, which, like the concluding stanza of ch. iii., is chiefly of a warning character (*vv.* 20–28). As ch. iii., so ch. iv. closes with three verses of practical application. Thus the chapter consists of three stanzas — respectively of ten, of nine, and again of nine verses (*vv.* 1–10; 11–19; 20–28)—of which the three concluding verses form the application.

1. This verse may be only introductory and general, in which case each of the stanzas of which the chapter is composed would consist of nine verses. "Defraud," or possibly in the more general sense specially applicable in regard to benevolence: "Withhold not from the poor." The verb is used in reference to the wages of the poor in the LXX. Deut. xxiv. 16 (Cod. Alex.; the Vat. has *ἀπαδικήσεις*) and in Mal. iii. 5. Here it is probably used with wider application than to wages. For "deprive not," &c., the Syr. has: "deride not the life of the poor"—according to Mr. Margoliouth, the one deriving the word from the root בזז, the other from בזה. "His living:" in the sense of all that is necessary to sustain life, or for one's life. The same meaning attaches to the term in St. Luke xii. 15. Generally comp. Prov. iii. 28. Both Latin and Greek parallels might also be here adduced.

2. Few sayings more wise, kind, and suitable than this. It is too often the manner of men to moralise to those who are in sorrow, and to provoke to anger those who are in difficulty, embarrassment, or distress. And even when words are not spoken, our bearing may effect this. The Syr. has here "forget not."

3. The direction not to add further distress to a heart already vexed goes beyond the previous verse. It has for its counterpart the admonition not to defer giving (a gift) to one in need.

4–6. [The Syr. omits 4 *b* and 5 *a*.] From spontaneous compassion the writer next turns to that which should follow on the appeal of distress: **Refuse not a suppliant who is**

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [c]For if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

[c] Deut. 15. 9.

7 Get thyself the love of the congregation, and bow thy head to a great man.

8 Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness.

[d] Isai. 1. 17. Jer. 22. 3.

9 [d]Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor; and be not fainthearted when thou sittest in judgment.

[e] Job 29. 16. & 31. 18. Isai. 1. 17. Jam. 1. 27.

10 [e]Be as a father unto the fatherless, and instead of an husband unto their mother: so shalt thou be as the son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.

B. C. cir. 200.

11 Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them that seek her.

12 [f]He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek to her early shall be filled with joy.

[f] Prov. 3. 18.

13 He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory; and wheresoever she entereth, the Lord will bless.

14 They that serve her shall minister ‖to the Holy One: and them that love her the Lord doth love.

‖ Or, *in the sanctuary.*

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afflicted. In *v.* 4*b* and *v.* 5 this is farther carried out by shewing the consequences of embittering the soul of the distressed by a refusal of his entreaty. The admonition goes indeed further than what we read in Ex. xxii. 22, 23, and Deut. xv. 9, but scarcely beyond Prov. xxviii. 27. The closing words of Ecclus. iv. 6 indicate alike the ground on which our obligation to the poor rests and the reason why his curse shall not be in vain, viz. that the God to whom he appeals is his Maker, and also the Maker of us all. The teaching of Prov. xiv. 31 and xvii. 5, although parallel, is higher in character. It need scarcely be added that the Gospel has pointed far beyond this.

7. This verse has been regarded by some critics as inserted in the wrong place, being apparently unconnected with the previous argument. The Latin Version has sought to remove this objection by inserting after "congregation" the words "of the poor." But the difficulty referred to is rather apparent than real. There is twofold progression in *vv.* 7–10 as compared with those which preceded: first, from the negative to the positive; and, secondly, from response to direct appeals—chiefly for charity—to spontaneous action under certain circumstances. At the same time the advice of *v.* 7 is rather Eastern in character than religious, and reflects unfavourably on what follows in the next verses.

8. According to the better reading: **Incline to the poor thine ear.** This and the next clause, **and answer him peaceful things** (peace) **in meekness**, are truly Hebraic. The expression "incline the ear" occurs in Ps. xvii. 6, Jer. xi. 8; and this, "to answer peace," in Gen. xli. 16 and in Deut. xx. 11. In fact the LXX. render the latter passage by exactly the same terms.

9. The first clause perhaps misses the antithetic force of the original: **the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor.** "Not fainthearted:" that is, not afraid to decide in favour of the poor as against the proud oppressor.

10. The final admonitions recall Deut. xxiv. 17–21; Job xxix. 15–17, xxxi. 16, &c.; and Isa. i. 17. The expression "He shall love thee more than thy mother doth," seems to bear reference to Isa. xlix. 15.

11. With this verse commences, according to Fritzsche, a new section: on Wisdom (iv. 11–vi. 16)—consisting of five parts, the first containing 20 members (10 + 10); the second, 18 members (6 + 6 + 6); the third, 24 (12 + 12); the fourth, 28 (7 + 14 + 7); and the last, 26 members (6 + 6 + 6 + 8). Thus arranged, Part I. would embrace iv. 11–15 + iv. 16–19; Part II., iv. 20–28; Part III., iv. 29–v. 3 + v. 4–7; Part IV., v. 8–10 + 11–15 + vi. 1–3; Part V., vi. 4–12 + 13–16.

"Wisdom exalteth," viz. to greatness and happiness, **her sons**: see St. Matt. xi. 19; "layeth hold of them that seek her," in the sense of bringing them help. The word, which otherwise often occurs in the LXX. and the New Testament, is used in this signification only in Heb. ii. 16.

12. *that seek to her early*—**that rise early after her**—to betake themselves to her: indicating zeal and earnestness in the search after Wisdom, as the main object engaging mind and heart.

13. *wheresoever she entereth.*] Viz. Wisdom. This seems more congruous to the whole argument than to render (with Fritzsche) "whither he entereth," in the sense that whatsoever such a man undertaketh, God will bless him in it.

14. The cultivation of true wisdom is

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15 Whoso giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations: and he that attendeth unto her shall dwell securely.

16 If a man commit himself unto her, he shall inherit her; and his generation shall hold her in possession.

17 For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws.

18 Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and shew him her secrets.

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19 But if he go wrong, she will forsake him, and give him over to his own ruin.

20 Observe the opportunity, and beware of evil; and be not ashamed when it concerneth thy soul.

21 For there is a shame that bringeth sin; and there is a shame which is glory and grace.

22 Accept no person against thy soul, and let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall.

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identical with true religion. Consequently the relation of God towards us will depend on our relation towards Wisdom.

15. The first clause in the Greek seems to have the great Messianic hope in view, in the sense that just as at the last that true wisdom which Israel had received would lead to their rule over the nations, so in measure would its acceptance on the part of individuals secure for them a similar moral supremacy. But a comparison with the Syr. shews that the Greek here depends on a misreading of the Hebrew original. Instead of "shall judge nations," the Syr. has: "shall judge truth"—אֱמֶת, which the Greek misread אֻמּוֹת, "nations" (see General Introduction, § VIII.). Instead of the correct reading *προσέχων* (Alex., other MSS., Old Lat., Syr., Ar.) the Vatican has *προσελθών*. The promise of the second clause, which repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, also points to Messianic times for its final fulfilment. In this connexion the same expression occurs in LXX. Jer. xxiii. 6; and with more general application, in LXX. Deut. xxxiii. 12, 28.

16. *If a man commit himself unto her.*] Probably better: **If a man trust** [rely], viz. in her, commit himself to be led and ruled by her, not only shall he inherit her, but his descendants also shall enjoy the benefits which her possession conveys. The Vat. has: "If thou trust . . . thou shalt inherit." But the other reading is the correct and best supported one.

17. The verse looks back upon the previous statement. A man must have "trust" in Wisdom, for at first her ways will seem to be neither straight nor happy, but crooked and trying—it will seem as if they did not lead to the promised goal, nor yet brought either security or happiness. This strange discipline—**until she** (Wisdom) **have trust in his soul** [the same word as in *v.* 16] *and* **have proved him by her statutes** [ordinances]. Similarly in Ab. vi. 4 the way of the Law is described as contentment with the meanest outward provision and every privation, combined nevertheless with unceasing occupation with the Law. If such be our bearing, we shall inherit the greatest blessing both in this and in the next world.

18, 19. Then—when Wisdom can put trust in a man, and he has approved himself by obeying her precepts through all difficulties—**will she again turn to him according to the straight way**, and there will not any longer be either sorrow nor yet misunderstanding about her ways. He that has faithfully walked in them amidst trials will be comforted, and also perceive the meaning of what to others are secrets. On the other hand, if a man cannot endure the ordeal, he will be given over to his own ruin (*v.* 19).

20, 21. The writer proceeds in the next stanza to set forth the practical aspect of true wisdom as true religion, and this, first, in a negative manner. Here he warns us to be on our guard lest we fall into sin. The second clause of *v.* 20 is somewhat difficult. Its literal rendering, **and about** [concerning, as regards] **thy soul be not ashamed**, leaves it open to regard it either as an admonition for the present or as pointing to the future. The former seems most accordant with *v.* 21, which sets forth the difference between false and true shame. [Verse 21 is inserted in LXX. Prov. xxvi. 11, at the close of that verse.]

22. False shame is further described in its various manifestations; and first in regarding or accepting the face of a person—that is, taking part for or against him—against one's soul. To this applies the warning in the second clause, which should be rendered: **and be not abashed** [or ashamed, as in 2 Thess. iii. 14; Tit. ii. 8] **to thy fall.** Such "shame" would lead to one's own fall.

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23 And refrain not to speak, ‖when there is occasion to do good, and hide not thy wisdom in her beauty.

‖ Gr. *in time of saving.*

24 For by speech wisdom shall be known: and learning by the word of the tongue.

25 In no wise speak against the truth; but be abashed of the error of thine ignorance.

‖ Or, *and strive not against the stream.*

26 Be not ashamed to confess thy sins; ‖and force not the course of the river.

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27 Make not thyself an underling to a foolish man; neither accept the person of the mighty.

28 Strive for the truth unto death, and the Lord shall fight for thee.

29 [g] Be not hasty in thy tongue, and in thy deeds slack and remiss.

[g] Jam. i. 19.

30 Be not as a lion in thy house, nor frantick among thy servants.

31 [h] Let not thine hand be stretched out to receive, and shut when thou shouldest ‖repay.

[h] Acts 20. 35.

‖ Or, *give.*

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23. The verse marks a progress on the preceding one. The marginal rendering of the first clause is the more exact and expressive. The last words of the second clause (*εἰς καλλονήν*) are extremely difficult, nor has any alteration proposed in the words of the Greek text or any reference to the Hebrew original as yet rendered their explanation more easy. The most likely rendering would seem: **hide not thy wisdom for beauty** (for embellishment, viz. of self); that is, in order thereby to acquire glory. The clause which is omitted in the Vat., Alex., and Sin. is found in H, 106, 248, 253, Syr., and Vet. Lat., and seems almost necessary.

24. This verse indicates the reason of the previous admonition.

25. If silence may be unseasonable, so may speech be in certain circumstances. To speak against the truth, whether purposely or in ignorance, must be wrong; to feel our want of knowledge, and to be abashed by, and thus to admit it, must be right. The words "In no wise speak," which depend on a reading not so well supported, must be altered to **Speak not**. For the same reason, the words "of the error" in the second clause must be omitted.

26. To the admonition not to be restrained by false shame from confessing our errors and sins, the advice is aptly added not to "strive against the stream;" that is, not only to give up seeking excuses for our wrong-doing, but also to realise that it is impossible to resist the consequences of our sins. To "strive" or "swim against the stream" (*niti contra torrentem, dirigere brachia c. t.*) is an expression, common among all nations, for attempting the impossible. For this latter clause the Syr. has: "and resist not a fool," perhaps reading the later word שטה for שטף.

27. *Make not thyself an underling.*] Lit. "spread not thyself under as a mat." There is not, however, any other instance of this very forcible metaphorical use of the term.

28. *the Lord.*] According to the better reading, **the Lord God**.

29. *hasty.*] Syr. "boastful." The reading *ταχὺς* seems for various reasons preferable to that of *τραχὺς*, although the latter ("rough" or "harsh") is adopted by modern interpreters: for (1) it forms a good antithesis to the second clause; (2) it corresponds to such passages as Ecclus. v. 11; Prov. xxix. 20; Eccl. v. 1, 2 (A. V. 2, 3). Besides, it finds its exact counterpart in Rabbinic sayings. Thus Ab. i. 15 (the saying of Shammai): "Speak little and do much;" the praise of silence in Ab. i. 17 and iii. 13, in Pes. 99 *a*, and in Meg. 18 *a*; and in such passages as Babh. Mets. 87 *a*: "The righteous say (promise) little and do much; the wicked say much and do not even a little," the former being illustrated by the conduct of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 5 comp. with *v.* 7); the latter by that of Ephron (Gen. xxiii. 15 comp. with *v.* 16). Comp. also Ab. de R. Nath. xiii. p. 18*d* (top).

30. For "a lion" the Syr. Vers. has "a dog;" evidently כלב for כלבי (as a lion). "As a lion,"—wild, hasty, relentless, destructive. The verb in the second clause rendered "be not frantick" really means to indulge in vain fancies, here probably not only fancies but suspicions, which would lead to fitful, moody, and tyrannical conduct towards one's household.

31. Compare with this the far transcending words of Christ, treasured up by St. Paul (Acts xx. 35): "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The following sentence in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. xix.) is so similar as naturally to suggest derivation from Ecclus., or at least connexion with it: "Do not be ready to stretch forth the hands to take, but contracting them in regard to giving." In general the whole chapter in the Epistle of Barnabas contains much to remind us of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

CHAPTER V.

The subject is still the same as before: deed and speech. As often, the opening verse of this chapter is connected with the

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CHAPTER V.

1 *We must not presume of our wealth and strength,* 6 *nor of the mercy of God, to sin.* 9 *We must not be doubletongued,* 12 *nor answer without knowledge.*

[a] 1 Tim. 6. 17. [b] Luke 12. 15, 19. [c] Prov. 3. 5.

[a] SET not thy heart upon thy goods; and say not, [b] I have enough for my life.

2 [c] Follow not thine own mind and thy strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart:

3 And say not, Who shall controul me for my works? for the Lord will surely revenge thy pride.

4 [d] Say not, I have sinned, and what hath happened unto me? [e] for the Lord is longsuffering, [f] he will in no wise let thee go.

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[d] Eccles. 8. 11. [e] 2 Pet. 3. 9. [f] Exod. 34. 7. ch. 16. 13.

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closing verse of the previous one. And yet there is manifestly progression in the argument. The chapter naturally divides itself into two parts: (1) as to feeling and conduct, and (2) as to speech. Verse 1 must be regarded as a general introduction: 1 *a* to the first part; while 1 *b* already indicates the subject of the second part of the chapter, which is speech. Part II. begins with *v.* 10, to which *v.* 9 *a* forms an introduction, while *v.* 9 *b*, *c* connect this new introduction with the previous part, thus forming a transition. The general arrangement of the chapter might be thus outlined:—

Part I. *v.* 1. General Introduction.

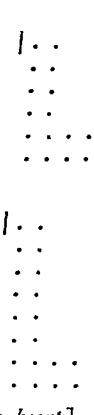
Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines each.

v. 8. Conclusion in two lines which precisely correspond to those of the introductory verse.

v. 9 *a*, *b*. Transition connecting what follows with Part I., and exactly corresponding in its two lines to the two lines of *v.* 2, which forms the opening verse of Part I.

Part II. *v.* 9 *c*. Transition from *v.* 9 *a*, *b*, and generally from Part I. to Part II.

Then follow four verses of two lines each, and two verses of four lines, including in ch. v. the opening verse of ch. vi. (See below.)



1. *Set not thy heart.*] The verb ἐπέχειν occurs rarely (with different meanings) in the LXX., but repeatedly in the Apocr. (nine times in Ecclus. and twice in 2 Macc.). As here with ἐπί and the dat. it is only met with in this verse, in *v.* 8, and in xxxvii. 11. In the latter passage the meaning seems to be "to depend," or "rely." But in Hebrew to "depend" or "rely" is often equivalent to *setting one's heart* upon a thing. So certainly in Ps. lxii. 10 *b*, of which Ecclus. v. 1 seems an echo. Thus there would also be a progression of thought in the second line, which would on the other hand be only a repetition of the first clause, if we were to translate "rely." In the second line the words "for my life" (H, 248, 253, 308, Co., Vet. Lat. *est mihi sufficiens vita*) are a spurious and not very wise addition. The verse warns against satisfaction with and confidence in our possessions. Its parallels are Ps. lxii. and St. Luke xii. 15, 19. In 'Yoma,' 86 *b*, we read that the abundance of their silver and gold had led the Israelites to make themselves gods of gold.

2. *thy mind.*] τῇ ψυχῇ σου = inclinations: the words are omitted in the Syr. Vers.

strength.] Either physical strength or else power and ability—*noli facere quicquid potes ac libet* (Bretschn.).

the ways.] 248, Co., ὁδοῖς; according to the correct reading, **the desires,** ἐπιθυμίαις.

3. *for my works.*] These words must be omitted, according to the better reading. In the second clause the words "thy pride" must equally be omitted. The reading generally accepted has σε, in which case we should have to translate, **will surely punish thee.** But it seems more in accordance with the Hebraism in the text (ἐκδικῶν ἐκδικήσει) to suppose that the original had נָקֹם יִנְקֹם, in which case σε must be omitted (as by some authorities), and we should have to translate, "for the Lord will surely avenge."

4. According to the better reading, the word "harm" must be omitted from the first clause, and from the second line the words "he will in no wise let thee go." The meaning is: Make not wrongful inference from temporary impunity, nor yet from the mercy of God. On the contrary, the latter should lead to repentance and restitution. This seems indicated in *v.* 5.

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5 Concerning propitiation, [e] be not without fear to add sin unto sin:

[e] ch. 21. 1.

6 And say not, His mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: [h] for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners.

[h] ch. 16. 11, 12.

7 Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord come forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed, and perish in the day of vengeance.

[i] Prov. 10. 2. & 11. 4. Ezek. 7. 19.

8 [i] Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten; for they shall not profit thee in the day of calamity.

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9 Winnow not with every wind, and go not into every way: for so doth the sinner that hath a double tongue.

10 Be stedfast in thy understanding; and let thy word be the same.

11 [k] Be swift to hear; and let thy life be sincere; [l] and with patience give answer.

[k] Jam. 1. 19.

[l] 1 Pet. 3. 15.

12 If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth.

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5. The Syr. transposes *vv.* 5 and 6. It need scarcely be said that the term "propitiation" must not be taken in the Christian, but in the Jewish sense. In illustration of this saying, we quote the following from the Mishnah, "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent—no furtherance is given to his repentance. (If he says) I will sin and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement (propitiate), the day of Atonement will not propitiate [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9). The Mishnah adds that the Day of Atonement only brings pardon of sins against God; as regards those against our neighbours, reconciliation is first required. The Talmud, however, explains that pardon is extended three times on the Day of Atonement (after confession), but not a fourth time. Yet if a man had sinned and sinned again, he would come to look upon it as lawful ('Yom.' 86 *b*). In another passage we are told that forgiveness is procured by "repentance and good works" (*u. s.* 87 *a*). [But the Jerus. Talmud (*in loc.*) attributes pardon to the Day of Atonement, even without repentance.]—To be without fear as regards propitiation might lead to adding sin unto sin (*v.* 5 *b*).

6. *pacified for.*] The same expression as in the previous verse, "propitiation." In the original the words used were probably כַּפֶּרֶת (*v.* 5), and here כְּפֹר. This would bring the statement into still closer agreement with what we read in the Mishnah about the Day of Atonement (*Yom hakkippurim*). The reason for the warning is that not only mercy but also wrath cometh from God. The expression "resteth" probably corresponds to the Hebrew נוּחַ, which indicates permanence, continuance (so of the Spirit of God in Is. xi. 2).

7. On the other hand, repentance should not be delayed. In the Jerus. Talmud we have a discussion as to the precise moment on the Day of Atonement when pardon is obtained. There also the various sins are grouped into four classes. Those consisting of the breach of an *affirmative* precept are said to be pardoned immediately on repentance, irrespective of the Day of Atonement ('Jer. Yoma,' 45 *b*, *c*).—The expression for "from day to day" also occurs in 2 Pet. ii. 8; and in the LXX. Gen. xxxix. 10, Numb. xxx. 15. According to the better reading, the following italicised words must be omitted from the last clause: *in thy security*, and *be destroyed, and.*

8. Returns to *v.* 1 (see introd. remarks). The reading ὠφελήσεις, which Fritzsche prefers, does not alter the sense. Comp. Prov. x. 2.

9. This verse forms a very apt transition to the next subject: the sins of the tongue. The meaning of the first clause seems to be: in order to get wealth—it may be unjustly (*v.* 8)—do not seize every possible opportunity that may offer: this would necessitate sinful temporising and duplicity.

10. On the contrary, inward and outward stedfast truthfulness is required of us. Σύνεσις is not exactly "understanding," but the result of inward perception and conviction. The verse would therefore convey the admonition to adhere to that of which one was fully persuaded in one's own mind, and to be always truthful in the utterance of it.

11. In order that such may be the case, **be swift in thy listening, and with deliberateness** (or forbearance, μακροθυμία) **speak answer.** Comp. St. Jas. i. 19. The words "and let thy life be sincere" are spurious.

12. In strict accordance with *vv.* 10, 11, it is added: **If thou hast knowledge** [σύνεσις—if thou hast arrived at a state of clear inward perception], **answer thy neighbour: but if not, thy hand be upon thy**

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13 [m]Honour and shame is in talk: and the tongue of man is his fall.

14 [n]Be not called a whisperer, and lie not in wait with thy tongue: for a foul shame is upon the thief, and an evil condemnation upon the double tongue.

15 Be not ignorant of any thing in a great matter or a small.

[m] Matt. 12. 37.

[n] Rom. 1. 29.

CHAPTER VI.

2 Do not extol thine own conceit, 7 but make choice of a friend. 18 Seek wisdom betimes. 20 It is grievous to some, 28 yet the fruits thereof are pleasant. 35 Be ready to hear wise men.

B. C. cir. 200.

INSTEAD of a friend become not an enemy; for [thereby] thou shalt inherit an ill name, shame, and reproach: even so shall a sinner that hath a double tongue.

2 Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart; that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull [straying alone].

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mouth,—the latter expression exactly as in Prov. xxx. 32, יָד לְפֶה; Job xxi. 5, יָד עַל־פֶּה.

13. Comp. Prov. xviii. 21.

14. The word "foul" before "shame" is scarcely required; and the last words had better be rendered **the double-tongued.** The verse is intended to point out that to steal entailed only disgrace, but to detract from the good name of another would bring evil condemnation upon him that was guilty of it. This saying of the Siracide may have been in the mind of Shakspeare when he wrote: "Who steals my purse steals trash," &c. ('Othello,' Act iii. sc. 3).

15. *Be not ignorant.*] Neither this rendering nor yet "err not" seems to express the meaning of ἀγνοέω. The verb properly signifies "to be ignorant," and hence "to err," owing to want of knowledge. Thus it may correspond to the Hebrew שָׁגַג, although the latter term is rather used in contradistinction to sins "with a high hand," and may therefore apply to sins caused by weakness as well as to those that are due to want of knowledge (comp. Delitzsch, 'Comm. z. Br. an d. Hebr.' p. 175). In Heb. v. 2 the expression seems to refer exclusively to sins from want of knowledge. Similarly, in the passage before us (Ecclus. v. 15) we would confine the meaning of the word to a *want of knowledge.* In that case the verse would (in accordance with *vv.* 11, 12) convey the admonition to have definite, right, and well-grounded views on all subjects, whether great or small. The verb does not again occur in Ecclus., but the use of the substantive (xxiii. 3; xxviii. 7) seems to bear out the meaning which we have assigned to it. We could scarcely translate the verb by "err," viz. with the tongue, since the term cannot be used of purposed sins, while on the other hand it would be impossible to characterise sins of the tongue as sins of ignorance.

With this (first) line chap. v. ends in the LXX. and in the Syriac Version. But it seems highly probable, as Fritzsche suggests, that the first verse of chap. vi. should be added to the close of chap. v. Chap. vi. 1 begins in all MSS. with the word "and." Its reasoning evidently forms part of chap. v., while it is wholly unconnected with the subject of chap. vi. Accordingly we would join vi. 1 to v. 15, as follows: "and instead of a friend become not an enemy." To this we would add the rest of vi. 1, omitting with the Syr. the word οὕτως: **For an evil name, shame, and reproach shall the sinner who is double-tongued inherit.**

CHAPTER VI.

The chapter (omitting *v.* 1) consists of five parts. Part I., which comprises four verses (*vv.* 2–5), connects itself with the previous chapter, and sets forth a twofold danger—that arising from want of proper knowledge and that due to intentional sin. The last verse in the stanza (*v.* 5) forms a transition to the admonition to make proper friendships. Part II., consisting of ten verses (*vv.* 6–15), contains this admonition. Part III., of two verses (16, 17), forms another transition, and connects the previous with the following parts. True friendship is the gift of God, and must be based on His fear; for as the best friendship, so the truest counsel cometh from the Wisdom that is from above. In Parts IV. and V., each of ten verses (18–27; 28–37), this Divine instruction is further set forth. The last four verses form a twofold conclusion, corresponding to that of Part III. (*vv.* 16, 17). The verses in this chapter are of two lines, except in the middle (*v.* 19) and at the close (*v.* 37), where the verses are of four lines.

2. **Exalt** *not thyself in the counsel of* **thy soul**]—a common Hebraism (עֲצַת־נַפְשׁ) for "inmost mind." Considerable difficulty attaches to the next clause, as in our present Greek text, partly because the verb διαρπάζειν does not admit the rendering "torn away," while it is difficult to attach any meaning to such a strange figure as "torn in pieces like a

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3 Thou shalt eat up thy leaves, and lose thy fruit, and leave thyself as a dry tree.

4 A wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and shall make him to be laughed to scorn of his enemies.

‖Gr. *A sweet throat.*

5 ‖[a]Sweet language will multiply friends: and a fairspeaking tongue will increase kind greetings.

[a] ch. 20. 13.

6 Be in peace with many: nevertheless have but one counsellor of a thousand.

7 If thou wouldest get a friend, B. C. cir. 200. ‖ prove him first, and be not hasty to credit him.

‖ Or, *get him in the time of trouble.*

8 For some man is a friend for his own occasion, and will not abide in the day of thy trouble.

9 And there is a friend, who being turned to enmity and strife will discover thy reproach.

10 [b]Again, some friend is a companion at the table, and will not continue in the day of thy affliction.

[b] ch. 37. 4, 5.

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bull;" but chiefly because there is not any connexion between *v.* 2 and *v.* 3, where, however, not only the argument but even the figure must be continued. The Syriac, even if emended, does not seem to us to clear up or remove the difficulty. In these circumstances we feel inclined to adopt the suggestion of Böttcher, that by one of the most frequent clerical errors in MSS. — that by which when a word ends with the same letter as that with which the next begins, one of these letters is dropped out—what had been *ὡς σταυρός* may have been miswritten *ὡς ταῦρος*. In that case the meaning would be: "Set not up thyself in thine own mind and conceit (like a pole or stake) lest thy soul be robbed [here = stripped] like (as is) a pole." Possibly there may even have been in the Hebrew a word-play between the עֲצָה, the "counsel" of his soul, and עֵץ, or in later Hebrew עֲצָה, "a pole."

3. If this suggestion in regard to *v.* 2 is correct, the figure would be beautifully continued in *v.* 3. And the hypothesis is further supported by this, that for *ὡς σταυρός* of *v.* 2 we have in *v.* 3 the parallel *ὡς ξύλον*, which is the word by which the LXX. render עֵץ in Gen. xl. 19; Deut. xxi. 22; and Josh. x. 26. Nor could any more apt description of self-conceit be given than that it eats up the leaves, **destroys** (this probably better than "loses") the fruits, and leaves a man as a dry tree—a *pole*—instead of a fresh tree, covered with leaves and fruit.

4. We suppose that the comparison with a tree stripped of its leaves recalled to the writer the use of the same figure in Ps. i. in regard to the wicked. The second line of *v.* 4 had best be rendered: **And shall make him the derision of enemies**—the word "derision" including the idea of the joy felt by his enemies, which is conveyed by *ἐπίχαρμα*.

5. In contrast to this self-conceit—this folly and wickedness—which will only lead to destruction, and raise up enemies who will rejoice at our fall and laugh at us, is the suggested advice to make friends, who shall be our counsellors (instead of following the conceit of our own soul). Only let them be good, wise friends. And *v.* 5 indicates how to make such friends. The first clause literally rendered is: **A sweet throat** [larynx] **will multiply his** [one's] **friends.**

6. **Let them that are at peace with thee be many; but thy counsellors one out of a thousand.**] The verse begins Part II.—concerning friendship. It is quoted in 'Yebam.' 63 *b* (towards the end): "Many they that seek [inquire for] thy peace: the secret reveal to one out of a thousand;" and again in Sanh. 100 *b* (lines 10, 9 from bottom) with very slight alterations, and the addition of the last clause of Mic. vii. 5.

7. **If thou art getting** [acquiring] **a friend, get him in trial**—that is, when his being a friend shall be tried.

and trust not in him hastily.] Be not hasty in putting trust in a person. The last clause should logically stand first, but the positive is here advanced before the negative. The reference is to a real friend, whom one may trust at all times. If we are looking out for such, let us not be hasty in regarding acquaintances as friends, but let ours be a *tried* friend.

8. **For there is a friend in his (own) time**—*i.e.* as long as it suits him.

9. **And there is a friend** [who will be] **changed to enmity, and he will reveal** [disclose, make known] **the conflict of thy shame**—viz. that conflict through which thou hadst to pass, with all thy difficulties and weaknesses and failures, and this will tend to bring shame upon thee in the opinion of others.

10. **And there is a friend,** &c.] Perhaps the words "companion at the table" do not fully express the meaning of the original, which is, that such an one is ready to accept our hospitality; but when we have not any longer an invitation to give, his friendship ceases. This kind of friendship is so frequent

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11 But in thy prosperity he will be as thyself, and will be bold over thy servants.

12 If thou be brought low, he will be against thee, and will hide himself from thy face.

13 Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends.

14 A faithful friend is a strong defence: and he that hath found such an one hath found a treasure.

15 Nothing doth countervail a faithful friend, and his excellency is invaluable.

16 A faithful friend is the medicine of life; and they that fear the Lord shall find him.

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17 Whoso feareth the Lord shall direct his friendship aright: for as he is, so shall his neighbour be also.

18 My son, gather instruction from thy youth up: so shalt thou find wisdom till thine old age.

19 Come unto her as one that ploweth and soweth, and wait for her good fruits: for thou shalt not toil much in labouring about her, but thou shalt eat of her fruits right soon.

20 She is very unpleasant to the

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that the writer adds some further details.—Verses 9 and 10 are omitted in the Syriac.

11. *But.*] Rather, **And.**

and speak freely against (or else, "to") **thy servants.**] So intimate is he, as if he were thine *alter ego.*

12. But when thy circumstances change, his bearing also changes. Instead of being "as thou," he is now "against thee;" instead of making himself at home in thy house, he hides himself from thee, so that if thou seekest him he cannot be found. It is needless to quote (as in most Commentaries) similar sayings from classical writers. The case described is only too common in all countries and in all ages.

13. These, then, are the three classes of friends to be avoided: a friend for his own advantage; a changeable friend; a time-serving friend. While therefore one should absolutely separate oneself from enemies, "of thy friends (of such friends) have a care:" take care in regard to them.

14. To these three classes of spurious friends a threefold description of true friendship is now opposed. It affords protection, bestows a treasure, and brings healing in the troubles of life (*vv.* 14–16).

15. **Of** [for] **a faithful friend there is not any equivalent** (*by way of exchange*); **and there is not any balance** [by weight] **of his excellence.**] *ἀντάλλαγμα* is the LXX. rendering for מְחִיר in 3 Kings xx. 2 (Cod. Alex.); Job xxviii. 15; and Jer. xv. 13. But only in the first of those passages does it mean an equivalent in money by way of purchase, in the other two an equivalent by way of exchange; and with this agrees the use of the word in St. Matt. xvi. 26, St. Mark viii. 37. Thus *ψ.* 16 would carry out the idea of friendship as a "treasure," broached at the close of *v.* 15.

17. **so also is his neighbour.**] The meaning is not that a man so influences his neighbour that the latter becomes like himself, but that a man chooses as his companion one who is of the same disposition with himself, so that we can judge of his character by that of his associate. A similar "common Proverb" is found in the Midrash Shochar Tobh on Ps. civ. 1.

18. The two previous verses formed the transition to the new subject opened in *v.* 18. The connexion between them is as follows: true friendship must be wisely directed by the fear of the Lord—and this fear is true wisdom. **Son, from thy youth choose** [= *elige ex aliis*] **instruction** [the verb no doubt represents the Hebrew בחר], **and unto grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom.** This is one of the most thoughtful sentences in Ecclus. Mark the twofold distinction between choosing *instruction*, and finding *wisdom*—the one being the early choice, the other the continual result to the end.

19. The idea of *v.* 18 is now presented under a beautiful figure. The verse would gain in force if we arranged the words as in the original: **As one that ploweth and that soweth, come unto her, . . . for in thy labour about her** [the figure of the work of the husbandman being still continued] **thou shalt** [but] **a little** [time] **have weariness** [toil], **and speedily shalt thou eat of her fruits.** The substantive to be supplied in both clauses is Wisdom.

20. **As one that is rough exceedingly** [the figure is probably still that of the soil; or perhaps of the road] **she is to the uninstructed** (*to the untutored*, the *ἀπαιδεύτοις*, in opposition to those who from their youth choose *παιδείαν*, *v.* 18).] But it has been suggested that *σφόδρα*, "exceedingly," is a clerical error for *σοφία*, "Wisdom," which both the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.

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unlearned: he that is without ‖understanding will not remain with her.

‖ Or, *heart.*

21 She will lie upon him as a [c]mighty stone of trial; and he will cast her from him ere it be long.

[c] Zech. xii. 3.

22 For wisdom is according to her name, and she is not manifest unto many.

23 Give ear, my son, receive my advice, and refuse not my counsel,

24 And put thy feet into her fetters, and thy neck into her ‖chain.

‖ Or, *collar.*

25 Bow [d]down thy shoulder, and bear her, and be not grieved with her bonds.

[d] Matt. xi. 29.

26 Come unto her with thy whole heart, and keep her ways with all thy power.

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27 Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee: and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go.

28 For at the last thou shalt find her rest, and that shall be turned to thy joy.

29 Then shall her fetters be a strong defence for thee, and her chains a robe of glory.

30 For there is a golden ornament upon her, and her bands are ‖purple lace.

‖ Or, *a ribband of blue silk,* Numb. xv. 38.

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have. The expression "without understanding," ἀκάρδιος, is an exact rendering of the corresponding Hebrew terms in Prov. xvii. 16 and in Jer. v. 21; comp. also the similar expression in Prov. x. 13. But in the Hebrew parallels the "understanding" is that aspect of it which is directed to what is higher—the לֵב.

21. The figure is now changed. Not only does wisdom seem rough soil, and the uninstructed not persevere in his work; but as he approaches it, it proves a heavy weight which he speedily casts from him. "The stone of trial" seems to have been one for trying strength. St. Jerome notes on Zech. xii. 3 (A. V. and R. V. "a burdensome stone") that it had been an ancient custom in Palestine, continued in his days, to have in towns and villages a round stone of very great weight, on which the young men made trial of their strength, how high they could lift, and hold it in their hands. For "lie upon him," rather **be upon him,—and he will not delay to cast her from him** [Bissell].

22. It seems impossible by any critical ingenuity to explain the first clause of this verse, since there is not any Hebrew or Greek word which would admit of a play upon the word "wisdom." [On the suggested explanation of Hitzig, see Nowack on Eccles. iii. 11 in the 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Hdb.' p. 229.] We must therefore suppose the Hebrew text to have been corrupted or misread. We may here quote, without adopting it, the suggestion of Dr. Horowitz (Frankel's 'Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.,' vol. xiv. p. 197) that the Hebrew original had בְּשֵׁמָה, "by name," which was misread בְּשִׁמָּהּ, "according to her name." He supposes the original to have been: החכמה רק בְּשֵׁמָה היא לוֹ—"wisdom is his [he possesses it] only by name," or perhaps "it only exists nominally for him," = he only knows of it by name. (The correction into שְׁמֻעָה, "by hearsay," need scarcely be discussed.) In that case the translator, unable from his misreading to account for the לוֹ, would have dropped it as a clerical error. But there are serious linguistic objections to the suggestion of Horowitz. The Syr. has: "Her name is like her teaching [hidden?], and she is not approved by fools."

23. Having given such full warning, the writer resumes the subject of which he is treating.

advice.] Perhaps "judgment," or "opinion."

24. *chain.*] Rather, "collar," as in the margin. The words of our Lord (St. Matt. xi. 29) will here readily occur to the reader.

25. *Bow down.*] Rather, **put under** [Bissell].

be not grieved.] Rather, **be not weary,** chafe not. The figure is here of an animal unaccustomed to the yoke.

26. *heart.*] Literally, "soul." The figure is now dropped. Verses 24, 25 form an antithesis to *v.* 20, and verses 26, 27 to *v.* 21.

28. *that shall be turned.*] From *v.* 29 we infer that the reference is to the previous trouble and labour (*vv.* 25, 26), not to "wisdom." We would therefore translate: **it** (thy previous labour) **shall be turned to thee into joy.**

29. **be to thee for a strong defence, and her collars** [in the sense of "yoke"] **for a robe of glory.**] This marks the change indicated in *v.* 28.

30. The figure is now somewhat clumsily varied. The reference may be to the High-priest's mitre, which would explain the

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31 Thou shalt put her on as a robe of honour, and shalt put her about thee as a crown of joy.

32 My son, if thou wilt, thou shalt be taught: and if thou wilt apply thy mind, thou shalt be prudent.

33 If thou love to hear, thou shalt receive understanding: and if thou bow thine ear, thou shalt be wise.

34 Stand in the multitude of the [e] elders; and cleave unto him that is wise.

35 Be willing to hear every godly discourse; and let not the parables of understanding escape thee.

36 And if thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his door.

37 Let thy mind be upon the ordinances of the Lord, and [f] meditate continually in his commandments: he shall establish thine heart, and give thee wisdom at thine own desire.

[e] ch. 8. 9.

[f] Ps. 1. 2.

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CHAPTER VII.

1 *We are exhorted from sin,* 4 *from ambition,* 8 *presumption,* 10 *and fainting in prayer:* 12 *from lying and backbiting,* 18 *and how to esteem a friend:* 19 *a good wife:* 20 *a servant:* 22 *our cattle:* 23 *our children and parents:* 31 *the Lord and his priests:* 32 *the poor, and those that mourn.*

DO no evil, [a] so shall no harm come unto thee.

[a] 1 Pet. 3. 13.

2 Depart from the unjust, and iniquity shall turn away from thee.

3 My son, [b] sow not upon the furrows of unrighteousness, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold.

[b] Job 4. 8. Prov. 22. 8.

4 Seek not of the Lord preeminence, neither of the king the seat of honour.

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omission of *vv.* 29 *b* and 30 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, comp. the expressions in Jer. iv. 30.

31. *a robe of* **glory ... upon thee.**] Not "about thee."

32. *thou shalt be* **instructed.**] This, with reference to *v.* 18.

33. The word "understanding" (*σύνεσιν*), not found in the better MSS., is only a disturbing addition.

34. *the multitude.*] Probably קהל. **Who is wise** (= if any is wise) **to him cleave.**

35. Here also the order of the sentence had best be inverted. "Be willing" is probably not strong enough; and if the word corresponded (as Fritzsche supposes) to אבה or חפץ, it would imply "desire after," and "pleasure in." **And let not the proverbs of understanding** (משלי בינה) **escape from thee.** Although the common usage would suggest the rendering "escape thee," viz. from thy memory, yet the other translation seems better suited to the context.

36. *get thee betimes.*] Rather, **at early morning.**

37. Last line: **And thy desire for wisdom shall be granted thee** [Bissell].

CHAPTER VII.

This chapter might be generally inscribed: Rules for the Wise. It consists of two parts: I. Rules regarding oneself (*vv.* 1–17); II. Rules regarding others (*vv.* 18–36). To be more detailed: Part I. has (1) a *Prooemium* in three verses, warning the wise against sin; (2) then follow two stanzas of four, and two stanzas of three verses (= 2 × 7), giving warning in regard to *mind* (ambition, *vv.* 4–7); to *heart* (presumption, *vv.* 8–11); to *speech* (*vv.* 12–14); and, lastly, in regard to *life* (*vv.* 15–17). Part II., which gives Rules in reference to others, consists, like Part I., of four stanzas (respectively of four, seven, three, and four verses), with a conclusion (*v.* 36) which takes the place of the Proem of Part I. In Part II. the first stanza gives rules as regards *friends* and *dependants* (*vv.* 18–21); the second, in regard to *property* and *family* (*vv.* 22–28); the third, in regard to *the Lord and His priests* (*vv.* 29–31); the fourth, in regard to *our neighbour* (the poor, mourners, the sick, *vv.* 32–35). Lastly, *v.* 36 forms an apt conclusion to what had preceded.

1. **Do not evil, and harm** [evil] **shall not befall thee.**] Drusius: *κακά, mala culpae; κακόν, malum poenae.*

2. This verse marks an advance in thought: **depart from what is unjust, and it shall turn away from thee** [Bissell]; *i.e.* thou shalt not experience its evil consequences. The figure of *v.* 3 repeatedly occurs in the Old Testament, as in Job iv. 8, Prov. xxii. 8, Hos. x. 12, and in Gal. vi. 8.

4. With this verse begins the enumeration of the various occasions to sin, against the consequences of which the previous verses had warned.

preeminence.] Rather, **leadership** (a place of command), "the seat,"—better, **a seat.**

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5 [c]Justify not thyself before the Lord; and boast not of thy wisdom before the king.

[c] Job 9. 20. Ps. 143. 2. Eccles. 7. 16. Luke 18. 11.

6 Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time [d]thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy uprightness.

[d] Lev. 19. 15.

7 Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

8 Bind not one sin upon another; for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. c

9 [e]Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations, and when I offer to the most high God, he will accept it. [e] P. 27.

10 Be not fainthearted when thou makest thy prayer, and neglect not to give alms.

11 Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for [f]there is one which humbleth and exalteth. [f] 1 Sa. 2. 7

5, 6. The warning of *v.* 4 was against ambition, whether before God or man, but the arguments by which this advice is now supported are only of a prudential and worldly character. The connexion between verses 5 and 6 seems somewhat difficult. We would propose to arrange them as follows. The advice in 5 *a*, **make not thyself just before the Lord** (profess not to be righteous and perfect), is supported by 6 *b*, **lest thou be not able to put away iniquities**; the advice in 5 *b*, **make not thyself wise before the king** (profess not and pretend not to be a wise man), is supported by 6 *c*, **lest haply thou shouldst fear** (be timid) **before the face of the ruler** (lord); and, lastly, 6 *a* by 6 *d*, **seek not to become a judge—and** [lest] **thou shouldest put** [set up] **a stumbling-block in** [in reference to] **thy righteousness.** But commentators generally regard clauses *b*, *c*, *d* as connected with clause *a* of *v.* 6, and as indicating the dangers of becoming a judge. In that case the two clauses of *v.* 5 would correspond to the two clauses of *v.* 4. But such a parallelism of verses is not common. Further, *v.* 6 would begin a new subject, and clause *a* be supported by not less than three distinct arguments.

7. This verse opens another subject, and indicates those causes of evil which have their root in the heart, as the others (pride and ambition) had theirs in the mind.

Sin *not.*] The Hebrew חטא—the same construction with εἰς in LXX. Gen. xx. 6, 9, xliii. 9, xliv. 32; 1 Kings ii. 27, xix. 4, 5, xxiv. 12; Prov. viii. 36, xx. 2. Here it is used in the sense of "offend not." On the other hand, the words: **and cast not thyself down among the people**, bear the same meaning as our English "throw not thyself away" (*te ipse abjicies et prosternes*, Cicero), or the German, *sich wegwerfen.*

8. The order is now inverted. In the previous stanza it was pride, first before God and then before man; here it is presumption first before man (*v.* 7), then before God—this being, in each case, the more natural order. **Bind not twice sin; for in the one thou shalt not be unpunished.** Repeat not sin; even its first commission shall not go unpunished. Bretschneider explains the words, "bind not up (as a wound) sin;" De Wette, "palliate not;" Fritzsche, "atone not twice." But these renderings seem forced. In reference to this and the following verse, we once more recall the saying in the Mishnah: "If a man says [thinks], I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent, no furtherance is given to his repentance; I will sin, and the Day of Atonement shall make atonement—the Day of Atonement will [does] not propitiate [make atonement] [for him]" ('Yoma,' viii. 9). And although the Talmud rather weakens this saying of the Mishnah, yet we mark in connexion with the warning of the Son of Sirach that the Rabbis also insist that, if a man commits a sin and repeats it, it appears to him as if it were lawful ('Yoma,' 86 *b*, 87 *a*).

10. Fritzsche supposes that this verse is intended to indicate "the right means for pleasing God." But in that case it would scarcely fit in with the previous verse. We regard the words as meant to correct any possible misunderstanding. If the presumptuous sinner may not hope for acceptance by sacrifices or the like, others need not, and must not be faint-hearted in their prayers, and our best sacrifices are alms. In the Talmud ('Erubh.' 65 *a*) the first half of the verse is adduced, without mentioning its source, but in the same manner in which ordinarily Scripture is quoted (שנאמר בצר אל יורה). Comp. St. Jas. i. 6.

11. This verse seems naturally to connect itself with the last clause of *v.* 10. Comp. Prov. xvii. 5.

12. The verse begins another stanza, referring to sins of the *tongue.* Characteris-

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12 [l]Devise not a lie against thy brother; neither do the like to thy friend.

[l] Gr. *Plow not.*

13 Use not to make any manner of lie: for the custom thereof is not good.

14 Use not many words in a multitude of elders, [g] and make not [m]much babbling when thou prayest.

[g] Eccles. 5. 2. Matt. 6. 7.

[m] Or, *vain repetition.*

15 Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry, [h]which the most High hath [n]ordained.

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16 Number not thyself among the multitude of sinners, but remember that wrath will not tarry long.

[h] Gen. 3. 19, 23.

[n] Gr. *created.*

17 Humble thy soul greatly: for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms.

18 Change not a friend for any good by no means; neither a faithful brother for the gold of Ophir.

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tically, duty is here once more presented from a negative aspect, the writer indicating in this and the following verses the various causes of offence which are to be avoided.

Devise not.] Rather, **plough not** or "till not." There cannot be question that the expression was the same as in Prov. iii. 29, but even there the word חרשׁ seems to mean "plough" rather than "devise" (the latter most comment. and Nowack *ad loc.*). From the whole context we gather that the reference is to sins of the *tongue*, not to the purpose of sinning. The speech of a man may be like ploughing and tilling the soil to bring forth a crop of lies against one's "brother;" the term being here equivalent to "neighbour." Nor need we in that case feel surprise at the addition in the second clause, since unfortunately the practice of "ploughing and tilling lies" is quite as common, if not more so, in regard to "friends," as to one's neighbour generally.

13. The A. V., though not literal, correctly expresses the meaning of the verse. **For the continuance thereof** (is) **not unto good**, —such a habit leads, or comes, to no good; it has a bad end. A rather low, but prudential, motive for abstaining from participation in raising a crop of lies.

14. The writer had probably in view some person of importance—whether really such, or only in his own opinion—to whom (in his intense self-consciousness) he addresses counsels. If in the previous verse he had advised to avoid lying talk about others, which would lead to no good end, he now warns against "idle talk." **Prate not in the multitude of elders**—talk not idly, babble not. In the LXX. the verb ἀδολεσχεῖν is always used *sensu bono*, except in the solitary instance Ps. lxviii. (lxix.) 12—**and make not repetition in thy prayer**: μὴ δευτερώσῃς λόγον—probably somewhat different from the βαττολογεῖν of St. Matt. vi. 7, which was πολυλογία rather than δευτέρωσις. The verb βαττολ. does not otherwise occur either in the LXX., the Apocr., or the N. T. Such silly, idle talk before man or God proves a man to be a fool, if not a liar.

15. This verse begins the enumeration of that which in our *life* may lead to evil consequences. The following are here specially mentioned: (1) idleness, or unwillingness to do hard work, especially to engage in husbandry, which was appointed of God, *v.* 15; (2) evil companions, *v.* 16; (3) proud self-seeking and self-sufficiency, *v.* 17. In the latter verse the writer rises from the negative to the *positive*. The expression used ("to humble one's soul") is in the LXX. indeed applied to fasting (LXX. Lev. xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 29, 32; Is. lviii. 3, 5). But here it obviously refers to submission to God in a sense parallel to Mic. vi. 8. At first sight it seems difficult to refer "**the fire and the worm**" (sing., not plural), which are to be "**the punishment** [this rather than "vengeance"] **of the ungodly**," to other than the punishment after death. But in Judith xvi. 17 the same expressions are used in regard to the presumably temporal judgments on the heathen in the Messianic day. With this the descriptions in the Book of Henoch xlvi. and xlviii. also accord. (Comp. Fritzsche on Jud. xvi. 17 in the 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' 2 Lief., p. 208.) These parallelisms and the general absence in Ecclus. of any reference to the rewards or punishments of another life, lead to the inference that such are not alluded to in our verse. The admonition to humility (17 *a*) may have called up by way of contrast the typical "proud"—the foes of Israel—and their doom in the Messianic day (*v.* 17 *b*).

18. With this begins Part II., which details the rules to be observed towards others; and, first, in regard to *friends* and *dependants* (*vv.* 18–21). There cannot be any doubt that the right reading and rendering of *v.* 18 *a* is: **Exchange not a friend for** [what is] **indifferent**, ἀδιάφορον. The latter is the technical term of Stoic philosophy for the *media*, the *indifferentia*, such as "riches, strength, appearance, honours, rule," &c. (Seneca, 'Epist.' lxxxii. 12). The meaning is, for the

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19 Forego not a wise and good woman: [i] for her grace is above gold.

[i] Prov. 31. 10.

20 [k] Whereas thy servant worketh truly, entreat him not evil, nor the hireling that bestoweth himself wholly for thee.

[k] Lev. 19. 13. ch. 33. 30. & 34. 22.

21 Let thy soul love a good servant, and defraud him not of liberty.

22 [l] Hast thou cattle? have an eye to them: and if they be for thy profit, keep them with thee.

[l] Deut. 25. 4. Prov. 27. 23, &c.

23 Hast thou children? [m] instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth.

[m] Prov. 22. 6. Ephes. 6. 4.

24 Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and shew not thyself cheerful toward them.

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25 Marry thy daughter, and so shalt thou have performed a weighty matter: but give her to a man of understanding.

26 Hast thou a wife after thy mind? forsake her not: but give not thyself over to a ‖ light woman.

‖ Or, *hateful.*

27 [n] Honour thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother.

[n] Tobit 4. 3. ch. 3. 2, &c.

28 Remember that thou wast be-

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sake of what is ἀδιάφορον, do not part with a friend—**neither with a true** [γνήσιος here certainly in that sense; comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 8; 3 Macc. iii. 23] **brother for the gold of Ophir** [Σουφείρ, as in the LXX.].

19. **Turn not away from a wise and good wife.**] We have rendered ἀστοχεῖν by "turn away," as being a more comprehensive term than "forego not." But we have no doubt that the meaning is, as given by Wahl: *noli separari ab uxore sapiente.* This aptly follows on *v.* 18. *Grace* = gracefulness.

20. After the wife comes the servant: **A** [domestic] **servant who worketh truly** [really, honestly] **illtreat not, nor a hireling who devoteth his soul** [life],—who gives himself wholly to it. The expression is probably taken from Deut. xxiv. 15: נֹשֵׂא אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ.

21. **an intelligent servant . . . *defraud him not of* release.**] Comp. Jerem. xxxiv. 8–16.

22. Rules in regard to property and family (*vv.* 22–28); and, first, as to kindness towards animals, yet this tempered by prudential considerations.

23. *instruct.*] Rather, **train**—in the sense of discipline. In the Syriac Version the second clause is rendered: "and give them wives in their youth." This might seem only a sarcastic paraphrase of what we read in the Greek. But when in Qidd. 30 *a* (comp. 29 *b*) we read the advice to marry one's son, and in connexion with it find the expression, while "thy hand is upon" his "neck" (אידיך על צוארי דבריך), *i.e.* while he is young, we conclude that this was an old Jewish saying, and that the Syriac Version, which throughout this section is very apt, accurately represents the Hebrew original, of which the younger Siracide only retained so much in his translation as seemed to him suitable. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that Prov. xxii. 6, to which evidently there is reference in Ecclus. vii. 23, is expressly quoted in Qidd. 30 *a*, in connexion with the advice just mentioned.

24. *care of their body.*] That it be preserved pure and chaste.

and make not thy face cheerful towards them.] Let not thy bearing be jocular, but rather austere and severe. In what is known as the 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' (4) we find the following, which may be a parallel to *v.* 23: "Gold requires beating and a young man chastising." Similarly, the Talmud offers a somewhat coarse parallel to *v.* 24, and even more so to Ecclus. xlii. 9, in what it says of a daughter as a doubtful boon to her father (Sanh. 100 *b*). In general, all such sayings seem the outcome of the Rabbinic maxim that "Women are of a light mind" (for example, Qidd. 80 *b*).

25. *Marry.*] Lit., give away, viz. out of the house; a common mode of expression.

thou wilt have performed [completed, accomplished] **a great work: and to a man of understanding give her.**] The Talmud goes much farther than this, and advises a father, if his daughter have attained marriageable age, even to set his slave at liberty and to marry him to her (Pes. 113 *a*).

26. **do not cast her out** [in the sense of divorce]. H, 248, Syr., Vet. Lat. add the following clause, as in the A. V.: *but give not thyself to one that is hateful.* This, either in the sense that it would be dangerous to trust such an one, or else with the meaning attaching to it in the Syr. or in the Arab. Version. The Syr. has, *quod si sit improba ne te concredas illi;* the Arab., *nec fidem adhibeas illi si fuerit impudica.* The current views on divorce are sufficiently known, and receive further illustration in this verse.

27. *sorrows.*] *I.e.* birth-pangs.

B. C. cir. 200.

gotten of them; and how canst thou recompense them the things that they have done for thee?

29 Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests.

[o] Deut. 6. 5. [p] Deut. 12. 19.

30 [o]Love him that made thee with all thy strength, [p]and forsake not his ministers.

[q] Lev. 2. 3, 10. & 6. 16. & 7. 7, 9, 34. Numb. 5. 9. & 18. 8–19.

31 Fear the Lord, and honour the priest; and give him his portion, [q]as it is commanded thee; the firstfruits, and the trespass offering, and the gift of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the firstfruits of the holy things.

[r] Deut. 15. 8, 10.

32 [r]And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that ‖thy blessing may be perfected.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *thy liberality.*

33 A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living; and for the dead detain it not.

[s] Rom. 12. 15.

34 [s]Fail not to be with them that weep, and mourn with them that mourn.

[t] Matt. 25. 36, 39, 43.

35 [t]Be not slow to visit the sick: for that shall make thee to be beloved.

36 Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Whom we may not strive with,* 8 *nor despise,* 10 *nor provoke,* 15 *nor have to do with.*

28. *the things that they have done for thee.*] Lit., "just as they to thee."

29. Directions as to our duty towards the Lord and His priests (*vv.* 29–31). See the marginal references. In the Syr. Version all the clauses in *v.* 31 after "as it is commanded thee" are omitted. In their place the following words are added: "the bread of oblations and the firstfruits of the hands." This is undoubtedly a Christian alteration, and otherwise interesting as probably marking early Christian practice.

32. Our duties towards our neighbour; especially the poor, the sick, and the mourners (*vv.* 32–35). The injunctions are in entire accordance with Rabbinic teaching, which points to God as giving the example of clothing the naked (Gen. iii. 21), visiting the sick (Gen. xviii. 1), burying the dead (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and comforting the mourners (Gen. xxxv. 9). [So often; see, for example, Ber. R. 8.] The "blessing," *εὐλογία*, no doubt represents the Hebrew ברכה, in the sense of blessing received.

33. This verse seems to present real difficulty. We propose translating, supposing the text not to be corrupted: **Bestowal** [boon, shewing of favour, display of kindness] **of gift** [of giving] **towards every one alive, and from the dead withdraw not bestowal.** We believe that the Hebrew original for *χάρις δόματος* was גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים, and we adduce the following as an illustrative parallel from Sukk. 49 *b* (lines 13, 12, 11 from bottom): "In three things does the *benefiting* [boon, favour] *of acts of kindness* excel almsgiving. Almsgiving is by money, *gemiluth chasadim* alike by money and personally; almsgiving is to the poor (mark the prepos. ל), *gem. chas.* is alike to the poor and to the rich; almsgiving is to the living, *gem. chas.* is alike to the living and to the dead" (by attending to their bodies, burial, &c.). And the parallelism is the more marked, that in *v.* 32 there is express reference to almsgiving.

34. Comp. the following in 'Der. er. Zuta,' v. p. 34 *d* (at the close of vol. ix. in the Talmud): "A man should not be weeping among those who laugh, nor laughing among those who weep." The same sentiment is expressed in Rom. xii. 15, but there more truly and beautifully. A somewhat similar admonition to take part in mourning for the dead occurs in Moed. Q., 28 *b*, with special reference to Ecclesiastes vii. 2.

35. **for through these** (things) **thou shalt be beloved.**

36. **In all thy things** (λόγοι = דברים—acts, undertakings).] A similar saying occurs in Ab. iii. 1 in the name of Aqabhya the son of Mahalalel: "Consider three things (דברים), and thou shalt not come into transgression—from whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou shalt have to give a judicial account." Thus we are on thoroughly Jewish ground in these verses.

thou shalt **not ever sin.**] The *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* has evidently here a temporal meaning.

CHAPTER VIII.

From ch. vii. the transition is easy to practical rules of life in ch. viii. These are once more divided into two parts: Part I. details those regarding oneself (*vv.* 1–7); Part II. those which bear reference to others (*vv.* 8–19). Part I. consists of three stanzas, sufficiently indicated by the initial words: "Strive not," *v.* 1; "Jest not," *v.* 4; "Neglect not," *v.* 8. The first stanza is of three verses (2 + 4 + 2), the second of four verses (4 × 2), the third of two verses (2 × 4). Part II. consists of

B. C. cir. 200.

STRIVE not with a mighty man, lest thou fall into his hands.

[a] Matt. 5. 25.

2 [a] Be not at variance with a rich man, lest he overweigh thee: for gold [b] hath destroyed many, and perverted the hearts of kings.

[b] ch. 31. 6.

3 Strive not with a man that is ‖ full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire.

‖ Or, *of an evil tongue.*

4 Jest not with a rude man, lest thy ancestors be disgraced.

[c] 2 Cor. 2. 6. Gal. 6. 2.

5 [c] Reproach not a man that turneth from sin, but remember that we are all worthy of punishment.

[d] Lev. 19. 32.

6 [d] Dishonour not a man in his old age: for even some of us wax old.

7 Rejoice not over thy greatest enemy being dead, but remember that we die all.

8 Despise not the discourse of the wise, but acquaint thyself with their proverbs: for of them thou shalt learn instruction, and how to serve great men with ease.

B. C. cir. 200.

[e] ch. 6. 34.

9 [e] Miss not the discourse of the elders: for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth.

10 Kindle not the coals of a sinner, lest thou be burnt with the flame of his fire.

11 Rise not up [in anger] at the presence of an injurious person, lest he lie in wait ‖ to entrap thee in thy words.

‖ Or, *for thy mouth.*

12 Lend not unto him that is mightier than thyself; for if thou lendest him, count it but lost.

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four stanzas. It warns against foolish confidence in our private dealings (first stanza, *vv.* 10, 11), in business transactions (second stanza, *vv.* 12–14), in public association (third stanza, *vv.* 15, 16), and in private association (fourth stanza, *vv.* 17–19). Thus the arrangement would be: Part I., three stanzas—respectively, 2+4+2; 4×2; 2×4. Part II., four stanzas—respectively, 2×2; 3×2; 2×4; 3×2.

1. *Strive not.*] Viz. in words.

2. *Be not at variance* [rather, **contend not**]... *lest he overweigh thee* [rather, **lest he put against thee weight**]—that is, bring down the opposite scale by the weight of his wealth.

destroyed.] Rather, **corrupted.** The reference may be not to actual bribery, but to the influence of greater riches on the mind and in the esteem of others.

3. *full of tongue.*] Rather, **glib of tongue.** Vet. Lat., *linguatus.*

4. *a rude man.*] Rather, **one uncultured.** Our ancestors might be "disgraced" by possible reflections upon them.

5. Omit "but" in the second line. The reasoning is, that as we have all sinned, so we all deserve punishment. Seneca: *Det ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus.*

6. *Dishonour not* [although this is perhaps rather too strong an expression for want of respect] *a man in his old age, for even some of us* **are waxing old.**

7. *Rejoice not over* **the dead.**] H, 248, Co., add: "thy greatest enemy being dead," —correctly as to sense, but not according to the best reading.

8. This verse opens the third series of warnings.

Despise not.] Rather, **neglect not.**

acquaint thyself.] Rather, **be conversant,** busy thyself.

and to serve great men.] Omit "how" and "with ease"—in all probability in the same sense as Horace's: *Quo tandem pacto deceat majoribus uti* = versari cum magnatibus. (Ep. I. xvii. 67.)

9. *elders.*] Rather, **old men.** Last clause: **and in time of need** (viz. when it is required) **to give an answer.**

10. Here begins Part II.

with the flame.] Rather, "**in** the flame."

11. *Rise not up* [in anger or altercation] **before an insolent** *person.*] To judge from the Greek text (ἀπὸ προσώπου), the Hebrew original must have been מִפְּנֵי, not לִפְנֵי (perhaps in a causal sense). The rendering "insolent" scarcely fully expresses the meaning of the Greek word, for which the German *übermüthig*, with the additional idea of godlessness, seems the appropriate equivalent. In the LXX. ὑβριστής occurs five times for נָכְרִי or נָאוָה. This was probably the word used in the original work of Ben Sira—probably in the same form as in the Targum, מְחַנְּאָה. Grotius supposes the scene to be an assembly. **Lest he seat** [or set] **himself as an ambush** [as lying in wait] **to thy mouth**—to what thou sayest.

12. The meaning of the second clause

B. C. cir. 200.

13 Be not surety above thy power: for if thou be surety, take care to pay it.

14 Go not to law with a judge; for they will judge for him according to his ‖honour.

‖ Or, *opinion.*

f Gen. 4. 8.

15 *f* Travel not by the way with a bold fellow, lest he become grievous unto thee: for he will do according to his own will, and thou shalt perish with him through his folly.

g Prov. 22. 24.

16 *g* Strive not with an angry man, and go not with him into a solitary place: for blood is as nothing in his sight; and where there is no help, he will overthrow thee.

17 Consult not with a fool; for he cannot keep counsel.

18 Do no secret thing before a stranger; for thou knowest not what he will bring forth.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 Open not thine heart to every man, lest he requite thee with a shrewd turn.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *We are advised how to use our wives.* 3 *What women to avoid.* 10 *And not to change an old friend.* 13 *Not to be familiar with men in authority,* 14 *but to know our neighbours,* 15 *and to converse with wise men.*

BE not jealous over the wife of thy bosom, and teach her not an evil lesson against thyself.

2 Give not thy soul unto a woman to set her foot upon thy substance.

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would be probably better represented by translating, instead of "count it but lost," **make as if** (thou hadst) **lost**,—whether in the sense of pretending or of considering that it was lost. Instead of "for" translate **and.**

13. **and . . . consider** [have thought, have a care] **that thou shalt** [have to] **pay.**] Be prepared for it.

14. *a judge.*] Bretschneider, however, regards κριτοῦ as the gen. not of κριτής, "a judge," but of κριτός, *electus, egregius, praestans, nobilis.* Δόξα, "honour," "estimation."

15. *bold.*] Rather, **venturous** or **daring.**

lest he become a burden [burdensome] **to thee . . . and thou shalt perish through** [together with] **his folly.**] Vet. Lat.: *Ne forte gravet mala sua in te . . . et simul cum stultitia illius peries.*

16. **with a furious** [perhaps irritable] **man make not strife.**] Comp. Prov. xv. 18, xxii. 24, xxix. 22, where in the LXX. also the word θυμώδης is used.

into a solitary place.] Rather, **through the desert.**

overthrow thee.] In the sense of killing.

17. **for he cannot keep a matter secret.**] λόγον στέξαι undoubtedly in the original, כסה דבר.

18. *a stranger.*] Probably, although perhaps not exclusively, a non-Israelite.

bring forth—engender, beget, bring into the world: what kind of child he will bring into the world as representing what hast thou done.

19. *lest he requite thee, &c.*] Rather, **lest he return thee ill thanks** [Bissell: and so get an ill return]. Syr.: *ne te beneficio adstringat.*

CHAPTER IX.

The prudential rules for social intercourse are here continued: and, first, in regard to women (*vv.* 1–9), the admonitions being arranged under *four* particulars (*vv.* 1, 2; 3, 4; 5, 6; 7–9); secondly, with reference to what is to be sought or else avoided in intercourse with acquaintances. The arrangement is as follows: first, what is to be desired in regard to friends (*v.* 10); secondly, what is not to be sought nor wished for (*vv.* 11, 12); thirdly, what is to be actually avoided (*v.* 13); lastly, again, what is to be desired (*vv.* 14–16). The two closing verses, which at first sight seem difficult to arrange, form a very apt conclusion: *v.* 17 referring to stanza *vv.* 14–16, and *v.* 18 to the stanza of six lines in *v.* 13.

1. Bretschneider designates this *egregium monitum.* The Rabbis also often warn against groundless jealousy. The reason here given is that it might direct the mind of a wife to the very thing feared. Bretschneider quotes from Tibullus: *Ipse miser docui, quo possit ludere pacto.*

2. On the other hand, the opposite extreme is to be avoided.

Give not up thy soul to a woman, that she set not her feet [step not, trample not] **upon thy power** [authority].] The Talmud has it: "Of three the life is not a life: of him who hopes [looks] for the table of his neighbour, of him over whom his wife holds rule, and of him who is affected with disease in his body. [To these some add, as a fourth, him who has only one shirt.] (Bets. 32 *b*, and otherwise.) In 'Babh. Mets.' 75 *b*,

B. C. cir. 200.

3 [a] Meet not with an harlot, lest thou fall into her snares.

4 Use not much the company of a woman that [1] is a singer, lest thou be taken with her attempts.

5 [b] Gaze not on a maid, that thou fall not by those things that are precious in her.

6 Give not thy soul unto harlots, that thou lose not thine inheritance.

7 Look not round about thee in the streets of the city, neither wander thou in the solitary places thereof.

8 [c] Turn away thine eye from a beautiful woman, and look not upon another's beauty; for many have been deceived by the beauty of a woman; for herewith love is kindled as a fire.

9 Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor sit down with her in thine arms, and spend not thy money with her at the wine; lest thine heart incline unto her, and so through thy desire thou fall into destruction.

10 Forsake not an old friend; for

[a] Prov. 7. 5, &c.
[1] Or, *playeth upon instruments.*
[b] Job 31. 1.
[c] Gen. 34. 2. 2 Sam. 11. 2. Judith 10. 19. & 12. 16. Matt. 5. 28.

three are enumerated who cry in vain: he who lends money without witnesses; he who gets himself a lord over him, and he who is under the rule of his wife.

4. *Use not much the company of.*] Rather, **Be not long with.**

5. We would prefer translating the second clause: "lest thou be made to offend through the honours paid to her;"—if this meaning of ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις αὐτῆς could be established. But it will be safer to render it: **lest thou be offended** (annoyed) **by the penalties for her,**—the money—or other penalties on her account, possibly with reference to Deut. xxii. 29. This seems also to accord with the Syriac Version. The moral code of the Rabbis went much beyond this, and forbade even to look at the finger of a woman, or at her shoe, as well as to exchange any needless words with her. Two Rabbis, shoemakers by trade, are mentioned as extraordinary instances of forbearing any such forbidden gaze, even under the daily temptation of their trade (Pes. 113 *a*).

7 *b*. For "*neither* wander thou *in the solitary places thereof*," the Vet. Lat. has: "nec oberraveris in *plateis* illius"—perhaps after the Syr., and reading רחבתיה for חרבתיה.

8. *beautiful.*] Rather, **handsome,** comely, as referring more to form.

another's beauty.] The beauty of one who is another's.

deceived.] Rather, **led astray.**

for herewith.] Rather, **and therefrom.** This and *v.* 9 are among the passages quoted in the Talmud as from Ben Sira (Sanh. 100 *b*, Yebam. 63 *b*). As bearing on the mode of quotation in the New Testament, it is instructive to find that these Talmudic citations from Ben Sira are not literal, but probably made from memory. They are as follows: "Avert thine eye lest thou be caught in her snare. Do not resort to her husband to drink with him wine and strong drink. For by the fairness of a beautiful woman many have been destroyed, 'and mighty [either in the sense of numerous, or of strength] are all her slain' (Prov. vii. 26)." "Many are the wounds caused by the pedlar [who sells *articles de luxe* to women], which lead to the committing of sin, as the spark kindles the coal. 'As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit' (Jer. v. 27)." The Syr. places *v.* 8 after *v.* 9.

9. A warning against familiarity which may lead to sin. A similar, if not the same, saying is adduced in the Mishnah in the name of José b. Jochanan (Abh. i. 5).

another man's wife.] **A married woman.** The next clause in the A. V., "nor sit down," &c., must be omitted. It is evidently a paraphrastic gloss.

and be not feasting with her at wine.] The expression (συμβολοκοπεῖν) probably means frequent indulgence in feasts or entertainments where wine is drunk. We are not to give in her honour nor to take part in merry wine-parties with her (not necessarily in the absence of her husband—probably rather the contrary). Fritzsche applies it to what he calls "Pikenike," but we have not been able to discover any trace of picnics amongst the ancient Jews. The verb is used for the Hebrew זוּלֵל in the LXX. Deut. xxi. 20, and also by Aq.; and either as verb or substant. for the same Hebrew word by Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 30; by Aq., Sym., and Theod. in Prov. xxiii. 21, and by Aq. and Theod. in Prov. xxviii. 7 (see the note on the latter passage in Field's 'Hexapla'). Schleusner (*ad voc.*) attaches to the word the somewhat strange meaning of contending in jokes, bandying jests.

through thy desire.] Or **passion, inclination**—πνεύματι (πνεῦμα here = רוּחַ). For πνεύματι Clemens Alex., the Syr., Arab., and Vet. Lat. have = αἵματι. Comp. Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; Prov. vii. 26, 27.

10. The verse begins a new section. The

B. C. cir. 200.

the new is not comparable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is old, thou shalt drink it with pleasure.

[d] Ps. 37. 1, &c. & 73. 3, 17.

11 [d]Envy not the glory of a sinner: for thou knowest not what shall be his end.

12 Delight not in the thing that the ungodly have pleasure in; but remember they shall not go unpunished unto their grave.

13 Keep thee far from the man that hath power to kill;. so shalt thou not doubt the fear of death: and if thou come unto him, make no fault, lest he take away thy life presently: remember that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest upon the battlements of the city.

14 As near as thou canst, guess at thy neighbour, and consult with the wise. B. C. cir. 200.

15 Let thy talk be with the wise, [e]and all thy communication in the law of the most High. [e] Ps. 1. 2.

16 And let just men eat and drink with thee; and let thy glorying be in the fear of the Lord.

17 For the hand of the artificer the work shall be commended: and the wise ruler of the people for his speech.

18 A man of an *ill* tongue is dangerous in his city; and he that is rash in his talk shall be hated.

CHAPTER X.

1 *The commodities of a wise ruler.* 4 *God setteth him up.* 7 *The inconveniences of pride, injustice, and covetousness.* 14 *What God hath done to the proud.* 19 *Who shall be honoured,* 29 *and who not.*

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second clause would be more adequately rendered: **for the fresh one**—he who is newly made (*πρόσφατος*; comp. Delitzsch on Heb. x. 20)—**is not equal to him.** The third line gains in force by omitting (as in the original) the words "is as." The so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' has the same or a similar admonition: "An old friend deny not."

11. *the glory.*] In the sense of "prosperity."

12. **Have not pleasure in** [what is] **the pleasure of the ungodly: remember that they will not be justified** (*i.e.* escape punishment as the sentence of their condemnation) **unto the grave** (Hades); that is, punishment will surely overtake them before their end.

13. If *vv.* 11, 12 had indicated what a man should not seek for nor wish, *v.* 13 continues the same reasoning and shews what he should actually avoid. "The man that hath power to kill" is presumably "the sinner" of *v.* 11 and "the ungodly" of *v.* 12, and his "power to kill" consists in his evil example, and in the danger accruing from his companionship and from fellowship with his deeds, which will entail such punishment on the doer. Keep far from him,—"**and thou shalt not be in the anguish of fear of death; and if thou approach** [or come to] **him, do not go wrong** [err not, in the moral sense], **lest he take away** [rob] **thy life: know** [recognise] that thou goest in the midst of snares, and that thou walkest on the battlements of a city;" that is, thou art like one who walketh on the battlements of a city besieged—such and so great is thy danger, and so watchful must thou be.

14. The advice that follows is closely connected with what had preceded: **According to thy power** [to the utmost of thy power, so far as thou canst] **seek to make out** [search out] **thy neighbour** (to know what he really is). "Consult" in the sense of taking counsel.

15. **Let thy conference** (*διαλογισμός*) **be with those of understanding.**

16. Omit "and." "Let just [righteous] men **be thy table-companions**" (who dine and sup with thee).

17. **In the** *hand of* **artificers is the work** *commended.*] The skilful artificer produces work that brings its own commendation: the German, *das Werk soll den Meister loben.* "**And the ruler**"—perhaps, rather, the leader—"**of the people is wise in speech.**"

18. **Dreaded** [a matter of fear] *in his city* (is) *a man* **glib of tongue** [*linguatus*], *and he that is rash* [reckless, perhaps violent] *in his* **speech** *shall be hated.*] Thus the two last verses form an apt conclusion of the preceding argument.

CHAPTER X.

The second line of chap. ix. 17 evidently leads up to chap. x., which treats of rulers, both good and evil. From this subject the transition to that of pride is easy and almost natural. Rulership and pride form the theme of the whole chapter. Its division into two parts is clearly marked. In Part I. (*vv.* 1–17)

B. C. cir. 200.

A WISE judge will instruct his people; and the government of a prudent man is well ordered.

[a] Prov. 29. 12.

2 [a] As the judge of the people is himself, so are his officers; and what manner of man the ruler of the city is, such are all they that dwell therein.

3 An unwise king destroyeth his people; but through the prudence of them which are in authority the city shall be inhabited.

4 The power of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, and in due time he will set over it one that is profitable. B. C. cir. 200.

5 In the hand of God is the prosperity of man: and upon the [‖] person of the scribe shall he lay his honour. ‖ Or, *face.*

6 [b] Bear not hatred to thy neighbour for every wrong; and do nothing at all by injurious practices. [b] Lev. 19. 17. Matt. 18. 21.

7 Pride is hateful before God and man: and by both doth one commit iniquity.

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rulership and pride are viewed in relation to God. The argument turns, so to speak, on the alternate formula: "from God" and "before God." The first stanza, *vv.* 1–3 (3 × 2), shews how a people is bound up with its rulers. This is followed by a moral reflection, intended to shew that this is of God's appointment, *vv.* 4, 5 (2 × 2). The next stanza, *vv.* 6–8 (3 × 2), reverses the reasoning, and points out that the fate of rulers is connected with the state of the people, and winds up with a moral reflection on the folly of pride and the transient character of everything earthly, *vv.* 9–11 (3 × 2). The Part concludes with a stanza of six verses (*vv.* 12–17) on the pride of nations—shewing that the origin and the essence of pride are departure from God, and that the issue of such pride are the Divine judgments (2 + 4 and 4 × 2). In Part II. pride is treated in a *parenetic* manner. The following are the principal points: (1) To the question, wherein true honour consists and how is it to be sought, the answer is twofold: first, *positive*, *vv.* 18–22 (2 + 4; 2 × 2); secondly, *negative:* in two stanzas, *vv.* 23–25 and *vv.* 26, 27 (3 × 2; 2 × 2). (2) This is followed by the usual caution against the opposite extreme, *vv.* 28, 29 (2 × 2). (3) The chapter concludes in a somewhat flat manner in a stanza of two verses (*vv.* 30, 31; 2 × 2), of which *v.* 30 may specially refer to theme 1, and *v.* 31 to theme 2 of Part II.

1. A general introduction to this part of the subject. "Judge" is used in the sense of supreme magistrate, ruler, שׁפט; "instruct," in the sense of moral guidance, discipline. The general proposition is set forth in the second clause of the verse: "And the government of **one of understanding shall be** well ordered."

2. As in *v.* 1, the governor is presented in his twofold capacity, as judge and as ruler. Lit. **According to the judge of his people, so also his officers** [ministrants], **and according to the ruler of the city all they that inhabit it.**

3. *unwise.*] Rather, **uninstructed:** here also in the moral sense, as in *v.* 1. The verb answers to the Hebrew יסר, and the common rendering of יסר and מוסר in the LXX. is παιδεύω and παιδεία. **But a city shall be upbuilt** [in the sense of "flourishing"] **through the** (good) **understanding of those in authority.**

4. *in the hand of the Lord* (is) *the* **dominion** *of the* (whole) *earth.*] In the LXX. ἐξουσία is the word used for ממשלה and the Chald. שׁלטן. Hence it must here be rendered by "dominion" or "rule." "**And him who is serviceable** [profitable, useful for fulfilling God's purpose] **will he raise up** in due time **upon it**" (upon the earth).

5. *In the hand of* **the Lord** *is the prosperity of a man.*] *I.e.* his success—here probably the promotion of an individual to power. And not only does God so promote him, but He afterwards sustains and invests him with His own authority. Instead of "scribe," rather **officer** or **ruler**; the word γραμματεύς here being not the scribe in the ordinary Jewish sense, but the equivalent for שֹׁטר, "officer" (as in Ex. v. and otherwise), which word is in the LXX. of the Pentateuch always rendered by γραμματεύς, or (in Deut.) by a compound of it.

6. Transition to the next subject. The fate of rulers and kingdoms is connected with the state of the people.

every wrong.] Rather, **any wrong.**

and do not anything at all in works of violence.] Probably in the sense: when violence is wrought against thee. This rather than that a person should not resent wrong by violence.

7. *Hateful before God and before men is pride.*] The next line is difficult, and we render it with some hesitation: **and according to both** (*i.e.* in the judgment both of God and man, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων) **it** (pride)

B. C. cir. 200.

8 Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is translated from one people to another.

9 Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than a covetous man: for such an one setteth his own soul to sale; because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels.

10 The physician cutteth off a long disease; and he that is to day a king to morrow shall die.

11 For when a man is dead, he shall inherit [c]creeping things, beasts, and worms. B. C. cir. 200.

12 The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker. [c] Isai. 14. 11.

13 For pride *is* the beginning of sin, and he that hath *it shall* pour out abomination: and therefore the Lord brought upon them strange calamities, and overthrew them utterly.

14 [d] The Lord hath cast down the thrones of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. [d] 1 Sam. 2. 8. Luke 1. 52.

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shall commit wrong [offend wrong]. Bretschneider regards the ἐξ as = ἔναντι. Grotius would read *eis ἀμφοτέρους*; but this is to cut rather than unravel the knot. Pride is not only hateful before God and men, but it issues in what is wrong according to God and man.

8. This idea is now further developed: "Because of **unrighteousness, violence,** and **wrongly gotten wealth**" (greed of wealth?). Such are the moral reasons which by the judgment of God and through the instrumentality of men lead to national decline.

9. All the calamities mentioned in *v.* 8 are really the consequences of that pride to which *v.* 7 refers. But for such pride there is assuredly no reason. "Why is earth and ashes proud?"—what is it proud of? The next two clauses in the A. V. ("There is not . . . soul to sale") must be omitted. Their place is, if anywhere, at the close of *v.* 8. The last line is, if we rightly understand it, not only realistic, but coarse. The question what man has to be proud of is answered by this ironical suggestion: **for in life** [while he liveth] **he casts out** [or according to the other reading: **I cast out?**] **his bowels.** Lindius, "ἐῤῥιψα pro ἔῤῥιψε ut in pluribus codicibus." Alex., 157, 248, Co., ἔῤῥιψαν; Vetus Lat., Orig., *projecit;* but most modern critics adopt the Vat. reading ἔῤῥιψα, "I cast out." The rendering of Fritzsche seems far-fetched: "For in life [while he liveth] I have cast down [upset, shaken] his inward organism." Syr.: *cujus latera, dum vivit, vermes perrepunt.* Arab.: *e quo vermes scaturiunt dum vivit.* These variations shew at least the difficulty of the passage. It is not impossible that, as has been suggested, the Greek depends on a misreading of the original Hebrew: רמה, *jacere, dejicere*, for רמם, *tabescere.* Yet, on the whole, the rendering proposed (which refers to the ordinary *fluxus corporis*) seems to us the most likely.

10. *a long disease*, **the physician jokes.**] This either in the sense that he ironically refers to it as such, or else that he speaks of it lightly, as a long disease or weakness; while in truth he who to-day is a king will even to-morrow be dead. This would give good sense. But the Syr. clearly shews us not only what the original bore, but how the error in the Greek version arose. The Syr. has in the first clause: "To-day he walks," instead of the Greek: "to-day a king." As pointed out by Mr. Margoliouth, the Hebrew was מְהַלֵּךְ or מֶלֶךְ, "he walketh," which the Greek misread מֶלֶךְ, "a king." The correct rendering of *v.* 10 *b* is therefore: **Yea, he walketh to-day, and to-morrow he shall die.**

11. Such shall be his portion. This and *v.* 10 *b* has been erroneously regarded as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. vi. 8, 9; 2 Macc. ix. 9), and hence as a later, spurious addition. But the restoration of 10 *b* from the Syr. leaves no room for such a conjecture.

12. The verse opens the stanza (*vv.* 12–17), which treats specially of pride, and more particularly of national pride, as appears from *vv.* 14–17. Indeed, pride had all along been the subject of moralising. Comp. *v.* 7. In *v.* 12 the source of pride is pointed out.

13. The better reading is: **For the beginning of pride is sin.** The reading of the A. V. is that of 248, Co., Syr., Chrysost.

strange calamities.] Rather, **unexpected, unwonted, marvellous.** The verb (παραδοξάζω) stands in LXX. Deut. xxviii. 59 for הִפְלִיא, and the word generally bears this meaning in the LXX., whether *sensu bono* or *malo.*

14. The verse points out the final issue, and at the same time accounts for the extraordinary calamities referred to in *v.* 13. Omit "proud," and in the second clause "up."

B. C. cir. 200.

15 The Lord hath plucked up the roots of the proud nations, and planted the lowly in their place.

16 The Lord overthrew countries of the heathen, and destroyed them to the foundations of the earth.

17 He took some of them away, and destroyed them, and hath made their memorial to cease from the earth.

18 Pride was not made for men, nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman.

19 They that fear the Lord are a sure seed, and they that love him an honourable plant: they that regard not the law are a dishonourable seed; they that transgress the commandments are a ‖deceivable seed.

‖ Or, *unstable generation.*

20 Among brethren he that is chief is honourable; so are they that fear the Lord in his eyes.

B. C. cir. 200.

21 The fear of the Lord goeth before ‖the obtaining of authority: but roughness and pride is the losing thereof.

‖ Or, *principality.*

22 Whether he be rich, noble, or poor, their glory is the fear of the Lord.

23 It is not meet to despise the poor man that hath understanding; neither is it convenient to magnify a sinful man.

24 Great men, and judges, and potentates, shall be honoured; yet is there none of them greater than he that feareth the Lord.

25 [e] Unto the servant that is wise shall they that are free do service:

[e] Prov. 17. 2.

16. *countries of the heathen.*] Rather, **lands of nations.** But the Syr. here offers a more correct translation, at least in *v.* 15. It reads in *v.* 15, instead of "nations," and in *v.* 16, instead of "the heathen," "the proud," which suits the context better. The Syr. may have vocalised גָּיִם and the Greek גֵּיִם—or more probably the one read גֹּאִים, the other גוֹיִם. The Syr. rendering is supported by 248 and the Vet. Lat. in *v.* 15, but not in *v.* 16.

17. *He took some of them away.*] Thus, if we read with A.C.S., when we may either read with the Compl. ἐξ αὐτῶν or correct αὐτούς (as A.S.[2] and six other Codd. C. has αὐτάς). The Vat. has ἐξήρανεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, "he made waste," dry, "some of them" = הֹחֲרִיב, יְבֵשׁ (Fritzsche). In that case the reference in the next clause, **he destroyed them** (αὐτούς), would be to the inhabitants. On the whole, this gives the better meaning.

18. This verse begins Part II., with manifest, though somewhat loose, reference to what had before been said of nations.

not made.] Lit., "not created"—pride is personified. The outcome of it is: "furious anger" (passionate anger).

of a woman.] Rather, **of women.**

19. The A. V. here follows the Compl. and 248, probably representing what originally had been a marginal gloss. In its place must be substituted from the Alex. and Vat. (also in part quoted by Orig. 'c. Cels.' viii. 50): **What generation** [lit. "seed," זֶרַע] **is honoured? The generation of man. What generation is honoured? They that fear the Lord. What generation is unhonoured? The generation of man. What generation is unhonoured? They that transgress the commandments.** Thus man may either attain to high dignity or the opposite, according to his relation towards God.

20. **In the midst of** [among] brethren, he that is chief **among them** [their chief] is **honoured.**

in his eyes.] *i.e.* in the eyes of God.

21. This verse (found in 106, 248, Co., at the end of *v.* 20) must be omitted.

22. Whatever the outward condition of a man, that which alone constitutes glory is the fear of God. This is shewn in detail in the following verses (23–25). Indeed, the connexion of *v.* 22 with the next stanza is so close that it is not easy to separate them.

23. This verse follows as a corollary from *v.* 22. "Meet" = right, righteous.

a sinful man.] Lit. **a man, a sinner.** Drusius thinks the use of the word "man" (ἄνδρα) indicates a rich man [so also the Syr.], since people generally hold a rich man in honour, though he be a sinner. But perhaps we should not confine the idea to wealth, but extend it to all those outward distinctions to which men pay regard, irrespective of character and conduct. He is but a man, and as such must be judged according to *v.* 22. "Understanding," in the true sense, as opposed to "sin."

25. *wise.*] In the same sense as "understanding" in *v.* 23: "Will not grudge:" rather, **will not murmur** (the verb occurs

B. C. cir. 200.

and he that hath knowledge *f* will not grudge when he is reformed.

26 Be not overwise in doing thy business; and boast not thyself in the time of thy distress.

f 2 Sam. 12. 13. Prov. 15. 5.

27 *g* Better is he that laboureth, and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself, and wanteth bread.

g Prov. 12. 9.

28 My son, glorify thy soul in meekness, and give it honour according to the dignity thereof.

29 Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own life?

30 The poor man is honoured for his skill, and the rich man is honoured for his riches.

B. C. cir. 200.

31 He that is honoured in poverty, how much more in riches? and he that is dishonourable in riches, how much more in poverty?

CHAPTER XI.

4 *We may not vaunt or set forth ourselves,* 8 *nor answer rashly,* 10 *nor meddle with many matters.* 14 *Wealth and all things else are from God.* 24 *Brag not of thy wealth,* 29 *nor bring every man into thy house.*

WISDOM lifteth up the head ‖ of him that is of low degree, and *a* maketh him to sit among great men.

‖ Or, *of the lowly.*

a Gen. 41. 40. Dan. 6. 3.

2 Commend not a man for his

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seven times in the N. T.). The words "when he is reformed," although occurring in the Syr. and Vet. Lat., should be omitted. Comp. Prov. xvii. 2.

26. Another species of pride. It probably refers to a man who imagines himself superior to doing his own plain work—too wise or clever for it—and afterwards claims merit and piety when failure and distress supervene. For "be not overwise" the Syr. has "be not slow," which the Vet. Lat. reproduces, although in the second clause [for "boast not thyself," which it transfers into the first clause].

28. **honour** *thy soul.*] Honour thyself—proper self-esteem.

dignity.] Rather, **worth.**

29. The sinning here referred to springs from want of proper self-esteem, from undue self-depreciation.

30, 31. See introductory remarks to the chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

The previous chapter had suggested the contrast between the seeming and the real—appearance and fact. This is the subject of ch. xi., the moral being to avoid rashness and inconsiderate judgment in regard to what we see (*vv.* 2–6), what we hear (*vv.* 7–9), and what we do (*vv.* 10–13). This concludes Part I. In it the writer had already by implication pointed to the Lord as the only Source of all good—He whose giving alone bestows what is real. This forms now the theme of Part II. (beginning with *v.* 14). The argument may be thus summarised: Not the appearance of *outward* possessions, but the judgment of the Lord (*vv.* 14–21); not the *present* and immediate sequences—that which appears—but the final arbitrament as determined by God (*vv.* 22–24), when there shall be a final adjustment of things (*vv.* 25–28), and that which before God was all along the real shall also outwardly be experienced and become apparent. The last stanza, beginning with *v.* 29, seems more naturally to belong to ch. xii., unless indeed we were to consider it as another *species* of that which presents itself to us in outward life, and in regard to which we require to be warned. Thus the chapter would consist of two parts, each of thirteen verses (as *vv.* 15 and 16 in Part II. must be omitted). Part I. would comprise three stanzas (*vv.* 1–6, 3 × 2 + 4 + 2 × 2 lines; *vv.* 7–9, 3 × 2 lines; *vv.* 10–13, alternately 4, 2 and 4, 2 lines). Part II. would be similar in its arrangement, having also three stanzas (*vv.* 14–21, omitting *vv.* 15, 16 in the A. V., or 3 × 2 + 4 + 2 + 4 lines; *vv.* 22–24, 3 × 2 lines; *vv.* 25–28, 4 × 2 lines). The last stanza in the chapter (*vv.* 29–34) we prefer regarding as part of chap. xii.

1. This verse seems really to belong to the previous chapter, but it may have been placed at the beginning of chap. xi. as an apt introduction. The better reading of the first clause is no doubt the Alex. [also C. S. (X), 248, and seven other Codd.], which has αὐτοῦ after κεφαλήν. Translate: **The wisdom of the humble** [modest] **shall lift up his head, and make him to sit** *among great men.* There are so many Rabbinic sayings to the same effect that this sentiment may be almost regarded as a Jewish axiom.

2. *Commend not.*] Praise not, make not much of him. The writer had probably 1 Sam. xvi. 7 in view. For the Vat. reading αἰνέσεις we must certainly adopt the Alex. (supported by many others) αἰνέσῃς. "His

B. C. cir. 200.

beauty; neither abhor a man for his outward appearance.

3 The bee is little among such as fly; but her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

[b] Acts 12. 21.

4 [b]Boast not of thy clothing and raiment, and exalt not thyself in the day of honour: for [c]the works of the Lord are wonderful, and his works among men are hidden.

[c] Ps. 139. 14.

‖ Gr. *tyrants.*

5 Many ‖kings have sat down upon the ground; and one that was never thought of hath worn the crown.

[d] 1 Sam. 15. 28. Esther 7. 10.

6 [d]Many mighty men have been greatly disgraced; and the honourable delivered into other men's hands.

[e] Deut. 13. 14. & 17. 6, 7.

7 [e]Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke.

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[f] Prov. 18. 13.

8 [f]Answer not before thou hast heard the cause: neither interrupt men in the midst of their talk.

[g] Ps. 1. 1.

9 Strive not in a matter that concerneth thee not; and [g]sit not ‖in judgment with sinners.

‖ Or, *in the judgment of sinners.*

10 My son, meddle not with many matters: for if thou meddle much, thou shalt not be innocent; and if thou follow after, thou shalt not obtain, neither shalt thou ‖escape by fleeing.

‖ Or, *escape hurt.*

[h] Prov. 10. 3. Matt. 19. 22. 1 Tim. 6. 9.

11 [h]There is one that laboureth, and taketh pains, and maketh haste, and is so much the more behind.

12 Again, there is another that is

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outward appearance;" *i.e.* because of its unattractive character.

3. Before μέλισσα the article should be inserted, with C, H, and many authorities. (Comp. Chrysost., 'Hom. 20 in Eph. v.')

4. **Boast not in the putting on of clothes.**] Or else, as in the A.V., "of thy clothing and raiment." The reference is to outward prosperity. The Syr. very curiously renders the first two lines: "deride not him who is dressed in rags, nor despise him whose throat is bitter." If the latter sentiment seems Hebraic, the former is scarcely in accordance with Jewish thought. Indeed a Rabbinic work (comp. Zunz, 'Gottesd. Vortr.' p. 104) quotes as from Ben Sira the following sentence (found also in 'Der. er. Z.' towards the end of the last ch.): "The adornment (splendour) of God is man; the adornment of man is his dress." And this agrees with many Rabbinic sayings in which attention to dress is enjoined on the sages. Lines *c* and *d* give the reason for the warning in lines *a* and *b*. God may send sudden reversal in punishment of our pride, or else the prosperity of which we boasted may be only apparent and temporary. Verses 5 and 6 carry out this idea.

7, 8. **Before thou blamest, examine** [omit "the truth"]: **consider** *first.*] This perhaps rather than "understand first." In Babha B. 98 *b*, we find the following as a quotation from the book of Ben Sira [the last clause in it we italicise to mark the quotation from Ecclus. xi. 8 *b*]: "Everything have I weighed in the balances, and I have not found anything lighter than bran (סוּבִּין, the husks which fall off from the flour in the mill), yet lighter than bran the bridegroom who lives in the house of his father-in-law; and lighter than such bridegroom a guest who brings a guest; and lighter than such guest he who returns answer before he has heard, *and interrupt not in the middle of a discourse*" [speech]. Comp. Prov. xviii. 13.

9. **of** *sinners.*] That is, where sinners sit in judgment.

10. From rashness as to what we see and hear the writer proceeds to rashness in what we undertake and do.

Son, **let not thy deeds** [undertakings, aims] **be about many things.**] The A. V. gives the sense correctly.

for if thou **completest.**] That is, if thou art successful. This seems to suit the sense and context better than "if thou multiply;" viz. if thou engage in many pursuits. The alternative would be: success and failure are here to be equally deprecated. Success will involve what is morally blameworthy; failure will be disastrous.

if thou pursuest [seekest after, followest after, viz. these various objects], **thou shalt not overtake** [seize, catch]; **and if thou runnest away, thou shalt not escape.**] Viz., blame, or else damage. Success involves guilt, the pursuit will lead to failure, and even if abandoned it will involve damage.

11. This verse further illustrates the latter part of *v.* 10, while *vv.* 12, 13 refer to the first two lines in *v.* 10, shewing, in opposition to that haste after many things which involves guilt, that the blessing of God enricheth and exalteth those who are apparently not prosperous but pious and content to wait upon God. Verse 11 reads better by omitting the word "one." It tells us that speed is not success.

B. C. cir. 200.

slow, and hath need of help, wanting ability, and full of poverty; [i] yet the eye of the Lord looked upon him for good, and set him up from his low estate,

[i] Job 42. 10.

13 And lifted up his head from misery; so that many that saw it marvelled at him.

[k] 1 Sam. 2. 7. Job 1. 21. Ezek. 28. 4, &c.

14 [k] Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord.

15 Wisdom, knowledge, and understanding of the law, are of the Lord: love, and the way of good works, are from him.

16 Error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners: and evil shall wax old with them that glory therein.

17 The gift of the Lord remaineth with the godly, and his favour bringeth prosperity for ever.

B. C. cir. 200.

18 There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward:

19 Whereas he saith, [l] I have found rest, and now will eat continually of my goods; and *yet* he knoweth not what time shall ‖ come upon him, and that [m] he must leave those things to others, and die.

[l] Luke 12. 19.

‖ Or, *pass.*

[m] Ps. 49. 10. ch. 14. 4.

20 [n] Be stedfast in thy covenant, and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work.

[n] Matt. 10. 22.

21 Marvel not at the works of sinners; but trust in the Lord, and abide in thy labour: for it is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord on the sudden to make a poor man rich.

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12. On the other hand, "**There is that is** slow and hath need of help, **is inferior in strength and aboundeth in poverty,**" &c. It seems a mistake to regard (with Fritzsche) the person here described as one who is idle or wanting in energy. Such an one could not be represented as receiving Divine help—the argument is not in support of fatalism, but intended to shew the superiority of moral worth.

yet.] Rather, **and.**

13. Omit "from misery," and again, "that saw it;" translate the last clause: **and many marvelled at him.**

14, 17. Here begins Part II., which presents the other aspect: so to speak, the Divine view-point. In *v.* 14 the general principle is laid down; in *v.* 17 it is added that what God so giveth [or else His "good will" and "good pleasure;" see i. 10] to the godly is not merely seeming and transient, as is the prosperity of the wicked, but abiding. (*Verses* 15 *and* 16, *which are wanting in all the best MSS.*, and disturbing, *must be omitted, although occurring in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat.*)

18–21. These verses contain an antithesis —two verses (18, 19: 2 + 4 lines) concerning the rich fool being opposed to two other verses concerning the poor who is pious (20, 21: 2+4 lines).

19. The A. V. and commentators close *v.* 18 with a colon, and regard *v.* 19 as indicating what is "the portion of his reward." But we would suggest that *v.* 18 closes with a full stop, and that *v.* 19 constitutes a separate sentence, complete in itself. Probably the Hebrew original, as has been suggested, bore: וְלֹא יָדַע . . . בְּאָמְרוֹ—a well-known Hebrew construction (for the instances of this use of בְּ see 'Noldii Concord. Partic.'). The translator rendered the Hebrew באמרו . . . ולא literally, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν . . . καὶ οὐκ. The Hebraism ἐν τῷ with infinitive is of frequent occurrence in the N. T. (see Vorstius, 'de Hebraism. N. T.' c. xxxii.). It is also met with in our book (Ecclus. iv. 9, vii. 9, x. 11, xlvi. 5). The meaning is: **While** [or **although**] **he saith** (viz. in his heart) . . . **and now will eat of my good things, and knoweth not** [or **yet knoweth not**—καί for δέ] **what time shall pass.** Comp. our Lord's parable of the rich fool (St. Luke xii. 16, &c.). Similar sentiments are expressed in Rabbinic writings. Thus in the Midr. on Eccles. i. 4: "In this world one man builds a house and another inhabits it, one planteth a garden and another eateth the fruit thereof." Comp. also the Midr. on Eccles. ii. 1.

20. *thy covenant.*] Viz. with the Lord. Grotius here rightly reminds us of Neh. ix. 38.

and have thy conversation in it (ὁμιλεῖν, Schleusner = התהלך; for the use of the word, see LXX. Prov. xxiii. 31).] Do thy work quietly and godly to old age.

21. *Marvel not, &c.*] Either in the sense of marvelling at what a sinner doeth, so as to be disturbed in the quiet pursuit of duty or in the stedfastness of faith; or else: marvel not at the success of his works. According to the better reading, the last

B. C. cir. 200.

22 The blessing of the Lord is [1]in the reward of the godly, and suddenly he maketh his blessing to flourish.

[1] Or, *for a reward.*

23 Say not, [o]What profit is there of my service? and what good things shall I have hereafter?

[o] Mal. 3. 14.

24 Again, say not, I have enough, and possess many things, and what evil can come to me hereafter?

25 In the day of prosperity there is a forgetfulness of affliction: and in the day of affliction there is no more remembrance of prosperity.

B. C. cir. 200.

26 For it is an easy thing unto the Lord in the day of death to reward a man according to his ways.

27 The affliction of an hour maketh a man forget pleasure: and in his end his deeds shall be discovered.

28 Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.

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clause must be rendered: "**quickly of a sudden** to make a poor man rich."—The moral of this verse can scarcely be considered elevated.

22. *The blessing of the Lord is* **for reward.**] Or more simply, **is the reward.** The Hebrew had here no doubt בְּ, which was literally translated by *ἐν*. For this use of בְּ, see Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 217*f* and § 299 *b*.

suddenly.] Literally, **in a swift hour.** It has been suggested (by Mr. Margoliouth) that the Hebrew original had in both lines the word חִפָּיו, "the blessing of the Lord . . . . his blessing;" but that there was a mistake in translating the second חפיו by *εὐλογία*, and referring it to God. In that case the word would have been used in the sense of "business," "undertaking," "endeavour." In fact there would be a play on the word חִפָּיו, and the meaning of the Hebrew original would have been: **The blessing of the Lord for reward** (in reward) **of the godly, and rapidly He maketh his** (the man's) **business** (undertaking) **to flourish.** This seems to accord with the previous verse. On the arrangement of this (*vv.* 22–24) and the following stanza (*vv.* 25–28), see the introductory remarks. The Syr. omits *vv.* 22–27 *b*.

23. *Say not, What* **need have I?**] The tempting suggestion that the Hebrew original rendered by *τίς ἐστί μου χρεία* may have been מה חפיו, is forbidden by the circumstance that although the LXX. twice render חִפָּיו, "pleasure," *desiderium*, by *χρεία* (Jer. xxii. 28, xlviii. 38), yet the uniform use in the Book of Sirach is different. It occurs in it nineteen times—seventeen times in the sense of "need," only once (xxxii. 2, or rather xxxv. 2) in the sense of "business" (work), and once doubtfully so (iii. 22). We therefore feel constrained to adopt the common usage of the word. The words in the A. V. "in my service" must be omitted.

and what good things shall I have **from now?**] *I.e.* in the immediate present.

24. Similarly the opposite extreme must be avoided. "Say not, I have **what is sufficient**: and what evil **shall befall me from now?**"—in the immediate present. Omit the words in the A. V., "and possess many things."

25. If in the previous verses the author displayed a considerable knowledge of human nature, his philosophy is weak and his theology poor in the last stanza (*vv.* 25–28), which gives a kind of general summary and application of the teachings of this chapter. Past sufferings will be forgotten by the righteous when prosperity cometh, and the opposite will be the case with the wicked. In his displeasure at not being invited to a feast, a Rabbi is said to have written to his colleague on the day of his son's marriage: "After all thy joy, death; and what advantage hast thou then of thy joy?" (Midr. on Eccles. i. 3.) And it was a common saying that a man did not depart out of this world till he had had at least half of his wishes (*u. s.* i. 13). Some retribution would come in the end to the wicked. None therefore was to be pronounced blessed before his death.

28. **and in his children shall a man be known.**] That is, either generally his punishment would overtake him in the fate of his children, or else, even if he should die unpunished, yet his character will appear in his children and his punishment in their punishment. The Rabbis express similar notions as to sins of the parents leading to physical and moral consequences in their children; while, on the other hand, it was a common saying that before the sun of one righteous person set that of another rose. This was said with reference to the birth of pious sons on the day that a pious father died (Midr. on Eccles. i. 5). The curious idea also prevailed that a son is commonly like his maternal uncle (Baba B. 110 *a*. In general, as to children being morally either like or unlike their parents, see Midr. Shir Hash. 1 *a*, *b*). But, apart from all this, what most painfully impresses us in *vv.* 25–28 is the marked absence of any reference to another life.

B. C. cir. 200.

29 Bring not every man into thine house: for the deceitful man hath many trains.

30 Like as a partridge taken [and kept] in a cage, so is the heart of the proud; and like as a spy, watcheth he for thy fall:

31 For he lieth in wait, and turneth good into evil, and in things worthy praise will lay blame upon thee.

32 Of a spark of fire a heap of coals is kindled: and a sinful man layeth wait for blood.

B. C. cir. 200.

33 Take heed of a mischievous man, for he worketh wickedness; lest he bring upon thee a perpetual blot.

34 Receive a stranger into thine house, and he will disturb thee, and turn thee out of thine own.

CHAPTER XII.

2 *Be not liberal to the ungodly.* 10 *Trust not thine enemy, nor the wicked.*

WHEN thou wilt do good, [a] know to whom thou doest [a] Matt. 7. 6.

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29. With this verse chap. xii. manifestly begins. The first line is quoted in the Talmud (Yeb. 63 *b*; Sanh. 100 *b*) as from the book of the Son of Sira: "Exclude many from within thy house, and bring not every one to thy house." With this may be compared this other saying: "Never let a man multiply (let him not have many) intimate friends in his house" (Ber. 63 *a*; Sanh. 100 *b*). The second clause should be rendered: **for many are the wiles** (*insidiæ*) **of the deceitful.** For δολίου, 106, 248, Co. read διαβόλου—a strange gloss.

30. The mention of tricks and wiles leads up to what seems in its present form an un-Jewish simile, since, although Aristotle speaks of it ('Hist. An.' ix. 8), we cannot recall any Jewish reference to the training of partridges as decoys. The first clause should be rendered: **A decoy-partridge in a basket.** Κάραλλος occurs in four passages in the LXX., each time representing a different Hebrew word, but all meaning "basket." The word has also passed into Rabbinic writings as קַרְטָלִיתָא and קַרְטָל (Babha Mets. 42 *a*; Babha B., 74 *a*; and in Ber. R. 60, Vayy. R. 25). [Bochart—'Hieroz.' Part II., b. i., ch. 13—has a whole chapter on this verse in Ecclus.]

so *the heart of the proud* [ὑπερήφανος, in the O. T. sense of proud = wicked (just as "meek" = pious) answering to the Hebrew זד or נאה; indeed our verse seems based on Ps. cxl. (LXX. cxxxix.) 5, where the LXX. so render נאים]; **and as the spy that watcheth** [looketh out] **with a view to** (for) **the fall** (ἐπιβλέπει).] As already stated, the illustration is based on Ps. cxl. 5, 6.

31. *And* **on** *things worthy* **of** *praise—choice* [excellent] *things*—**will he put a blemish.**] He will affix to them, find in them a blemish, μῶμος, the מוּם of the Levitical law (and otherwise in the O. T.), *maculam*. If even in the O. T. the word was used to indicate a moral spot or blemish (Job xi. 15; xxxi. 7), it is frequently so applied by the Rabbis, as in the following appropriate saying: "he that is proud is one who has a blemish" (בעל מום הוא), Meg. 29 *a*.—The Syr. has instead of this a different verse.

33. *Take heed of* **an evildoer,** *for he worketh wickedness.*] In the sense of *struo* or *machinor*; not so much as regards his own conduct, but what he deviseth and prepareth.

34. *Receive a stranger* [rather: **take a stranger,** viz. to live with thee]; . . . *and he will* **distract thee with disturbances and estrange** [alienate] **thee from** *thine own*—from thine own family. This construction—rather than "turn thee out of thine own," viz. property—accords with the context, and is established by its occurrence in Jos. 'Ant.' iv. 1, 1 (about the middle). There is evidently here a word-play between the ἀλλότριος, "the stranger," whom we are not to take into our house, and its consequence, that he will make us a stranger to our family: ἀπαλλοτριώσει σε τῶν ἰδίων σου.

CHAPTER XII.

The chapter with which, as previously stated, the concluding stanza of ch. xi. should have been joined, treats of our dealings with others. Ch. xii., as in our A. V., consists of three stanzas, each of six verses, which may be roughly headed as follows: To whom to do good, and to whom not to do it (stanza 1, *vv.* 1–6); the reasons for this advice (stanza 2, *vv.* 7–12); the consequences of neglecting such advice (stanza 3, *vv.* 13–18). Each of the first two stanzas might be headed, Give unto the good; and stanza 3, If thou doest otherwise, thou wilt have thyself only to blame. Lastly, each of the three stanzas may be subdivided into two shorter stanzas, each of three verses, which respectively mark progression in thought.

1. This verse forms a general introductory

B. C. cir. 200.

it; so shalt thou be thanked for thy benefits.

2 Do good to the godly man, and thou shalt find a recompence; and if not from him, yet from the most High.

3 There can no good come to him that is always occupied in evil, nor to him that giveth no alms.

4 Give to the godly man, and help not a sinner.

5 Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly: hold back thy bread, and give it not unto him, lest he overmaster thee thereby: for [else] thou shalt receive twice as much evil for all the good thou shalt have done unto him.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 For the most High hateth sinners, and will repay vengeance unto the ungodly, and keepeth them against the mighty day of their punishment.

7 Give unto the good, and help not the sinner.

8 A friend cannot be known in

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statement—as it were, the text. Instead of the first clause, "When thou wilt do good, *know*," &c., the Syr. has: "If thou doest good to one who is *evil*, thou doest nothing" —evidently a confusion of רע and דע. **And there will be thanks for thy benefits**—*beneficia*, "good doings."

3. The meaning of this verse is extremely difficult, and we may conjecture that either the Greek translator did not properly understand the Hebrew original, or that by an attempted literalism he clumsily rendered it into Greek. In either case our commentation must be somewhat conjectural.

There are not benefits [perhaps גמולים טובים, or else חסדים—in the sense that there is not room for them, they are not in place, hence they should not be shewn] (in regard) **to him who is continuous in evil** [perhaps מתמיד ברע, or else מסתכל ברע, in the later usage of that word], *nor* [in regard] *to him* **who** (himself) **bestoweth not** *alms*.] The original may have had משלם, which bears the twofold meaning of bestowing and retributing (the older Siracide viewing it in the latter, the younger Siracide taking it in the former sense); or it may have been גָּמַל, חָסַד, or even משלם גמול—for all these expressions occur, while in Rabbinic thought צדקה וגמילות חסדים are always most closely connected.

4. This verse presents a sad contrast to the words of our Lord, St. Matt. v. 42–48. But the saying of the Son of Sirach is entirely in accordance with Rabbinic views. It occurs in the so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form: "Do not good to the evil, and evil shall not befall thee" (comp. Paul Fagius, 'Sent. mor. Ben Syræ,' c. comment. ix.). It is also found as a proverb in several of the Midrashim (Ber. R. 22; Vayy. R. 22; Midr. on Eccles. v. 9) in the form just cited, and also in the following: "If thou doest good to the evil, thou hast done evil." In the Midr. on Eccles. v. 9 it occurs (among a number of legendary illustrations) in connexion with the story of a man who, having seen a bird restoring another to life by means of a certain herb, took it with the view of raising the dead in Palestine. By the way he saw a dead fox, on whom he made successful experiment of his herb. But when he afterwards applied the same cure to a dead lion, the latter straightway rent him in pieces. —In the Syr. *vv.* 4 and 5 are inverted.

5. *Do well.*] Rather, **do good.**

lowly.] In the moral sense = pious.

hold back.] Probably the Hebrew מנע, as Fritzsche suggests.

thy bread.] Rather, **his bread**, but in the sense of "the bread which thou givest him." "Bread" is here used in the sense of sustenance or support, like the Heb. לחם. The meaning of *v.* 5*c* seems to be: lest by giving him assistance thou furnish him only with the means of injuring thee; and then the consequences will be as described in clauses *d* and *e*. Bretschneider regards *vv.* 5–7 as a later addition, chiefly because *v.* 7 repeats *v.* 4. But each of these verses begins a new stanza and serves as text to it, and the repetition in *v.* 7 only renders the advice more emphatic.

6. *For.*] Rather, **For also**; a vindication of the sentiment expressed in *v.* 5, very different in spirit from Rom. xii. 19–21. The last part of the verse in the A. V. (beginning with "and keepeth," &c.) must be omitted.

7. Another stanza begins with the same heading as the former (*v.* 4).

8. *A friend cannot be* **tested.**] The A. V. adopts the rendering of the Vet. Lat. *agnoscetur*, the reading being *ἐπιγνωσθήσεται*, with 106, 253; the Alex. has *ἐμβληθήσεται*. But there is no occasion for departing from the

B. C. cir. 200.

prosperity: and an enemy cannot be hidden in adversity.

9 In the prosperity of a man enemies will be grieved: but in his adversity even a friend will depart.

10 Never trust thine enemy: for like as ‖iron rusteth, so is his wickedness.

‖ Or, *brass.*

11 Though he humble himself, and go crouching, yet take good heed and beware of him, and thou shalt be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a lookingglass, and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away.

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12 Set him not by thee, lest, when he hath overthrown thee, he stand up in thy place; neither let him sit at thy right hand, lest he seek to take thy seat, and thou at the last remember my words, and be pricked therewith.

13 Who will pity a charmer that is bitten with a serpent, or any such as come nigh wild beasts?

14 So one that goeth to a sinner, and is ‖defiled with him in his sins, who will pity?

‖ Or, *mingled.*

Vat. reading, *ἐκδικηθήσεται*. We feel convinced that the Hebrew word so rendered was דרש, which the LXX. render by *ἐκδικέω* in Deut. xviii. 19. In our passage the Heb. word would be used in the sense of "search out," "test," "prove." Comp. the similar use of *δικαιωθείς* in Aesch. 'Ag.' 393. For "cannot" in both clauses, rather **shall not.**

9. *enemies will be grieved.*] Rather, **his enemies are in sorrow.** For the second clause comp. Prov. xix. 4, 7.

will depart.] Rather, **will separate himself.** There seems little doubt that the original had מרעהו יפרד, as in Prov. xix. 4, which must be rendered: "but the poor—his friend separateth himself." (The R. V. misses the meaning alike in text and margin; comp. Nowack *ad loc.*)

10. Rather, **for as the bronze is covered with rust** [= contracteth rust; Vet. Lat. *aeruginat*], **so his wickedness**, viz. contracteth evil. Wahl (after Bretschneider): *sic malitia ejus semper nova mala parit.*

11. The construction and meaning, especially of the last clause, are somewhat difficult. In any case the Greek cannot be rendered as in the A. V., "and thou shalt know that his rust hath not been altogether wiped away." We propose translating the verse: **And though he humble himself and go crouching, take heed to thyself** [the Greek expression = שית לב] **and beware of him** [Bissell], **and be in regard to him as one that hath wiped a mirror, and thou shalt know that it is not always tarnished**—*κατίωσε* or *κατίωται*, as in St. Jas. v. 3, which we would also render "is tarnished." The meaning is: if thou take heed, and wipe the mirror, thou wilt get a true reflexion, and thus experience that it does not always give a false image and representation. The Hebrew original probably had כי לא לנצח חלאה. The word חלא occurs as a substantive חֶלְאָה in Ezek. xxiv. 6, 11; and although it is commonly rendered "rust," its primary meaning is "tarnishing," "dirt" (comp. 'Castelli Lexic.' i. 1133, and especially Pagninus, 'Thes.' 704, 705). Accordingly the Targum renders the word in Ezek. by זְיהוּמְתָּא (= זוהמה, זיהומה) from זהם, "to be dirty," "to defile," "to dirty" (one of the derivat. is used of the manuring of plants; comp. generally Levy *ad voc.*). In later Hebrew "to be rusty" is חלד, and חלודה, "rust." Without prolonging this discussion, we venture to think that the simile of the Son of Sirach gives an apt meaning according to our rendering of it, whereas it would be well-nigh unintelligible if we were to adopt the common interpretation: that it [the mirror] does not cover itself to the last with rust. We scarcely require to add that the mirror was of polished metal. [The Syr. has here some strange variants.]

12. *Set him not* **up beside thyself,** *lest when he hath overthrown thee he* **set himself up in thy position.**] *τόπος*, here condition in society, dignity.

seat him not at thy right hand [Bissell] —[give him not the place of honour], **lest he seek thy chair** [*καθέδρα*, the seat of honour], **and at the last thou come to recognise** [know the truth of] **my sayings, and thou be afflicted** [Wahl, *acri dolore afficior*, either והתעצב, as in LXX. Gen. xxxiv. 7, or נכאה, as in Ps. cix. (cviii.) 16] **over my words.**] That is, because thou hast neglected them.

14. With this verse begins the third double stanza (see introd. to the chapter). The verb is continued in *v.* 14, which reads: "**So** (who will pity) **him that goeth unto a sinner, and is mingled up** (with him) **in his sins.**" As in the case mentioned in *v.* 13, so here: a man has himself to blame

B. C. cir. 200.

15 For awhile he will abide with thee, but if thou begin to fall, he will not tarry.

16 An enemy speaketh sweetly with his lips, but in his heart he imagineth how to throw thee into a pit: he will [b]weep with his eyes, but if he find opportunity, he will not be satisfied with blood.

[b] Jer. 41. 6.

17 If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first; and though he pretend to help thee, yet shall he [‖]undermine thee.

‖ Or, *supplant.*

18 He will shake his head, and clap his hands, and whisper much, and change his countenance.

CHAPTER XIII.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *Keep not company with the proud, or a mightier than thyself.* 15 *Like will to like.* 21 *The difference between the rich and the poor.* 25 *A man's heart will change his countenance.*

HE that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith; and [a]he that hath fellowship with a proud man shall be like unto him.

[a] Deut. 7. 2.

2 Burden not thyself above thy power while thou livest; and have no fellowship with one that is mightier and richer than thyself: for how agree the kettle and the earthen pot together? [‖]for if the one be smitten against the other, it shall be broken.

‖ Gr. *this shall smite against it, and be broken.*

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for the consequences, if he deliberately goes into such dangers.

15. *For awhile.*] For a brief time.

but if thou begin to fall.] Rather, **but if thou turn aside**,—that is, if thou no longer entirely consort with him and co-operate in all his schemes.

he will not **be staunch.**] In such case you must be prepared for his giving you up, so that you cannot even reckon on his sympathy unless you go with him in everything.

16. And with his lips sweetly speaks the enemy, *and* [but] *in his heart* **he is planning** *to throw thee into a pit.*] The expression "he will not be satisfied with blood" is generally understood as meaning: he will not be satisfied, even although thy blood has been shed. But taking it in connexion with the following verse, which in our view further develops the thought, we understand it as meaning that such a hypocritical enemy will not be satisfied to let matters have their course to our destruction, but will himself take part in it.

17. *If adversity come upon thee, thou shalt find him there* **before thee.**] This cannot mean: as if to sympathise, for in such case he would not be there "before" the adversity came; but must mean that he will be in waiting for the event, not leave it simply to take its course (*v.* 16): **and as though helping he will trip thee up** [Bissell].

18. He will "whisper" [as does a hypocrite] every kind of evil against thee, and "change his countenance," openly now assuming the appearance of an enemy.

CHAPTER XIII.

From warnings of the dangers attaching to intercourse with evil, the writer proceeds to describe unwise intercourse: such as the attempted companionship of the poor with the rich (*vv.* 2–23); and he concludes by moralising with the view of dissuading the pious poor from either wrongfully seeking riches and courting the rich, or being discontented with their lot. Apart from *v.* 1, which, as often, serves as a link of connection with the previous chapter, and omitting *v.* 14 as a spurious addition, the chapter consists of twenty-four verses, and is divided into two parts: Part I., *vv.* 2–13; Part II., *vv.* 15–26. Part I. contains two double stanzas, each of six verses (*vv.* 2–4 + *vv.* 5–7 and *vv.* 8–10 + 11–13), shewing the *folly* of such attempted intercourse between poor and rich. In Part II. the first double stanza, *vv.* 15–20, shews the *impossibility* and the *danger* of such intercourse (*vv.* 15–17: what fellowship? *vv.* 18–20: what peace?). There is really no equality between the rich and the poor (*vv.* 21–23), although we ought at the same time to take the higher view of riches and poverty (*vv.* 24–26). Thus Part II. also consists of two double stanzas, each of six verses (3 + 3, 3 + 3).

1. Omit "therewith." The Syr., "it sticks to his hand." The saying has passed into a common proverb.

shall be like unto him.] Better, **shall become like him.** Syr., "put on of his ways" — *didicit mores ejus* (Payne Smith). The verse forms a transition from the former to the present chapter.

2. A burden (which is) **above thy power lift not up, and with mightier than thou and richer than thou have no fellowship; what fellowship shall** (earthen) **pot have with** (brass) **kettle** [caldron]? **It shall hit** [knock] **against it** [viz. the kettle against the pot, reading *αὐτῇ*, and not *αὖτη*—so also the Syr.], **and it**

B. C. cir. 200.

3 The rich man hath done wrong; and yet he threateneth withal: the poor is wronged, and he must intreat also.

4 If thou be for his profit, he will use thee: but if thou have nothing, he will forsake thee.

5 If thou have any thing, he will live with thee: yea, he will make thee bare, and will not be sorry for it.

6 If he have need of thee, he will deceive thee, and smile upon thee, and put thee in hope; he will speak thee fair, and say, What wantest thou?

7 And he will shame thee by his meats, until he have drawn thee dry twice or thrice, and at the last he will laugh thee to scorn: afterward, when he seeth thee, he will forsake thee, and shake his head at thee.

B. C. cir. 200.

8 Beware that thou be not deceived, and brought down ‖in thy jollity.

‖ Or, *by thy simplicity.*

9 If thou be invited of a mighty man, withdraw thyself, and so much the more will he invite thee.

10 Press thou not upon him, lest thou be put back; stand not far off, lest thou be forgotten.

11 ‖Affect not to be made equal unto him in talk, ‖and believe not his many words: for with much communication will he tempt thee, and smiling upon thee will get out thy secrets:

‖ Or, *Forbear not.*

‖ Or, *but.*

(the pot) **shall be broken.**] Thus much for the folly and danger of such attempts.

3. The folly of the whole thing, viewed from the standpoint of the rich, could scarcely be more graphically set forth than in this and the following verses to the end of the stanza (*vv.* 3–7). The A. V., although not quite literal, gives the sense with sufficient accuracy: "and yet he threateneth withal;" rather, **and is very wroth besides.**

4. *if thou have nothing.*] Rather, **if thou be in want.** Similarly we read in Abh. ii. 3: "Be cautious (in your intercourse) with the great [lit., those in authority], for they do not bring near [to themselves] a man except for their own purposes: they appear as friends when it is to their advantage, and stand not by a man in the hour of his need."

In all probability the ἐργᾶται ἐν σοί represents the Hebrew עֲבַד בְּ.

5. *If thou have* [anything], *he will live with thee.*] In the sense of associating and making a companion. The Syr. has: "he will speak fair"—probably יְחַלֶּה.

make thee bare.] Rather, **empty thee** [Bissell].

but he himself will not be sorry.] Bissell: "will not trouble himself."

6. *If he have need of thee,* **he will lead thee astray.**] Not necessarily (as Fritzsche thinks) to hurt and damage.

What wantest thou?] Viz. I shall get it for thee.

7. We cannot help thinking that the Hebrew had here a word-play between the αἰσχυνεῖ, וַהֲבִישֵׁךְ, from בוש, "to be ashamed," and וְהֹבִישֵׁךְ, from יבש, "to make dry," for the ἀποκενώσει in the second clause. (The word is only used by Aq., Sym., and Theod.: comp. Field's 'Hex.,' Judg. iii. 25; 1 Kings [1 Sam.] xxiv. 4.)—For "by his feasts" the Syr. has: "by his devices"—the Greek deriving the word from אכל, the Syr. from נכל.

drawn thee dry.] Better, **emptied thee.** The idea seems to be that, incited by the banquets of the great man, the poor man tries to imitate his prodigality, and, while he is drained, he is only laughed at for his pains. The interpretation, that the great man borrows from him and so drains him (Fritzsche), is unsuited to the context.

8. *Beware* **lest thou be led astray.**] This verse begins a new stanza. The "jollity" refers to the invitations described in *v.* 9. The transition from *v.* 7 seems clearly marked. The Vet. Lat. reads ἀφροσύνῃ, which the Syr. shews to represent the original.

brought down.] Rather, **humbled,** or **humiliated.**

9. *withdraw thyself.*] Possibly, "appear reluctant" (Bissell). This would at any rate be in accordance with Jewish ideas, according to which a man should require a repeated invitation to a feast before going to it, and, when called upon for a public function in the synagogue, at first decline. But the Son of Sira at the same time warns us to avoid alike one and the other extreme, *v.* 10.

11. *Affect not* [aim not, make not a point of it] **to talk with him as an equal.**] *I.e.* familiarly, or rather freely and without reserve.

with much talk he will tempt thee.] Viz. unreservedly to open up all that is in thy mind.

and as smiling he will search thee

B.C. cir. 200.

12 But cruelly he will lay up thy words, and will not spare to do thee hurt, and to put thee in prison.

13 Observe, and take good heed, for thou walkest in peril of thy overthrowing: when thou hearest these things, awake in thy sleep.

14 Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon him for thy salvation.

15 Every beast loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour.

16 All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like.

[b] 2 Cor. 6. 14.

17 [b] What fellowship hath the wolf with the lamb? so the sinner with the godly.

B.C. cir. 200.

18 What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? and what peace between the rich and the poor?

19 As the wild ass is the lion's prey in the wilderness: so [c] the rich eat up the poor.

[c] Jam. 2. 6.

20 As the proud hate humility: so doth the rich abhor the poor.

21 A rich man beginning to fall is held up of his friends: but a poor man being down is thrust also away by his friends.

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out.] (Similarly, Bissell.) The rendering of the A. V. depends on another reading which seems a gloss on the text.

12. **Merciless, he that keepeth not words** [concealeth not counsel, *i.e.* betrays what is said either in confidence or in the freeness and openness of conversation], **nor will he spare** [viz. to inflict, or cause to be inflicted—in the original, either חום or חמל, both frequently so translated in the LXX.] **injury or bonds.**] He is reckless of consequences.

13. **Keep thyself** [=take care of thyself], **and take good heed, for thou walkest** [goest about—Bissell] **with thy fall.**] A figurative expression (comp. Job xxxi. 5; Prov. xiii. 20), as it were: thou hast thy fall as a close companion in thy walk under such circumstances. The last clause in the A. V., beginning with "when thou hearest," &c., must be omitted.

14. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted as a spurious addition; perhaps a gloss embodying moral reflection.

15. This verse begins Part II. (see introductory remarks), shewing the reasonableness and the propriety of the advice hitherto given, as representing a universal law in the physical and moral world, as well as of society. *Similis simili gaudet; aequalis aequalem delectat.*

and every man loveth his neighbour.] In the sense of kindred in mind or station.

16. *All flesh consorteth according to kind.*] למינהו, LXX. Gen. i. 25, *κατὰ γένος*. The passage is quoted in the Talmud (Babha K. 92 *b*) in illustration of the proverb, "A bad date-tree goes and joins itself to the reed." This saying is illustrated by examples from the Law, Gen. xxviii. 9; and from the Prophets, Judg. xi. 3; to which is curiously added as an illustration from the Hagiographa what is evidently our passage in Ecclus.: "Every bird dwells with its kind, and man with him that is his like." It will be noticed that the Talmud has "every bird" (כל עוף) instead of "all flesh" (*πᾶσα σάρξ*)—the Greek translator probably having misread (as Raymundus Martini already suggests) כל גוף for כל עוף. Other similiar sayings occur in Rabbinic writings. The Syr. has a somewhat different, but unsatisfactory, rendering.

17. This figure, taken from Is. xi. 6, has its parallel in classical writings, among which the best known is probably that of Horace ('Epod.' iv. 1): *Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit, tecum mihi discordia est.* For other parallels, see Grotius and Bretschneider.

18. *What* **peace** *is there between the hyena and a dog?*] Classic writers describe the enmity between these two, and how the hyena contrives to allure and then to devour the dog. The curious reader is referred to Bochart, 'Hieroz.' Pars i., pp. 832, &c.

19. **The prey of lions** (are) **wild asses** *in* [of] **the wilderness** [פראים במדבר, Job xxiv. 5, LXX. *ὄνοι ἐν ἀγρῷ*, but see Field's 'Hexapl.' *ad loc.*]: *so* **the fodder of the rich** (are) **the poor.**] For the plural use of the subst. see Winer, 'Gram. d. N. T. Sprach-Id.' § 27, 3.

20. **An abomination to the proud is lowliness; so** (is) **the poor an abomination to the rich.** The verse is omitted in the Syr.

21. *beginning to fall.*] Rather, **The rich when he is moved**—beginning to shake—in the biblical acceptation, especially in that of the Psalms (as in Ps. x. 6, and often) where the LXX. render מוט by *σαλεύω*. It is not necessary to confine the meaning of the clause to the threatening decay of outward fortune; it had better be understood

B. C. cir. 200.

22 When a rich man is fallen, he hath many helpers: he speaketh things not to be spoken, and yet men justify him: the poor man slipped, and yet they rebuked him too; [d] he spake wisely, and could have no place.

[d] Eccles. 9. 15, 16.

23 When a rich man speaketh, [e] every man holdeth his tongue, and, look, what he saith, they extol it to the clouds: but if the poor man speak, they say, What fellow is this? and if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him.

[e] Job 29. 9.

24 Riches are good unto him that hath no sin, and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether it be for good or evil: and [f] a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.

[f] Prov. 15. 13.

26 A cheerful countenance is a token of a heart that is in prosperity; and the finding out of parables is a wearisome labour of the mind.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 *A good conscience maketh men happy.* 5 *The niggard doeth good to none.* 13 *But do thou good.* 20 *Men are happy that draw near to wisdom.*

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in the most general and wide application. Grotius: *sustentatur ne ruat.*

the lowly when he is fallen [when he is down] **is besides pushed away by friends** (προσαπωθεῖται).] One might almost be tempted to render: "is besides kicked by friends." Syr.: *pellitur ex malo in peius*—evidently a confusion between רַע and רָעַע. With this verse a new stanza begins. See introductory remarks.

22. *When* **the rich maketh a fall** [σφαλέντος] (there are) *many helpers.*] To take hold of him, to help him, to take his part.

he speaketh [spoke] *things not to be spoken.*] What really only reflects upon or incriminates him.

and they *justify him* [declare him just]. **The lowly cometh to a fall, and they rebuke him besides; he speaketh forth reason** [what is reasonable] **and no room is given him**]—*locum dare alicui;* he is not listened to, nor his reasonable statement accepted.

23. There is a realistic force in the A. V. which makes us hesitate to substitute the more literal rendering: "The rich speaketh and **all are silent, and what he saith they extol** [Syr. "and his favourers extol him"] **to the clouds; the poor speaketh, and they say, Who is this? and if he stumble, they overthrow him besides.**" [So Bissell, with the exception of the last four words.]

24. From these worldly experiences the writer turns in the last stanza to somewhat tardy and scarcely elevated moralising.

Good are riches to which no sin attaches.] This seems to suit the context better than the rendering of the A. V., which, however, is admissible.

and poverty is evil [wrong?] **in the mouths of the ungodly.**] *I.e.* according to their sentence, in their view, they declare it such.

25. But happiness or misery depends not on outward circumstances, but on the inner state of a man, on his heart. "Good" and "evil" must not be here taken in the moral sense. The saying is quoted in the Midrash in the name of Ben Sira in illustration of Gen. xxxi. 2: "The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether for good or for evil" (בין לטוב בין לרע, Ber. R. 73). The last clause in the A. V., beginning "and a merry heart," &c., must be omitted.

26. Literally, "The token of a heart in prosperity [in good, in happiness] is a cheerful countenance, but the finding out of parables is thinking [cogitations, considerations] with pain." Manifestly the two sentences must be intended as antithetical, and equally manifestly they are a further development of the thought in *v.* 25 in some such form as this: A heart in prosperity changeth the countenance *for good:* on the other hand, as regards the change *for evil,* the strain of the mind, whether in finding out wise sayings, or interpreting parables, or reading the deep things of Providence or the problems of social life,—in short, troubling oneself with such problems and cares only makes a man miserable, and his appearance indicates it. Probably the writer had in his mind Eccles. xii. 12, which warns against much study, as יגעת בשר, "weariness of the flesh." There also the previous verses (9–11) bear reference to "parables" and "sayings of the wise." Beyond these (ויתר מהמה) we are warned not to go, since much study is weariness to the flesh. But by the side of this parallelism we also mark the wide contrast between Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus. For while Eccles. xii. 12 is followed by the noble conclusion in *vv.* 13, 14, Ecclus. xiii. 26 leads

B. C. cir. 200.

BLESSED [a] is the man that hath not slipped with his mouth, and is not pricked with the ‖multitude of sins.

2 [b] Blessed is he whose conscience hath not condemned him, and who is not fallen from his hope in the Lord.

3 Riches are not comely for a niggard: and what should an envious man do with money? B. C. cir. 200.

4 He that gathereth by defrauding his own soul [c] gathereth for others, that shall spend his goods riotously. [c] ch. 11. 19. ver. 15.

5 He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good? he shall not take pleasure in his goods.

[a] ch. 19. 16. & 25. 8. Jam. 3. 2.
‖ Or, *sorrow.*
[b] Rom. 14. 22. 1 John 3. 21.

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up to the doubtful, if not actually Epicurean, stanza in xiv. 11–19.

CHAPTER XIV.

There is a close sequence between this chapter and the previous one. The latter had ended by shewing that riches are not always and absolutely desirable, and that happiness comes from within rather than from without, concluding with a hint not to burden oneself with thought or care. Chapter xiv. begins with a prologue of two verses, which, as usually, forms a transition from the subject of the previous to that of the present chapter. Then follows stanza 1 in eight verses (*vv.* 3–10), presenting another aspect of the possible undesirableness of riches: they may not really be of benefit to a man—not even give him pleasure. The second stanza of eight verses (*vv.* 11–18) advises us rather to enjoy life so far as we can, closing with a transition in *v.* 19 to the third stanza of eight verses (*vv.* 20–27), in which the writer once more assumes the functions of the moralist, this time in favour of wisdom.

1. The warning against the trouble and labour of "finding out parables" leads the writer to consider more serious consequences which may ensue: since a man may offend with his lips, and there may be a more bitter cause of sorrow than anything outward, even an evil conscience: "**Happy** [blessed] **the man that slippeth not** with his mouth" [possibly such passages may have been in the writer's mind as Ps. xvii. 3; xxxix. 1; cxli. 3: comp. St. James iii. 2], "and is not pricked [grieved] with the **sorrow of sin**" (so according to the better reading), *i.e.* with mourning for sin. The Aethiop. somewhat boldly renders, or rather paraphrases: "Happy is the sinner who is not troubled by grief." The Syr. has for the second clause: "from whose eyes justice is not hidden." Probably the Greek read: ולא התעצב מעוניו; the Syr. ולא התעצם מעיניו.

2. **Happy** [blessed] (he) **whom his soul convicteth not.**] The word *καταγινώσκω*, as in the parallel passages 1 St. John iii. 20, 21, means more than "accuse" and less than "condemn" in the sense of the actual pronouncing of sentence; in the LXX. it represents several Hebrew words and bears different meanings. In the second clause the words "in the Lord" in A. V. must be omitted, although in Hebrew "hope" is sometimes put for the object of hope. Possibly, however, Eccles. ix. 4, &c., may have been in the mind of the writer, in which case it would indicate absolute and final despair.

3. With this verse begins the subject-matter of the first stanza: "**To a niggard** [to a man who is niggard] **wealth is not comely,**"—it does not really adorn. We suppose that the writer had in view Eccles. v. 10–17, which leads up to *v.* 18. Riches in themselves do not make happy—all depends on the enjoyment of them. Accordingly Eccles. v. 18 proceeds: "Behold, what I have found good, what is comely [that it is comely] is to eat and to drink," &c. The LXX. here render "comely" (יפה) by *καλόν*. We suppose then that the Hebrew original of Ecclus. also had יפה, and applied the reasoning in Eccles. as follows: Since the niggard does not eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, his wealth is not *καλός*, not יפה. On the other hand, the second clause of the verse takes us to Prov. xxviii. 22: "The man of evil eye hasteth after riches, and he knoweth not that want will come upon him." The expression, "the man of evil eye," is rendered in the LXX. by *ἀνὴρ βάσκανος*; and similarly in the passage before us: **to what** [purpose] **are all riches to a man of evil eye?** (*ἀνθρώπῳ βασκάνῳ*)—since in the end want will overtake him (Prov. xxviii. 22): comp. Hor. 'Sat.' i. 1, 59, &c. The meaning of "man of an evil eye" (comp. also Prov. xxiii. 6) is best gathered from its opposite: "he of good eye," Prov. xxii. 9.

4. *He that gathereth* **from** (off) *his own soul* [*i.e.* by pinching himself] *gathereth for others* [*ἄλλοις*], *and* **on his good things shall others fare sumptuously** [revel, *τρυφήσουσιν ἕτεροι*].] Comp. Hor. 'Od.' ii. 14, 25, &c.

5. Clause 1 seems an application and farther development of Prov. xi. 17: "He that doeth good to his soul [not in the spiritual

B. C. cir. 200.

6 There is none worse than he that envieth himself; and this is a recompence of his wickedness.

7 And if he doeth good, he doeth it unwillingly; and at last he will declare his wickedness.

8 The envious man hath a wicked eye; he turneth away his face, and despiseth men.

[d] Prov. 27. 20.

9 A [d]covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion; and the iniquity of the wicked drieth up his soul. B. C. cir. 200.

10 [e]A wicked eye envieth [his] bread, and he is a niggard at his table. [e] Prov. 23. 6, 7.

11 My son, according to thy ability do good to thyself, and give the Lord his due offering.

12 Remember that death will not be long in coming, and that the covenant of the grave is not shewed unto thee.

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sense] is a gracious man, and he that afflicteth his flesh is cruel." *And he shall not* **have** *pleasure in* [be happy in] *his* **riches.**

6. *There is none* **more evil** [or else wretched] *than he that* **has an evil eye** [grudgeth?] **towards** *himself.*] In the second clause we should prefer, instead of "a recompense," "the recompense," which suits the context better. The worst evil is when a man grudges things to himself, and this is what he gets as return and reward of his wickedness. But according to some the τοῦτο refers to *v.* 7.

7. *And if he doeth good, he doeth it* **unwittingly** [lit., in forgetfulness—so also the Aeth. —viz. of his real character and course of conduct. But this forgetfulness does not last], *and* **in the end he sheweth forth** *his wickedness.*

8. **Wicked** (is he) **who is evil of eye.**] Viz. in regard to others, who has not pity nor mercy on them. Βασκαίνω seems = βασκανίζω ὀφθαλμῷ, by which the LXX. render תרע עינו, Deut. xxviii. 54, comp. *v.* 56.

and despiseth men.] The original would bear this rendering, but the better and more literal translation would be "and neglecteth souls," in the sense of the needy and craving. The Syr. omits this verse.

9. Rather: *is not satisfied* **with a portion, and wicked injustice** *drieth up* **the** *soul.* The A. V. reads ἀδικία πονηροῦ with 248, Co. The meaning is: not satisfied with a part, he wants all, and his wicked injustice as regards the claims of others drieth up every better feeling. Syr.: *qui autem usurpat quod proximi sui est*, evidently mispointing רַע for רָע.

10. Some misreading of the Hebrew must have caused the Syr. rendering: *Oculus nequam multiplicat panem.* The Greek has: "**An evil** eye **is envious over** bread, and [yet?] **there is lack** (deficiency) at his table"—although such an one grudgeth and envieth even bread to his neighbour, yet his own board is bare; or else, and at the same time his own board is bare. This latter view suits better as a transition to the stanza beginning with *v.* 11, which recommends free enjoyment of what we possess, so long as it is in our power.

11. **Son, according as thou hast,** *do good to thyself, and* **properly** [rightly, duly, in measure proportionate to thy possessions] **bring oblations to the Lord.**] A kind of attempted combination of enjoyment with piety, which reminds us of a similar proposal recorded in Eccles. ii. 3. But perhaps the writer may have had Prov. xvii. 1 in his mind, —the "dry morsel" there becoming here whatever a man has, and the "sacrifices" being no longer "of strife." The Syriac has substantially the same for the first clause, but instead of the second virtually repeats the first clause: *And if thou hast anything, do good to thyself.* The alteration in this case seems to us to have been in the Syr.

12. *the covenant of the grave.*] Rather, **a covenant of Hades**—perhaps a reference to Isa. xxviii. 15. The expression naturally conveys the thought that one knows not such a covenant, that he has not seen it, and that such an agreement does not exist; in other words, we have not drawn up a bargain with Hades that we shall die at a certain fixed period, and know not at what moment we may have to depart. Yet there may be another view of it, which the Greek translator may have either misunderstood or else chosen to keep back. We find it, although with an explanatory paraphrase (marked by us with square brackets), in the Talmud, which reproduces *vv.* 11, 12, 18, although without quoting them. The subject is introduced by this admonition of a Rabbi: "Make haste to eat, make haste to drink, for this world which we leave is like a wedding" (equally brief). To which another Rabbi adds this: "If thou hast anything, do good to thyself [for in Sheol there is no pleasure], and death knows no delay:" comp. Ecclus. xiv. 11, 12 *a.* "And [if thou say, I will leave to my son] the law in Sheol who will declare to thee?" (חוֹק בִּשְׁאוֹל מִי יַגִּיד לָךְ): comp. Ecclus. xiv. 12 *b.* "The children of man are like the herbs of the field —some bloom and some fade away:" comp. Ecclus. xiv. 18 (Erubh. 54 *a*).

B. C. cir. 200.

13 *f* Do good unto thy friend before thou die, and according to thy ability stretch out thy hand and give to him.

14 *g* Defraud not thyself of ‖ the good day, and let not the part of a good desire overpass thee.

15 *h* Shalt thou not leave thy travails unto another? and thy labours to be divided by lot?

16 Give, and take, and sanctify thy soul; for there is no seeking of dainties in the grave.

17 *i* All flesh waxeth old as a garment: for the covenant from the beginning is, *k* Thou shalt die the death.

18 As of the green leaves on a thick tree, some fall, and some grow; so is the generation of flesh and blood, *l* one cometh to an end, and another is born.

19 Every work rotteth and consumeth away, and the worker thereof shall go withal.

20 *m* Blessed is the man that doth

f Tobit 4. 7. Luke 14. 13.

g Eccles. 5. 18, &c. & 6. 1, &c.

‖ Or, *the feast day.*

h ver. 4.

i Ps. 102. 26. Isai. 40. 6. Hebr. 1. 11. Jam. 1. 10. 1 Pet. 1. 24.

k Gen. 2. 17. & 3. 19.

l Eccles. 1. 4.

m Ps. 1. 2.

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13. *Do good unto thy friend.*] Rather: **to a friend.**

14. Miss not a *good day.*] The Alex. omits *ἀπὸ ἀγαθῆς*. There can be little doubt that the Vat. represents the proper reading. But we must not (with Fritzsche) understand the "good day" in the later technical signification of יוֹם טוֹב = festive day. The writer had Eccles. vii. 14*a* in his mind, and perhaps intended this as a paraphrase of בְּיוֹם טוֹבָה הֱיֵה בְּטוֹב—LXX. *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀγαθωσύνης*. The second clause reads: "And let not **a portion** of a good desire [perhaps, a part in desirable good—presumably, participation in lawful pleasure] **go past** thee." In short, *carpe diem*. The Syr. paraphrases the last clause: "and desire not an evil desire."

15. *thy travails . . . thy labours.*] Viz. the fruit of them.

16. The more than doubtful sentiment of this verse led to early attempts at emendation. Grotius would read *ἀγάπησον* for *ἀπάτησον*—a conjecture in which he was anticipated by the Armen. Version. But we cannot conceive such a use of the word אהב in the original. The Syr. has "nourish thy soul." It adds, probably as an apologetic corrective: "and whatever is fair to be done before the Lord, that do." Some Codices have *ἁγίασον*, as the A. V.—evidently a later apologetic emendation; the Vet. Lat. has *justifica*. It is needless to give other conjectural emendations. The meaning of the verse is: "**Beguile** [Böttcher = *oblecta*] **thy soul** [let thy soul enjoy itself], for there is no seeking **after** dainties [here the cause for the effect: seeking for finding] in **Hades**." It is indicative of the former estimate of the Apocrypha that, like Ecclus. xiii. 1, the first clause of *v.* 16 ("give and take") has passed into a popular adage, although with a very different meaning attaching to it.

17. *All flesh.*] כל בשר, a frequent expression, = every living creature, and specifically all men. But possibly the Hebrew original simply quoted Ps. cii. 27, וְכֻלָּם כַּבֶּגֶד יִבְלוּ, which the Greek translator paraphrased for greater clearness. The LXX. render the verse in the Ps. by the same words as the Hebrew: *πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται.*

for the covenant from **everlasting** [*ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, but both in the Hebrew usage and here (comp. xliv. 2) it might be rendered: "from the beginning"] (is): **Dying thou shalt die** (מוֹת תָּמוּת, here literally rendered from the Hebrew, as in LXX. Gen. ii. 17).] The underlying thought may have been the same as that of certain Rabbis that death was not the sequence of sin, but from the first appointed to man; although the other idea is not necessarily excluded, that physical death came upon all in consequence of Adam's sin. In Siphré (ed. Friedmann, p. 141*a*) we find a curious application of the words in Numb. xix. 14, זֹאת הַתּוֹרָה, as implying a Divine decree of death upon all men. The Syr. has the following, no doubt later (Christian?) modification of *v.* 17: "for all the sons of men are certainly for corruption (*corrumpendi sunt*), and the generations of the world are certainly to die."

18. As green leaves [it is not possible literally to render *φύλλον θάλλον*] *on a thick tree.*] Thick in the sense of "with branches," perhaps רַעֲנָן; but see Schleusner *ad voc.*

flesh and blood.] The well-known expression for man: בשר ודם.

19. Conclusion of this and transition to the next stanza. "**Every work which is corruptible** [or perhaps: being corruptible] **shall consume away, and the worker thereof shall pass away with it.**" The Syriac has here also what seems a Christian modification: "and all his works shall be searched into before him, and the work of his hands shall follow after him."

20. New stanza. **Happy he** *that doth meditate* [so the Alex. reading, and others, and this is preferable to the Vat. *τελευτήσει*] *in wisdom.*] Omit "good things." The

B. C. cir. 200.

meditate good things in wisdom, and that reasoneth of holy things by his understanding.

21 He that considereth her ways in his heart shall also have understanding in her secrets.

22 Go after her as one that traceth, and lie in wait in her ways.

23 He that prieth in at her windows shall also hearken at her doors.

24 He that doth lodge near her house shall also fasten a ‖ pin in her walls.

‖ Or, *stake.*

25 He shall pitch his tent nigh unto her, and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.

B. C. cir. 200.

26 He shall set his children under her shelter, and shall lodge under her branches.

27 " By her he shall be covered from heat, and in her glory shall he dwell.

" Wisd. 10. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

2 *Wisdom embraceth those that fear God.* 7 *The wicked shall not get her.* 11 *We may not charge God with our faults:* 14 *for he made, and left us to ourselves.*

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verse is evidently based on Ps. i. 2, although significantly "wisdom" now takes the place of "His law,"—a difference characteristic, on the one hand, of the age and date of Ps. i., and, on the other, of the standpoint of the Siracide.

and **discourseth** (about it) **in** *his understanding.*] This may also answer to יהגה in Ps. i. 2.

21. **He considereth** [or, "he that considereth"—if we regard the "happy" of *v.* 20 as still carried on to this verse] *her ways in his heart,* **and pondereth on** *her secrets.*] Wisdom is here personified.

22. *that traceth.*] Viz., her footsteps. The figure is of a hunter. This sentence must be either regarded as intercalated, by way of admonition, or else we must suppose that the Syr. here represents the Hebrew more accurately when it connects all these sentences as subordinate to and dependent on *v.* 20.

23. *He prieth in* . . . **and listeneth.**] In other words, all means are used to learn her secrets.

24. In pursuit of the same object: "**He lodgeth** . . . and **fasteneth the peg** in her walls." The peg, viz., of his tent. Mark that Wisdom is represented as having a house —solid and permanent; whereas the human searcher after her is described as in a tent. See next verse. In the LXX. πάσσαλος always represents the Heb. יָתֵד, except in Ex. xxxix. 33 (of the Hebrew text; in the LXX. there is a different order, or rather disorder, and *v.* 33 is represented by *v.* 9).

25. *and shall lodge in a lodging where good things are.*] Lit., "in a hostelry of good things."

26. *under her shelter.*] The figure varies now to that of a tree. The shelter which his lodgment under her branches affords, extends to "his children" (descendants). The Syr. has: *manus suas jactabit super ramos eius.* At first sight we might conjecture that the Syr. read יָדָיו, "his hands," for יְלָדָיו, "his children" (as in the Greek Version). But on further consideration it seems more likely that the Syr., which here is throughout confused, had somehow transferred hither the κατὰ χεῖρας αὐτῆς ("by the side of her") of *v.* 25. But, manifestly, it is impossible to make any good sense out of the Syr. Version. When, however, the Syr. has in *v.* 27 *b*: *et in habitaculis eius relaxabit animum,* it is evident that it read instead of הָדָר, "glory," חֶדֶר, "chamber," while it understood the word rendered in the Greek καταλύσει, "**he shall lodge,**" as *relaxabit,* viz. *animum,* just as the LXX. similarly use the same Greek word (six times) for שָׁבַת or הִשְׁבִּית.

CHAPTER XV.

This chapter forms a natural and easy continuation of the preceding, and a progression upon it. If we might borrow the language of our public life, what in the last stanza of the previous chapter (xiv. 20–27) was the moral "amendment" on "the original motion" to do good to oneself, becomes in ch. xv. (1–10) "the original motion," to which the objections or excuses on the part of a sinner in *vv.* 11–20 are again a proposed "amendment" which is discussed and rejected. Thus the chapter consists of two parts. Part I. (*vv.* 1–10): praise of Wisdom, in two stanzas —stanza 1 (*vv.* 1–5), Wisdom from its objective aspect; stanza 2 (*vv.* 6–10), Wisdom from the subjective aspect—the relation of the wise and of the fool or sinner to Wisdom. Naturally, the latter is chiefly dwelt upon. This prepares us for the excuses which the sinner makes for not submitting to Wisdom, that is, for continuing in his sinful ways. This forms the subject of Part II. (*vv.* 11–20), which also consists of two stanzas, each of five verses. The first stanza (*vv.* 11–15) once more presents the objective aspect of the answer to the sinner's excuse: I cannot help myself—cir-

B. C. cir. 200.

HE that feareth the Lord will do good; and he that hath the knowledge of the law shall obtain her.

2 And as a mother shall she meet him, and receive him as a wife married of a virgin.

3 With the bread of understanding shall she feed him, and give him the water of wisdom to drink.

4 He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

5 She shall exalt him above his neighbours, and in the midst of the congregation shall she open his mouth. B. C. cir. 200.

6 He shall find joy and a crown of gladness, and she shall cause him to inherit an everlasting name.

7 But foolish men shall not attain unto her, and sinners shall not see her.

8 For she is far from pride, and men that are liars cannot remember her. [a] Ps. 33. 1. Prov. 26. 7.

9 [a] ‖Praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner, for ‖it was not sent him of the Lord. ‖ Or, *A parable.* ‖ Or, *he was not sent of, &c.*

10 For ‖praise shall be uttered in wisdom, and the Lord will prosper it. ‖ Or rather, *a parable.*

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cumstances, or rather God, caused my choice. Lastly, the second stanza (*vv.* 16–20) contains the answer to be given to the sinner, from the subjective aspect of the question, viz. man has liberty, and God will help him, if he seeks to do well. Naturally the two aspects (and stanzas) merge into each other (comp., on the one hand, *v.* 15; and, on the other, *vv.* 18, 20).

1. *He that feareth the Lord* **shall do this** [viz. so follow, and cleave to, Wisdom, as described in the last stanza of ch. xiv.]; *and he that* **is an adept in** *the law* [a master in it] *shall obtain her.*] Viz. Wisdom. This verse is both important and characteristic as marking Hellenistic views. The object is to represent fear of the Lord as the search after wisdom, and a proper and full knowledge of the Law as the attainment of Wisdom. The transition from "the Law" to "Wisdom" which was in process in the so-called *Chokhmah*-books (Wisdom-books) of the Old Testament appears here as an accomplished fact.

2. *and receive him as a wife* **of** (one's) **youth.**] Comp. Prov. ii. 17. That γυνὴ παρθενίας means not virgin-wife, but wife of one's youth, seems established by LXX. Jer. iii. 4, where παρθενία is the translation of נְעוּרִים, "youth." And here it may be well to bear in mind that the Book of Jeremiah was apparently a favourite one with the Alexandrians (comp. Philo, 'de Cher.' § 14).

3. Fritzsche explains the simile: as bread and water are the ordinary daily food, so wisdom supplies him spiritually with ordinary daily food. But the addition of these adjectives seems needless. The meaning conveyed to our minds is that of a supply, which differs from that of ordinary men as regards its source, and is suitable for nourishment. Here and in the following verses we mark a gradation: food, support (*v.* 5), advancement (*v.* 6), joy (*v.* 7).

6. Omit "He shall find."

joy and a crown of gladness, and **an everlasting name shall he inherit.**] This begins the second stanza of Part I., and serves as transition to what follows.

7. Some authorities have καί—in the A. V. "but"—which must be omitted. Fools shall not attain to wisdom; sinners have this goal not even in sight. Comp. here Erubh. 55 *a.*

8. *cannot remember her.*] Rather, **shall not be mindful of her** (Bissell)—either in the sense of bearing her in mind, or caring for her. For the first part of this verse there are many Rabbinic parallels, such as: "God lifteth up him that abaseth himself, and abaseth him that uplifteth himself" (Erubh. 13 *b*; comp. St. Matt. xxiii. 12); or "he that becometh proud shall fall into Gehenna" (Babh. B. 10 *b*), &c.

9, 10. These are perhaps among the most difficult verses in Ecclus. The A. V. represents the Greek text with sufficient accuracy. Nothing can be learned from a comparison with the Syriac. We would suggest that the writer, or the translator, had in his mind and wished to improve upon Prov. xxvii. 21 *b*, which in the LXX. has a clause added. It reads in the LXX. as follows: "but a man is tried [in the sense of "tested"] by the mouth of them that praise him. [LXX. adds:] The heart of the transgressor seeks after evil [mischief], but an upright heart seeks after knowledge." In whatever sense we may understand the somewhat difficult clause in the Hebrew of Prov. xxvii. 21, the writer of Ecclus. would, if our view be correct, have paraphrased or applied it in the following manner: Such praise as cometh from a sinner is not seemly, becoming, beautiful.

B. C. cir. 200.

Jam. i. 13.

11 [b]Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away: for thou oughtest not to do the things that he hateth.

12 Say not thou, He hath caused me to err: for he hath no need of the sinful man.

13 The Lord hateth all abomination; and they that fear God love it not.

B. C. cir. 200.

14 He himself [c]made man from the beginning, [d]and left him in the hand of his counsel;

[c] Gen. i. 26, 27.
[d] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

15 If thou wilt, to [e]keep the commandments, and to perform acceptable faithfulness.

[e] Matt. xix. 17.

It is not real praise, however many may utter it, because it is not sent of the Lord and has not His sanction. Praise—real praise—is uttered in wisdom (= by the truly wise = the pious); and such praise the Lord will prosper, that is, confirm and add His blessing to it. Bretschneider would regard *αἶνος* as = משל, *dicta sapientiæ;* Fritzsche understands it as referring to praise of God (*Lobgesang*)—both, in our view, impossible explanations, alike as regards the meaning of the words and the context.

11. With this verse Part II. begins (see introductory remarks). The connexion between this verse and *vv.* 9, 10 seems as follows: Praise (although coming from the ungodly) might lead a man to imagine that he had the Divine approbation, and so hurry him on to his fall, which in that case he might attribute to God. But for any such error the second clause furnishes a corrective by giving this test: **for what He hateth, thou shalt not do** (so more accurately than in the A. V.). It is not necessary to correct *οὐ ποιήσεις* into *οὐ ποιήσει.* On the imperative use of *οὐ* with the indic. fut., see Winer, 'Gram. d. Neut. Spr.' § 43, 5*c*, and § 56, p. 445. On the passage generally, comp. St. James i. 13—which here, as in so many places, shews lines of correspondence with Ecclus. (comp. the General Introduction).

12. *Say not thou,* [God] **Himself hath made me stray:** *for He hath no* **pleasure in** *a sinful man.*] In LXX. Prov. xviii. 2 *οὐ χρείαν ἔχει* is the translation of לֹא־יִתְפֹּץ; comp. also Is. xiii. 17. As the rendering "He hath no need of a sinful man" does not give any proper meaning, we conclude that the Greek translator used the same expression as in LXX. Prov., where the original had יחפץ. In that case the meaning would be: it is impossible to impute your conduct to God, since He has no pleasure in a sinner. Or else, as Symmachus renders by *χρεία* the חפץ of Eccles. iii. 1, 17, v. 3, which in the first two passages means "purpose," while in later Hebrew it stands for "a thing (or a thing valued)," the sentence might also mean: "for He has no purpose with, or else, He has no dealing with, or even, He attaches no value to a sinful man." But our first rendering is confirmed by the Syr.: *non enim oblectatur homine sceleroso.*

13. *The Lord hateth* **every** *abomination, and* **it is not loved by** [not loveable to] **them that fear Him.**] The Syr. renders the last clause: "and will not give them [it] to them that love Him." The rendering "will give" is unintelligible unless, as has been suggested by Mr. Margoliouth, the Syr. misread יהב, *dabit,* for יֶאֱהַב.

14. Similar evidence of direct translation from the Hebrew original comes to us from the use here in the Syriac of the expressions בראשית for *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* and יצר for *διαβούλιον.* There can be little doubt that the original contained the term *Yetser,* although not in the later application of it to either the good or the evil impulse in man, but in the earlier meaning of disposition, mind, counsel (*Sinn, Gesinnung*). The Greek rendering also is manifestly Hebraistic. The original may have been: וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ בְּיַד יִצְרוֹ, while the *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* of the first clause may represent the Hebrew מִבְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה. But it is not only these expressions which are of interest. The verse is important as confirming the conclusion derived from Ecclus. xiv. 17. For whatever meaning we may attach to the first clause of xv. 14, the second clause, when taken in conjunction with *v.* 15, implies a virtual denial of the moral consequences of the fall.

in the hand of his counsel.] A Hebraism; rather, "**in the power of his counsel**" [will, mind] = to his own free choice. In passing we may notice that the later Alexandrian distinction between the *ἔπλασε,* which was in reference to the "earthly," and the *ἐποίησε,* which applied to the "heavenly man," had not yet been made; comp. Philo, 'Leg. Alleg.' i. 12, 16.

15. Rather, "If thou wilt, **thou shalt** [canst] keep the commandments, [in ?] **working** [doing] acceptable faithfulness." The infinitive *ποιῆσαι* in the second clause we suppose to represent the Hebrew לַעֲשׂוֹת, here used in an adverbial or gerundial sense, in further explanation of what preceded (comp. Ewald, 'Lehrb.' pp. 698, 699). It is need-

B. C. cir. 200.

16 [f] He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt.

17 [g] Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him.

18 [h] For the wisdom of the Lord is great, and he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things:

19 And [i] his eyes are upon them that fear him, and he knoweth every work of man.

20 He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 *It is better to have none, than many lewd children.* 6 *The wicked are not spared for their number.* 12 *Both the wrath and the mercy of the Lord are great.* 17 *The wicked cannot be hid.* 20 *God's works are unsearchable.*

DESIRE not a multitude of unprofitable children, neither delight in ungodly sons.

[f] Deut. 30. 19. Josh. 24. 15.
[g] Jer. 21. 8.
[h] Ps. 147. 5.
[i] Ps. 33. 18. & 34. 15. Hebr. 4. 13.

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less to mention the explanations and corrections proposed by others, since they only involve fresh difficulties.

16, 17. These verses begin the last stanza.

16. *stretch forth.*] Rather, "**thou mayest** stretch forth thy hand." "Fire and water," in the sense of opposite extremes, yet probably not without some reference to their effects. The harsh Greek rendering of 16 *b* would represent what was elegant in the Hebrew original: שְׁלַח יָדְךָ.

17 *b.* *and* **whichever** *he liketh.*] In the Hebrew either רצה or חפץ, for both of which the word is used in the LXX.—whichever of the two may be pleasing to him, or engage his choice: naturally not life or death, but that which leads to them, shall be his portion, or "be given him," in the end. Bearing in mind that verses 16 and 17 are based on Deut. xxx. 15 (comp. Jer. xxi. 8), we are struck with the absence of any reference to God as placing this choice before man. Can the translator have intended thus to emphasize man's absolute self-determination? The Syr., although in what seems a paraphrastic rendering, may perhaps more faithfully represent the meaning of the Hebrew original. It translates: "For life and death are given to the children of man that they may choose life and eschew death." The last verses form the general conclusion and application of Part II. With *v.* 19 *a* comp. Ps. xxxiii. 18; xxxiv. 16.

CHAPTER XVI.

This chapter is one of the most lofty in the book. Omitting *vv.* 15, 16—which, although found in 106, 248, Co., and in the Syr., are manifestly an interpolation—the chapter consists of twenty-eight verses, which naturally divide themselves into two equal parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–14; Part II., *vv.* 17–30. Taken as a whole, the chapter forms an exact counterpart to the preceding one. In ch. xv., Part I. in praise of Wisdom (*vv.* 1–10) led up in Part II. to man's free determination, shewing his absolute liberty of choice, in accordance with which God would ultimately hold him responsible, therein also vindicating His own character. On the other hand, in ch. xvi., Part I. (*vv.* 1–14) leads up, not to man's choice and doings, but to God's determination and work (*v.* 26 and following), which appear in those benefits which He so freely bestowed upon earth. So close is the correspondence between the two chapters that Part II. of ch. xvi. (*v.* 17) begins with exactly the same words ("Say not thou") as Part II. of ch. xv. (*v.* 11). In both cases an objection is met: in ch. xv. that man is not responsible; in ch. xvi. that he will not be called to account. In both chapters the refutation of the objection leads up to the statement of the positive truth which forms not only the climax, but the real subject-matter of each chapter. Part I. of ch. xvi. consists of three stanzas (5 + 5 + 4 verses). Stanza 1 is connected with the previous chapter, and shews that, since man is a responsible agent, even the most coveted possession—that of a numerous posterity—may not always prove a blessing. Stanza 2 illustrates the general inference that only the good will remain, while those who are evil shall perish in judgment. This is shewn by a reference to the history of Israel (*vv.* 6–10). Lastly, in stanza 3 the writer proceeds to shew that God deals in this manner not only with nations, but also with individuals (*vv.* 11–14). At this point the objection is artistically introduced that it is unreasonable to imagine that every single individual in this vast universe will be called to give a separate account, *v.* 17, which opens the first stanza of Part II. (*vv.* 17–23). The answer to this objection lies in higher views of God, which exhibit His often hidden wisdom and justice (*vv.* 18–23). Lastly, in the second stanza of Part II. (like the first, of seven verses: *vv.* 24–30) this is farther enforced by a consideration of the sovereignty, care, and personal rule of God.

1. *unprofitable.*] In LXX. Hos. viii. 8 the

B. C. cir. 200.

2 Though they multiply, rejoice not in them, except the fear of the Lord be with them.

3 Trust not thou in their life, neither respect their multitude: for one that is just is better than a thousand; and better it is to die without children, than to have them that are ungodly.

4 For by one that hath understanding shall the city be replenished: but the ‖kindred of the wicked shall speedily become desolate.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *tribe.*

5 Many such things have I seen with mine eyes, and mine ear hath heard greater things than these.

6 [a]In the congregation of the ungodly shall a fire be kindled; and in a rebellious nation wrath ‖is set on fire.

[a] ch. 21. 9.

‖ Or, *hath been.*

7 [b]He was not pacified toward the old giants, who fell away in the strength of their foolishness.

[b] Gen. 6. 4. Wisd. 14. 6.

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same word stands for אֵין חֵפֶץ בּוֹ. In Jer. xxii. 28, xlviii. 38 (in LXX. xxxi. 38), the same Hebrew expression is similarly rendered (οὐκ ἔστι χρεία αὐτοῦ). Comp. also Philem. *v.* 11 (see the excellent remarks on the expression in Philem. in the 'Speaker's Comment.' *ad loc.*). In any case the word ἄχρηστος conveys here a much stronger meaning than our ordinary usage of "unprofitable," although probably not one so strong as in the Hebrew passages referred to, which seem rather to be represented in Rom. ix. 21; 2 Tim. ii. 20.

neither delight in.] Better, **neither have joy over.** The general meaning of the verse is farther set forth in *v.* 2.

3. *neither respect their multitude.*] Rather, **neither have respect** [in the sense of reliance] **to their place** [in the sense of *rank* or *condition*]. The difficulty of the expression led to such attempts at correcting the text as the Alex. reading (and that of other authorities), τὸ πλῆθος, "the multitude," for τὸν τόπον—adopted in the A. V.—or the Vulg. reading, κόπον, *labores.* But from the usage in the LXX. there cannot be any doubt that the Hebrew original for τόπος was מְקוֹם—here in the later Targumic and Talmudic sense of rank, condition (comp. the beautiful saying: "Not his rank maketh a man honourable, but the man his rank," Taan. 21 *b*, anticipating Burns). Indeed that meaning of the word seems already implied in Eccles., as in Eccles. iii. 16, and especially x. 4. Accordingly the words of the Siracide mean: trust not in their life, and have no reliance on, look not to, their present rank and condition. In the next clause the words "that is just" must be omitted as a later gloss. The last line of the verse reads: **And to die childless than to have ungodly children** [Bissell].

4. Omit "speedily" in the second clause.

the city.] Rather, **a city.** We retain the rendering "shall be replenished" for συνοικισθήσεται, as more general, and including more than merely the population of a city. The expression seems to have been chosen as antithetic to the ἐρημωθήσεται ("shall be made desolate") in the second clause.

but the **house** *of the wicked shall become desolate.*] "House" in the wider Hebrew sense of בית or משפחה = the whole kindred and family, viewed as a unit. "Desolate:" the Hebrew word was either חרב or שמם.

5. *greater.*] Rather, **more mighty,**—I have heard, or come to know, even more striking instances of this than those which I have personally witnessed.

6. This verse begins the stanza of historical illustrations. If we regard *v.* 6 as the first instance of them, the reference would be primarily to Numb. xi. 1, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 21, although the history of Korah may also have been in view (Numb. xvi.). In that case we would translate: "*In the congregation of* **sinners fire was kindled;**" the Greek translator having for some reason rendered the Hebrew imperfect (in the first, though not in the second clause) by the future (in the LXX. Numb. xi. 1 reads: ἐξεκαύθη ἐν αὐτοῖς πῦρ). But it is at least conceivable that *v.* 6 *a* is intended not as a reference to any particular event, but as a general summary and inference from the past, and as a prediction of what would take place in the future. This would avoid the strange transition from a much later event to the history of the giants, of Lot, and of Israel, in the following verses, which are all related in their chronological order. If this view of *v.* 6 be adopted, the future tense must be retained in the translation: "*shall fire be kindled.*" See note on *v.* 8.

7. *toward the old giants.*] Rather, **in regard to.** The reference is to Gen. vi. 1–4. On the view here taken of this narrative comp. Wisd. xiv. 6; Bar. iii. 26; 3 Macc. ii. 4, the Pseudepigr. (B. of Hen.; B. of Jubil. Comp. Dillmann, 'B. Hen. Einl.' p. xlii.), Jos., Philo, and as regards the Greek text of Gen. vi. 1, Field's 'Hex.' *ad loc.* On the interpretation of Gen. vi. 1–4 see the special literature in Dillmann, 'Die Genesis' (Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb., ed. 1882), pp. 113, 114,

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8 [c]Neither spared he the place where Lot sojourned, but [d]abhorred them for their pride.

[c] Gen. 19. 24.
[d] Ezek. 16. 49, 50.

9 He pitied not the people of perdition, who were taken away in their sins:

Numb. 14. 15, 35. & 16. 21. & 21. 6. & 26. 64.

10 [e]Nor the six hundred thousand footmen, who were gathered together in the hardness of their hearts.

11 And if there be one stiffnecked among the people, it is marvel if he escape unpunished: for [f]mercy and wrath are with him; he is mighty to forgive, and to pour out displeasure.

[f] ch. 5. 6.

12 As his mercy is great, so is his correction also: [g]he judgeth a man according to his works.

B. C. cir. 200.

[g] Ps. 62. 12.

13 The sinner shall not escape with his spoils: and the patience of the godly shall not be frustrate.

14 Make way for every work of mercy: for every man shall find according to his works.

15 [h]The Lord hardened Pharaoh, that he should not know him, that his powerful works might be known to the world.

[h] Exod. 7. 3. & 14. 4, 8. Rom. 9. 17, 18.

16 His mercy is manifest to every creature; and [i]he hath separated

[i] Gen. 1. 4.

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and Delitzsch, 'Comm. ü. d. Gen.' (ed. 1872), pp. 190, &c.

in the strength of their foolishness.] Rather, **in their strength**, omitting what evidently was a gloss (emendatory or else apologetic).

8. He spared not those who dwelt with Lot, whom He abhorred *for their pride.*] According to the common interpretation, the reference is here to the people of Sodom. But these would not have been "the sojourners with Lot;" rather was Lot a sojourner with them. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the following two verses (*vv.* 9, 10) can only refer to Israel. Hence we conclude that all these historical illustrations are taken from what befell the professing children of God. Accordingly they "who dwelt with Lot" must be those of his own family whose pride prevented their listening to his warning—*παροικία* standing for the Hebrew בית, and not מגור, as sometimes in the LXX. On the other hand, the Syr., which has here several alterations, seems to wish to apply *vv.* 6–9 not to Israel, but to their enemies,—as we think, wrongly.

9. *the people of perdition.*] *I.e.* devoted to perdition. The reference may be to what is recorded in Ex. xxxii., or else in Numb. xi. The Syr. would read the Heb. וְלֹא רִחַם עַל עַם חֲרָמוֹ—a play on the words.

10. *Nor.*] Rather, **and so.** The reference here is to the fact that the 600,000 footmen who came out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 37) perished in the wilderness on account of the hardness of their hearts. The rendering of the Greek: "who were gathered together," —*ἐπισυναχθέντας*,—is due to a misunderstanding of the verb אסף (הַנֶּאֱסָפִים, or it may have been נֶאֱסַף אִישׁ), which means indeed "to gather," but in the twofold sense of gathering together and of gathering away = taking away = destroying. The meaning of the Hebrew original no doubt was: **who were carried off** [swept away] **in the hardness of their hearts.**

11. Third stanza, preparing for Part II. Not only a community, but individuals are punished of God. Omit "among the people."

13 *b.* **nor will He delay** [defer, cause to come too late] **the hope of the godly.**] Briefly, God will fulfil, and that ere long, the hope of His people. The wicked shall not be allowed to be rich in his robbery, nor yet the just to fail of his hope. We have rendered *ὑπομονή* not "patience," but "hope," in accordance with the usage of the LXX. The Hebrew may have been: וְתִקְוַת צַדִּיק לֹא יְאַחֵר.

14. He will make a place for all mercy; every one *shall find* (= receive) *according to his works.*] The difficulty here is whether the "mercy" (*ἐλεημοσύνη*) referred to is that shewn by man, of which God will make acknowledgment, or that displayed by God in the sense that, while He will prove very merciful, every one shall receive a just retribution. The meaning of the expression "He will make a place" (*ποιήσει τόπον*) is illustrated by Acts xxv. 16; Rom. xii. 19; Heb. viii. 7, xii. 17. It corresponds to the Hebrew נתן מקום ל. Although the term *ἐλεημοσύνη* is very rarely employed in reference to God, it is so used in Ecclus. xvii. 29, and in LXX. Ps. cii. (Heb. ciii.) 6 *a*, where it stands for "righteous acts," צדקות. Indeed, this latter passage may have been in the mind of the writer, and the *ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας* of that Ps. have become the *πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσει τόπον* of our passage. At the same time it must be admitted that the addition of *πάσῃ* seems to point to the exercise of human rather than Divine mercies. In that case "make a place" would = assign a place.

B. C. cir. 200.

his light from the darkness with an [h]adamant.

[h] Or, *strong partition.*

17 Say not thou, I will hide myself from the Lord: shall any remember me from above? I shall not be remembered among so many people: for what is my soul among such an infinite number of creatures?

[k] 1 Kings 8. 27. 2 Chron. 6. 18. 2 Pet. 3. 7 10.

18 [k]Behold, the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the deep, and the earth, and all that therein is, shall be moved when he shall visit.

19 The mountains also and foundations of the earth shall be shaken with trembling, when the Lord looketh upon them.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 No heart can think upon these things worthily: [l]and who is able to conceive his ways?

[l] Rom. 11. 33.

21 It is a tempest which no man can see: for the most part of his works are hid.

22 Who can declare the works of his justice? or who can endure them? for his covenant is afar off, and the trial of all things is in the end.

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17. Omit *vv.* 15, 16. (See introductory remarks.) It adds to our difficulties of interpretation that *vv.* 15, 16 are found in the Syr. Again, the Syr. also gives a totally different turn to *v.* 17 (comp. Syr. *v.* 18), and presents it in a sense foreign, as we believe, to the purpose of the original writer. It is not difficult to perceive the apologetic motives for these alterations — although some may regard it as open to question whether the Greek or the Syriac translator tampered with the Hebrew original. For our own part we have no hesitation in abiding by the Greek Version. The last clause of the verse should be rendered: "For what is my soul **in immeasurable [infinite] creation?**" It must, however, be admitted that alike the thought and its mode of expression (κτίσις) are not Hebrew, but Alexandrian.

18. Omit the words "and all that therein is"; "shall be moved," &c.—rather: **shall be shaken at His visitation.** It is possible that *vv.* 18–22 still continue the objections of *v.* 17, derived from a misapplication of the observed greatness of God. But it seems difficult to imagine such language on the part of an unbeliever. On the other hand, if, as we suppose, *vv.* 21, 22 are intended as an answer to his secret thinking, *vv.* 18, 19 must also be regarded as part of the same argument. In that case the reasoning would be: True, God is very great; yet He is not far from His creation, but penetrates, pervades, and directs all—both physically and ethically—even though this may be unperceived or unheeded.

19. *shall be shaken, &c.*] Rather: "**are shaken** with trembling when **He** looketh upon them."

20. **But** (καὶ for δέ) **upon** (ordinarily, περί) **these things the mind** (לב) **shall not think.**] The future here in the sense of "cannot," to express what is morally impossible: comp. Rom. v. 7; 1 Cor. viii. 8 (Winer's 'Gramm.' p. 250). Most commentators, however, regard the words as implying a reproof of such a state of mind.

and His ways who shall consider?] The interpretation proposed by us of this and the preceding clause, although not free from difficulty, agrees best with *v.* 19. We may add that the Syr. Version offers not any help on these difficult verses, and indeed is not trustworthy.

21. **As a** *tempest, &c.*] The figurative comparison of God's dealings with the wind seems to have been not only frequent, but to have become almost proverbial. Comp. Ps. cxxxv. 7; Prov. xxx. 4; Eccles. i. 6 (viii. 8?), xi. 5; and especially St. John iii. 8.

22. **The works of** (God's) **justice** [righteousness] **who shall announce, or who shall expect** [await]?] Ὑπομένειν stands in the LXX. for a number of Hebrew words, but in a very large proportion of instances for such as mean "to expect" or "await." The meaning here is: as it is extremely difficult, almost impossible, to announce and anticipate the manner in which God's justice shall be manifested (since it is secret, sudden, irresistible, like the storm), so, on the other hand, there are few who expect it.

for **far off is the covenant.**] The clause following on these words in the A.V. must be omitted (in the Syr. the whole verse is wanting). These words express the false inference drawn by men from the impossibility of announcing God's judgments, as well as the reason why they are not expected. They imagine: far off is the covenant. The reference to the διαθήκη is a favourite one with the Son of Sirach, who employs the term twenty-two times. In the LXX. it stands almost invariably for ברית. We suppose that "the covenant" here in view is that with death and Hades, to which reference was made in Ecclus. xiv. 12, 17. The writer had probably in his mind LXX. Is. xxviii. 15, and especially *v.* 17: "And I will cause

B. C. cir. 200.

23 He that wanteth understanding will think upon vain things: and a foolish man erring imagineth follies.

24 My son, hearken unto me, and learn knowledge, and mark my words with thy heart.

25 I will shew forth doctrine in weight, and declare his knowledge exactly.

[m] Ps. 111. 7, 8.

26 [m] The works of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning: and from the time he made them he disposed the parts thereof.

B. C. cir. 200.

27 He garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the ‖chief of them unto all generations: they neither labour, nor are weary, nor cease from their works.

‖ Or, *beginnings.*

28 None of them hindereth another, [n]and they shall never disobey his word.

[n] Ps. 148. 8.

29 After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings.

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judgment to be for hope (here ἐλπίς), and my compassion (ἐλεημοσύνη, as in Ecclus. xvi. 14) for *just* measures, and ye that trust vainly in falsehood *shall fall:* for the tempest (καταιγίς, as in Ecclus. xvi. 21) shall not by any means pass by you except it also take away your covenant of death (διαθήκη, as in Ecclus. xvi. 22), and your hope in Hades shall by no means stand; if the rushing tempest (καταιγίς) should come upon you, ye shall be beaten down by it." In our view this passage explains not only the expression "for far off is the covenant," but also the following verse.

23. *He that wanteth understanding* [lit. heart, חֲסַר־לֵב] *will think* **these** *things, and an* **unwise and erring man will think foolish things** [μωρά = נְבָלָה].

24. Stanza of final admonition. The expression "mark with the heart," as often in the Hebrew (שִׂים לֵב), here apparently derived from Deut. xxxii. 46 (both in the Heb. and LXX.). Comp. also Ezek. xliv. 5. Hence the proper translation is: "**And set thy heart upon** my words."

25. *I will shew forth* **instruction by weight** [carefully and accurately measured out, perhaps also with a secondary reference to its value], *and declare* [announce, set forth] **knowledge with exactness** [accuracy, precision].

26. **By** [according to] **the counsel** [appointment, decree — מִשְׁפָּט] **of the Lord** (are) **His works** *from the beginning, and from* [the time of?] **their making** *He* **assigned** [apportioned] **their parts** [to each its part? perhaps וּלְכָל־אֶחָד חֶלְקוֹ חָלָק]. This vast creation, so far from leading us to infer—as the foolish had suggested in the previous stanza—that the individual is lost or unheeded amidst the vast mass, rather leads to an opposite conclusion. From the first all things have had the law of His appointment impressed upon them, and in every part of creation we mark this orderly distribution.

27. *He* **ordered** [settled, appointed, prepared — adorned?] **for ever His works, and their rule to their generation.**] Simple as these words seem, it is not easy to decide how exactly to render them. "The works" here referred to are God's chief works: the sun and stars to which Jewish Alexandrian philosophy attached such high importance, as well as the regulation of all nature (comp. here especially Philo, 'de Monarch.' i. § 1; comp. ii. 5, 6, and the art. PHILO in Smith and Wace's 'Dict. of Chr. Biogr.'). We have rendered ἐκόσμησεν: He "ordered," "settled," which meaning it certainly bears in LXX. Mic. vi. 9, as well as a kindred meaning in other passages. The common rendering, "garnished" or "beautified," seems to give no meaning, while ours suits the context. Again, we have rendered τὰς ἀρχάς by "their rule," being the expression used in reference to the rule of sun and stars in LXX. Gen. i. 16, 18, and Philo similarly designates them as ἄρχοντας ('de Monarch.' i. 1). As to their "ordering for ever," the writer had probably Ps. cxlviii. 6 in view, where the same language is used. Indeed it is not improbable that the Hebrew original reproduced the וַיַּעֲמִידֵם לָעַד לְעוֹלָם of that Ps. (comp. also Ps. cxxxv., in the Heb. cxxxvi. 8, 9). It is even possible that the following clause also, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν, may be the younger Siracide's peculiar mode of rendering the second clause of Ps. cxlviii. 6: חָק־נָתַן וְלֹא יַעֲבוֹר—"they neither labour,"—rather: **they hunger not.**

28. *hindereth* [**crowdeth**, in the sense of moving out of its place] *another* [lit. "his neighbour"]. "**Each presseth not upon his neighbour,** and **unto everlasting** [Aeon] **shall they not** disobey His word."

29. **And** *after this.*] Viz. after having

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30 [o]With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof; [p]and they shall return into it again.

[o] Gen. 1. 25.

[p] Eccles. 3. 20.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 *How God created and furnished man.* 14 *Avoid all sin:* 19 *for God seeth all things.* 25 *Turn to him while thou livest.*

[a]THE Lord created man of the earth, and turned him into it again.

[a] Gen. 1. 27. & 3. 19. & 5. 2. Eccles. 3. 20. Wisd. 2. 23. & 7. 1, 6.

2 [b]He gave them few days, and a short time, and power also over the things therein.

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[b] Job 14. 1.

3 He endued them with strength by themselves, and [c]made them according to his image,

[c] Gen. 1. 26. & 9. 6. 1 Cor. 11. 7. Coloss. 3. 10.

4 And put the fear ‖of man upon all flesh, [d]and gave him dominion over beasts and fowls.

‖ Or, *of him.*

[d] Gen. 1. 28.

5 [They received the use of the

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thus established and regulated for ever what is in heaven above.

30. *living things.*] Rather, "**living creatures.**" The Hebrew may have been: מִלְּאָ פְּנֵיהָ נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חָי.

and they shall return into it again.] Lit. "and unto it the return of them."

CHAPTER XVII.

The argument of the previous chapter is here continued. What had previously been stated in regard to the world is now shewn to apply also to man—only that in his case personal responsibility is superadded. The world has a Divine Law inherent in itself; for man, as made in the image of God, his mental and moral individuality—the mind, conscience, heart, and free will—are that Law. Man is thus in the highest sense a law unto himself. In his case there exists not any necessity of nature, but he has the moral freedom of a personal choice, for which he is also endowed with the necessary moral qualifications. Hence he is absolutely and personally responsible (comp. xvi. 17, &c.). This forms the subject of the first stanza (*vv.* 1-8; *v.* 9 must be omitted). Turning next from this subjective to the objective aspect of the question, the writer lays down this further position, that man is intended by God to glorify Him, for which purpose God has made Himself known to him, and this involves another and still higher degree of responsibility. This forms the subject of the second stanza (*vv.* 10-15, *v.* 15 marking the climax, while *v.* 16 must be omitted). But the highest responsibility attaches to Israel (stanza 3: *vv.* 17-24). In a concluding stanza (*vv.* 25-32) the writer makes a religious application of what had preceded. Thus the chapter consists of four irregular stanzas. We add that *vv.* 5, 9, 16, 18, and 21 in our A. V. must be omitted as spurious.

1. *and turned him.*] But the sense requires: "**and shall turn him.**" In the Heb. it was no doubt יְשִׁיבֵהוּ, or more probably יְשִׁיבֶנּוּ (comp. Kautzsch-Gesenius, 24th ed., p. 145, 4, note); or, as in the Syr., with שׁוּב before it. In the latter case the meaning would have been: He shall certainly turn him again (Ewald, p. 782). The Greek translator used the aorist instead of the future, possibly as in Rev. x. 7; 1 Cor. vii. 28 (Winer, *l. l.* p. 248). The statement itself is parallel to Ps. cxlvi. 4.

2. *few days.*] ἡμέρας ἀριθμοῦ, lit. "days of number." A common Hebraism, as in שְׁנוֹת מִסְפָּר, "a few years," Job xvi. 22, and ימים מספר, "a few days," Numb. ix. 20 (LXX. ἡμέρας ἀριθμῷ), where the words in the Heb. are however in apposition, while in Ecclus. the original had יְמֵי מִסְפָּר. The use of the word "number" for "numbered" = few, is frequent, alike in the Heb. and in the LXX.

and a (definite) **time** [a season].] No doubt עֵת, perhaps, as suggested by the next clause, with the secondary sense of a Divine appointment attaching to it, as in Eccles. iii. In Ezek. vii. 7, 12, the words "day" and "season" are also conjoined, both in the Heb. and the LXX., but in the inverse order of Ecclus.

and He gave them the dominion [*imperium*, as apparent from the gen. of the object] **of what is upon it.**] Viz. of all that is upon the earth.

3. *He endued them with* **their own strength.**] *I.e.* strength of their own (so the Aethipp.), strength which was their own, human; while the Figure, which was behind that strength and directed it, and of which they were "the image," was Divine. καθ' ἑαυτούς, probably for the sake of antithesis to the κατ' εἰκόνα ("according to His image") in the next clause. The καθ' ἑαυτοὺς stands here instead of the genitive: comp. Acts xvii. 28, xviii. 15, xxvi. 3; Eph. i. 15 (Winer, *l. l.* p. 139, and § 30, Anm. 5, p. 174 of the 6th ed.). The Syr., which renders the second clause, "and covered them with terror," seems inapt and a confusion with the first clause of the next verse.

5. This verse must be omitted. As Grotius

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five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof.]

6 Counsel, and a tongue, and eyes, ears, and a heart, gave he them to understand.

7 Withal he filled them with the knowledge of understanding, and shewed them good and evil.

8 He set his eye upon their hearts, that he might shew them the greatness of his works.

9 He gave them to glory in his marvellous acts for ever, that they might declare his works with understanding.

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10 And the elect shall praise his holy name.

11 Beside this he gave them knowledge, and the law of life for an heritage.

12 He made an everlasting covenant with them, and shewed them his judgments.

13 Their eyes saw the majesty of

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remarks, it is probably the marginal gloss of some Stoic annotator.

6. *Counsel.*] Rather, **a disposition.** Cp. xv. 14. The Syr. omits, as we think rightly, this word. It should be noted that *διαβούλιον* in the singular does not occur in the LXX. and only twice in Ecclus.: here and in xv. 14 [see note] in the sense of disposition, mind = יצר. It occurs in the plural (whether of *διαβουλία* or *διαβούλιον*) in the sense of "counsels," "purposes," and "thoughts," in LXX. Ps. v. 11 and ix. 23 (Heb. x. 2), and in Hos. xi. 6; also in Hos. iv. 9, v. 4, vii. 2, where the Heb., however, has "doings" (for the rendering of קשר in 2 Sam. [LXX. 2 Kings] xv. 12 by *διαβούλιον*, see Field, 'Hex.' *ad loc.*). We infer that the use of *διαβούλιον* and of יצר in that sense was post-biblical, and, as regards the Greek term, we would suggest, Alexandrian. In omitting the word, the Syr. is probably faithful to the original. We farther mark that the Syr. order of the verses differs from the Greek, there being an inversion of *vv.* 6 and 7 as well as of clauses *a* and *b* in *v.* 9, while clause *a* of *v.* 8 is omitted. The Syriac order therefore is: *vv.* 7, 6, 8 *b*, 9 *b*, 9 *a*, these last three clauses forming Syr. *v.* 8, then *v.* 9, which is *v.* 10 of the A. V. The Vulgate, it must be remembered, represents in Ecclesiasticus the ancient Latin Version (Vet. Lat.). See the Introd. It omits *v.* 5 and adds a clause both at the beginning and the end of *v.* 6 (in A. V.). It also inserts a clause between *a* and *b* in *v.* 7, and adds a clause to, while it generally confirms, *vv.* 8–10 (in our A. V.). Lastly, the reading of A. V. differs from that of the Vatican, which we are throughout following. From all this we infer that the text of these verses has been altered, probably by successive "hands," from philosophical and theological motives, which, so far as *vv.* 5–7 are concerned, will be easily understood. On the whole, we prefer the Syr. arrangement of the verses.

to understand.] Perhaps, **to consider.**

7. Omit "withal."

9, 10. Verse 9 is omitted in the LXX. (Vatic.), while *v.* 10 reads as follows: **And they shall praise His holy Name** [in the Syr. only: "And that they may praise His holy Name"] **that they may declare** (tell) **the greatnesses of His works** (*μεγαλεῖα* = גְּדֻלּוֹת, Ps. lxxi. 19). Here—or perhaps at the next verse—begins a new stanza.

11. **He gave them besides.**] But we are inclined, in accordance with the Syr., to emend *προσέθηκεν* into *προέθηκεν*: **he set before them.** This would suit the context much better.

and made them inherit a law of life.] Houbigant understands this as an allusion to the Law of Nature in man. But this seems incompatible with clause *a* and with *v.* 12, both of which—as we understand them, and as the original no doubt intended—would point to the Law of Moses. But we suspect that some alterations were purposely made in this verse by the younger Siracide. The Syr. has "covenant," and we suspect that the younger Siracide purposely changed the ברית, "covenant," of the original into "wisdom," *ἐπιστήμη*, in order to give the verse a more general, Alexandrian sense. Similarly the Syr. has in the second clause "He taught them" (perhaps הוֹדִיעָם), which was changed into "made them inherit," as if it were a general human inheritance. Thus Houbigant may, after all, have rightly indicated the intention of the Greek translator, though not the meaning of the original.

12. This verse confirms our previous interpretation. "His judgments," in the sense of the Hebrew מִשְׁפָּטָיו = laws, commandments, ordinances.

13. Here it is no longer open to doubt that the reference is to the revelation on Sinai. "*The majesty of his glory*,"—rather, **the greatness of the glory** (omitting "his");

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his glory, and their ears heard his glorious voice.

14 And he said unto them, Beware of all unrighteousness; and he [e] gave every man commandment concerning his neighbour.

15 [f] Their ways are ever before him, and shall not be hid from his eyes.

16 Every man from his youth is given to evil; neither could they make to themselves fleshy hearts for stony.

17 For [g] in the division of the nations of the whole earth he set a [h] ruler over every people; but [i] Israel is the Lord's portion:

18 Whom, [k] being his firstborn, he nourisheth with discipline, and giving him the light of his love doth not forsake him.

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19 [l] Therefore all their works are as the sun before him, and his eyes are continually upon their ways.

20 None of their unrighteous deeds are hid from him, but all their sins are before the Lord.

21 But the Lord being gracious, and knowing his workmanship, [m] neither left nor forsook them, but spared them.

22 The [n] alms of a man is as a signet with him, and he will keep the good deeds of man [o] as the apple of the eye, and give repentance to his sons and daughters.

[e] Exod. 20, & 21, & 22, & 23.
[f] ch. 15. 19. ver. 19. Hebr. 4. 13.
[g] Deut. 32. 8, 9.
[h] Rom. 13. 1.
[i] Deut. 4. 20. & 10. 15.
[k] Exod. 4. 22.
[l] ver. 15.
[m] Deut. 31. 6.
[n] ch. 29. 12, 13.
[o] Ps. 17. 8.

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and again in the second clause, **and the glory of their voice** [sound = their glorious sound] **heard their ear.** Many authorities correct αὐτῶν, "their" [after φωνῆς], into αὐτοῦ, "His," and the Syr. has the same reading. But there seems no need for the correction. "Their" voice or sound was that of the commandments, *v.* 12, while they only saw "the greatness of glory," not "His" glory itself.

14. The reference seems to be to the chapters following the ten commandments, especially Ex. xxi., xxii.

15. This verse sets forth the final inference from all as regards Israel's personal responsibility, in answer to the objections mentioned in Ecclus. xvi. 17, &c.

16. The whole verse must be omitted. It is so evidently an interpolation and of late, probably Christian, authorship, that it is difficult to understand its insertion.

17. Omit "For in the division of the nations of the whole earth." Fritzsche regards the "rulers" whom God had set over each nation as their guardian angels, through whom He stood in some relationship to "every people," and he refers in corroboration to LXX. Deut. xxxii. 8 and Heb. ii. 5. The latter passage has not any reference to this subject, nor does even the former bear out the contention of Fritzsche, since the parallelism between the verse in Ecclus. and that in LXX. Deut. is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. It is indeed true that the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxxii. 8 reproduces the tradition in the Jer. Targ. on Gen. xi. 7, 8, where the "We" who came down to confound the languages and to scatter the people are explained to be the seventy angels, having reference to the seventy nations who would be formed (comp. also Pirqé d. R. El. 24). In the later Midrash this is further developed, and God not only assigns to the nations their bounds "according to the number of the angels of God" (LXX. Deut.), but these angel-princes are protectors of the nations, hostile to Israel, and shall ultimately be cast down (Ber. R. 56; Shem. R. 21; Vayy. R. 29; Ruth R. ed. Warsh. p. 36 *b*). But in Ecclus. there is as yet not any mention of such hostility to Israel on the part of the "angel-princes," nor even a clear indication of the legend underlying the LXX. gloss on Deut. and the Jer. Targum. When to this we add that Michael was similarly regarded as the "Angel-prince" of Israel, we are inclined to regard "the rulers" of Ecclus. xvii. 17 as secular princes, and the reference —if any—to be to Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 in the Hebrew. And words of comfort like these would be very appropriate in the political condition of Israel in the time of the older Siracide.

18. This verse must be omitted.

19. Omit "therefore."

20. **Their unrighteous deeds are not** *hid from Him*, **and** *all their sins are before the Lord.*] The Syr.: "and open before Him are all their thoughts"—perhaps more true to the original, or else by way of softening it.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. The last clause after "apple of the eye" must be omitted. From the nation the writer passes to the individual. Although Israel as a people may suffer for their sins, yet there are the righteous among them. We have here clear indication of the later doctrine of

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23 [p]Afterwards he will rise up and reward them, and render their recompence upon their heads.

[p] Matt. 25. 34, 35.

24 [q]But unto them that repent, he granted them return, and comforted those that failed in patience.

[q] Acts 3. 19.

25 [r]Return unto the Lord, and forsake thy sins, make thy prayer before his face, and ‖ offend less.

[r] Jer. 3. 12.

‖ Or, *lessen thy offence.*

26 Turn again to the most High, and turn away from iniquity: for he will lead thee out of darkness into the ‖ light of health, and hate thou abomination vehemently.

‖ Or, *illumination.*

27 [s]Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks?

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[s] Ps. 6. 5. & 115. 17. Isai. 38. 18, 19. Baruch 2. 17.

28 Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not: the living and sound in heart shall praise the Lord.

29 How great is the lovingkindness of the Lord our God, and his compassion unto such as turn unto him in holiness!

30 For all things cannot be in men, because the son of man is not immortal.

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the meritoriousness of "good works," especially of "almsgiving." Altogether the verse forms a later Judaic paraphrase, or rather transformation, of Deut. xxxii. 10. It is now "almsgiving" which is precious as "the signet" on the hand, and which God guards as carefully as the apple of the eye. Nothing can annul what that signet has sealed; nothing shall disturb or dim that eye. The meaning which we attach to this verse is confirmed by the paraphrastic Syr. rendering: "The righteousness [merit] of all the sons of men is sealed and deposited with Him, and the goodness of all the sons of men is as the apple of the eye preserved before Him."

23. From the use of the expression "and render their recompence upon their **own** heads," which is not only exactly parallel to Joël iii. (Heb. iv.) 6, 7, but reproduces the wording of the LXX., we conclude that this verse refers not to the subject of *v.* 22, but to the punishment of the wicked. With this agrees the Syr.: "and return [give] their sins (in the Heb. it was probably גְּמוּלָם; comp. also Ps. xxviii. 4) upon their head."

24. **granteth . . . comforteth . . . fail** *in* **confidence.**] That is, those whose hope or confidence of forgiveness faileth. The Syr. either misread or misunderstood the original.

25. Last stanza. *and offend less.*] Rather: **and lessen** (the occasion for) **offence**; lit., "the stumble." The word *πρόσκομμα* is used in that sense (although for different Hebrew words) in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 12; Is. viii. 14, xxix. 21; and in N. T. Rom. ix. 32, 33, xiv. 13, 20; 1 Cor. viii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 8. Substantially, therefore, the advice is to avoid what would lead to sin. The Syr. had here either a different text, or altered the original. Or it may be that the younger Siracide had modified it in his own fashion. The Greek is certainly feeble as compared with the Syriac.

26. The clause beginning "for he will lead thee," and ending "into the light of health," must be omitted.

27, 28. *grave.*] Rather, **Hades.**

thanks . . . thanksgiving.] Rather, **praise.**

Verses 27 and 28*a* seem again to imply a denial of personal immortality. On the other hand, the Syr. has: "For what delight hath the Lord in all those who perished in the world instead of them who live and render praise to Him?" Does the Greek text represent an alteration on the part of the younger Siracide, or is the Syr. version a Christian emendation? After "sound" in *v.* 28 omit the words "in heart." The gloss may have been intended to mitigate what might seem offensive in the original, while the limitation of "praise" to corporeal and temporal benefits is quite in the spirit of at least the younger Siracide.

29. Omit as glosses, similar in character to that just noticed, in clause *a*, "our God;" and in clause *b*, "in holiness."

30. The first clause in the Greek gives no meaning. If we were to alter *πάντα* into *ταῦτα*, it would agree with the Syr. and the sense would be: "For these things are not in man." But this does not fit in either with what precedes or with what follows. It seems not unlikely that the Hebrew original was כִּי לֹא אֶל בְּאָדָם or אֱנוֹשׁ—"**for the Lord is not as man**," and that the younger Siracide misread כל for אל and בְּאָדָם for בְּאָדָם (comp. Horowitz, in Frankel's 'Monatschr.' xiv. p. 198). If we may thus account for the first clause by a misreading of the Hebrew, it is not easy to explain the second clause. It accords indeed with the first clause in the Greek, but we can scarcely imagine that it faithfully represents the original. Can it have been intended to convey the same meaning as *vv.* 27, 28 *a*—or else to attenuate that meaning

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31 [t]What is brighter than the sun? yet the light thereof faileth: and flesh and blood will imagine evil.

[t] Job 25. 5, 6.

32 He vieweth the power of the height of heaven; and all men are but earth and ashes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

4 *God's works are to be wondered at.* 9 *Man's life is short.* 11 *God is merciful.* 15 *Do not blemish thy good deeds with ill words.* 22 *Defer not to be justified.* 30 *Follow not thy lusts.*

B. C. cir. 200.

HE that liveth for ever [a]created all things in general.

[a] Gen. 1. 1.

2 The Lord only is righteous, and [b]there is none other but he,

[b] Deut. 4. 35.

3 Who governeth the world with the palm of his hand, [c]and all things obey his will: for he is the King of all, by his power [d]dividing holy things among them from profane.

[c] ch. 42. 23.

[d] Lev. 10. 10.

4 To whom hath he given power to declare his works? [e]and who shall find out his noble acts?

[e] Ps. 106. 2.

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by a vague generality? The Syr. has: "nor is his counsel like that of the sons of flesh."

31. Whether we adopt the Greek or the Syriac version of *v.* 30, *v.* 31 is evidently intended to set forth in contrast to the greatness and goodness of God the inherent weakness of the creature: **What is more shining** [more brilliant] **than the sun? yet even this is obscured: and an evil man will think of flesh and blood.** Fritzsche translates: "taketh flesh and blood into consideration," and regards it as referring to a moral obscuration. But this explanation is not satisfactory. For in that case we should have the inapt comparison of the natural obscuration of the light of the sun with the voluntary moral obscuration of the wicked. Our A. V. adopts the Alex. reading, which must be regarded as an attempt at emendation. The Syr. paraphrases. Horowitz (*u. s.*) conjectures that the Hebrew original was: אף כי מחשבות אנוש בשר ודם, "how much more the thoughts of man who is flesh and blood;" or else, on a like supposition, אף כי יצר אדם הרע בשר ודם, "how much more the evil imagining of man who is flesh and blood." If so, the Greek translator might have treated the substantive יצר as a verb, and interpreted it by "meditateth," or "imagineth."

32. *He* **surveys the host** *of the height of heaven, and* **men, all** [of them], *are earth and ashes.*] We have rendered *δύναμιν* by "the host," supposing the original to have been חֵיל or חַיִל, which is generally rendered in the LXX. by *δύναμις*. The Syr. has: "He judgeth the host of heaven, also the children of flesh . . ."

CHAPTER XVIII.

As is the case in other chapters, so here also the closing part of chap. xvii. becomes the subject of farther teaching in chap. xviii. It consists of two Parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–18; Part II., *v.* 19–end. Part I. contains three stanzas (6—originally 7? — + 7 + 4 verses). The first stanza (*vv.* 1–7) sets forth the greatness of God relatively to man; the second stanza (*vv.* 8–14), the smallness of man relatively to God in His greatness and goodness; while the third stanza (*vv.* 15–18) admonishes man in his own way to imitate the goodness of God. This forms the transition to Part II., which deals with man. Here also we have three stanzas (7 + 4 + 4 verses), which may be thus summarized: stanza 1 (*vv.* 19–25), man relatively to God; stanza 2 (*vv.* 26–29), general inferences; stanza 3 (*vv.* 30–33), moral application, or rather the commencement of a series of useful commonplace sayings.

1. The text seems here corrupt. The Syr. begins with what we number as *v.* 4. In the A. V. *v.* 3 must be omitted, so that the first stanza would only consist of six verses. But we would suggest that both *vv.* 1 and 2 must in the original have had a second clause, and that there is a *lacuna* between *vv.* 2 and 4. Thus stanza 1 may originally have consisted of seven verses.

in general.] Rather, **generally.** This in the sense of the world as a whole (comp. the use of *κοινῇ* in 2 Macc. ix. 26). We conjecture that if this verse was in the original Hebrew, it contained a strong assertion of the Divine creation of everything out of nothing, and that the younger Siracide, entertaining the Alexandrian notion of the pre-existence of matter, had modified it, but disguised this under the ambiguous expression *κοινῇ*, which might mean "together," "as a whole," or "generally."

2. *The Lord* **alone shall be justified** [perhaps: "declared righteous"].] This verse seems also fragmentary. We can only conjecture that it expressed an antithesis to the imperfectness and defects of all creatures. See under *v.* 5. The second clause in the A. V., "and there is none other but he," as well as *v.* 3, must be omitted.

4. **To no one** [so the better reading] **gave He** *power* **to proclaim** *His works.*] Schleusner: *facultatem dedit, seu copiam fecit—*

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Who shall number the strength of his majesty? and who shall also tell out his mercies?

6 As for the wondrous works of the Lord, there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the ground of them be found out.

7 When a man hath done, then he beginneth; and when he leaveth off, then he shall be doubtful.

8 What is man, and whereto serveth he? what is his good, and what is his evil? B. C. cir. 200.

9 [f] The number of a man's days at the most are an hundred years. [f] Ps. 90. 10.

10 As a drop of water unto the sea, and a gravelstone in comparison of the sand; so are a [g] thousand years to the days of eternity. [g] Ps. 90. 4. 2 Pet. 3. 8.

11 Therefore is God patient with them, and poureth forth his mercy upon them.

12 He saw and perceived their end

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i.e. none of His creatures is able or sufficient for it; none is qualified fully to proclaim them. Fritzsche regards it as = ἐνεποίησε in Ecclus. xlii. 17. But although the two passages are parallel, the meaning of ἐμποιέω (in Ecclus. xlii.) is somewhat different from that of ἐκποιέω. The expression "to proclaim His works" is the same as in LXX. Ps. cvi. (Heb. cvii.) 22, although the idea is rather parallel to LXX. Ps. cv. (Heb. cvi.) 2. In the Syr.: "Who is able to shew forth—manifest, declare—His works?"

and **who can search out His mighty acts?**] The same word (as for "search out") is used in the LXX. both for דרש and for חקר; "mighty acts," μεγαλεῖα, as in LXX. Ps. lxx. (Heb. lxxi.) 19: גְּדֻלּוֹת.

5. In the Syr. the Greek *v.* 4 (there *v.* 1) is followed (as *v.* 2) by what is fragmentarily preserved in the Greek *v.* 2: "The whole world shall be examined together, and the Lord alone be just." The Greek *v.* 5 is omitted in the Syr. "Number" = enumerate; "tell out" = set forth. In the Hebrew original the second clause (if genuine) may have been: מִי יוֹסִיף לְהַגִּיד חֶסְדָּיו.

6. **There is not** [it is not possible] **to make fewer** [to diminish] **nor to add to, nor is there** (fully) **to search out the wonderful works** [נִפְלָאוֹת; generally—thirty-one times—so translated in the LXX.] **of the Lord.**

7. *When a man hath* **ended,** *then he beginneth.*] *I.e.* when he is at the end of his attempts to compute or understand, he is really only at the beginning of his task and of God's wonderful works.

and when he **ceaseth** [Bretschneider aptly, *scil. opere peracto*—when he gives up the search, rests from it], *then* **is he perplexed.**] *I.e.* astonied, confounded, in utter perplexity, viz. alike by what he cannot search out and by the multitude of the things opening to his view. The most apt rendering here is the Latin *obstupescere.* This not only answers to the Syr. rendering, but ἀπορέω is used in the same sense in the LXX. (see, for example, Gen. xxxii. 8 (LXX. 7), where it stands for וַיֶּצַר לוֹ) and repeatedly in the N. T. The Syr. translates "when they return," instead of "when he ceaseth." Possibly the original may have been ישב, which the Greek translator rendered "when he ceaseth;" while the Syr. derived it from שוב. The Greek gives a better sense.

8. This leads up to the second stanza about man. Instead of "whereto serveth he?" the Syr. has, "what is his defect and what his advantage?" — Heb. מַה חֶסְרוֹנוֹ וּמַה יִתְרוֹנוֹ —a word-play. Altogether a pessimist view of man and of life.

9. *The number of* **days of a man** [the duration of his life] **many years, (if) an hundred.**] Bretschneider quotes from Seneca, 'de brevit. vitae,' c. 3: "Pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae videmus: centesimus tibi, vel supra, premitur annus." But then the philosopher continues to shew how much has to be deducted from this age on account of trouble, illness, and needless or frivolous waste, so that the real span of life is after all very short (ed. Ruhkopf, i. pp. 497, 498).

10. *As a drop of water* **out of** *the sea and a* **little stone out of** *the sand* [the omission of the prepos. in the second clause is a Hebraism. See Winer, *l. l.*, p. 373, &c.], *so* **a few years in** *the* **day** *of eternity.*] The Syr. here paraphrases in targumic manner.

11. *Therefore* **is the Lord long-suffering towards them.**] He bears with them in their sins. Bretschneider notes here the absence of any reference to another life. This appears especially in *v.* 12.

12. *their end.*] Καταστροφή is a rather stronger word than "end," and used *sensu malo.* The Hebrew had probably אַחֲרִיתָם, as in the Syr.

B. C. cir. 200.

to be evil; therefore he multiplied his compassion.

13 The mercy of man is toward his neighbour; [k] but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh: he reproveth, and nurtureth, and teacheth, and bringeth again, [i] as a shepherd his flock.

14 He hath mercy on them that receive discipline, and that diligently seek after his judgments.

15 [k] My son, blemish not thy good deeds, neither use uncomfortable words when thou givest any thing.

16 Shall not the dew asswage the heat? so is a word better than a gift.

17 Lo, is not a word better than a gift? but both are with a gracious man.

18 A fool will upbraid churlishly, and a gift of the envious consumeth the eyes.

19 Learn before thou speak, and use physick or ever thou be sick.

20 Before judgment [l] examine thyself, and in the day of visitation thou shalt find mercy.

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[k] Ps. 145. 9.

[i] Jer. 31. 10.

[k] ch. 41. 22.

[l] 1 Cor. 11. 28, 31.

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13. *toward his neighbour.*] The Syr., "him that is near in flesh:" this, in accordance with Rabbinic usage and ideas.

reproving, and disciplining, and teaching, and bringing back.] The reference is to God.

14. *He hath mercy on them that* **accept** *discipline, and* **who hasten** [make haste] *after His* **ordinances.**] Lit., "judgments," משפטים—who submit to the discipline which He administers and become obedient. The Syr. here substitutes: "Happy they who hope in His compassion and they who receive [approve] His judgments."

15. Third stanza: see Introd.

Son, add not blame in *thy good deeds.*] Lit., give not blame, viz. joining words of reproach to benefits bestowed—a not uncommon mode of pharisaic churlishness. The opposite characteristic in the gifts of God in St. James i. 5—one of the many parallelisms between that Ep. and Ecclus. (see General Introd.).

nor with [in] **every gift sadness** [mourning] **of words.**] *I.e.* words that cause sadness. The Syr. evidently misunderstood this verse. The sentiment is truly Jewish in the best sense.

16. *heat.*] Perhaps "scorching east-wind:" in that case it would mean that it restores what such east-wind, קָדִים, "has scorched" (see Grimm, 'Lex. in l. N. T.' sub *καύσων*).

17. *a word.*] Viz. a good, kind word.

better than a gift.] In the Hebrew probably: טוֹב מַמָּתָּן. The Talmud contains many similar statements. Thus Sukk. 19*b*: Alms are rewarded only according to the graciousness which accompanies them. In 'Jer. Peah,' viii. 9, it is pointed out that in Ps. xli. 1 it is said, "Blessed is he that considereth" (not "that giveth to") "the poor." In 'Babh. B.' 9*b* we read that he that gave to the poor a Perutah (the smallest coin) was blessed with six blessings (according to Is. lviii. 8, 9), but he that comforted them with words was blessed with eleven blessings (according to Is. lviii. 10–12). Lastly, in 'Ab. de R. Nath.' xiii. we are told that if one bestowed on another all the gifts in the world, but with an unpleasant countenance, it would be reckoned as if he had not given anything, while if a man received his neighbour with a pleasant face, even if he gave him nothing, it would be reckoned as if he had bestowed on him all the gifts in the world.

but.] Rather, **and.**

gracious.] The same expression in St. Luke i. 28.

18. *A fool will upbraid* **ungraciously,** *and* **the gift of a churl** [*βάσκανος*, Ecclus. xiv. 3, and often—here not exactly = envious, but corresponding to the German *scheelsüchtig, misgünstig*] **melteth** *the eyes.*] Not, as Fritzsche understands it: "causeth weeping," but as in Job xxxi. 16, for כִּלָּה; here possibly מְכַלֶּה עֵינַיִם—"consumeth the eyes," perhaps in the sense of their looking and longing in vain.

19. This verse begins the second Part.

use physick.] Rather, **attend to thy health,** or else **get thee medicine.** The Syr.: "before thou fightest procure for thyself an helper, and before thou art sick a physician."

20. *Before judgment.*] Here evidently that of God, whether the controversy be between Him and man, or between man and man.

and in the **hour** *of visitation thou shalt find* **reconciliation.**] Syr.: "Before adversity comes upon thee, pray, and in the hour of adversity thou shalt find it, and it will procure favour for thee." The meaning

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21 [m]Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins shew repentance.

22 [n]Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vow in due time, and defer not until death to be justified.

23 Before thou prayest, prepare thyself; and be not as one that tempteth the Lord.

24 [o]Think upon the wrath that shall be at the end, and the time of vengeance, when he shall turn away his face.

25 When thou hast enough, remember the time of hunger: and when thou art rich, think upon poverty and need.

26 From the morning until the

[m] ch. 7. 17.
[n] Deut. 23. 21. Eccles. 5. 4.
[o] ch. 7. 17, 36.

of the Greek is, that if a man thus makes timely self-examination, and combines with it humiliation and repentance, judgment will not descend upon him.

22. The second clause may refer to the practice of delaying to perform a vow till just before death, and then discharging his obligation, and thereby becoming "justified," that is, escaping punishment.

In general *vv.* 19–21 are strictly Judaic and find their parallel in Rabbinic writings. Thus we read ('Jer. Taan.' iii. 6, p. 9 *a*): "Honour thy physician before thou hast need of him." In the Midrash it is quoted as a proverb (Shem. R. 21), and explained to mean that we are to worship and to entreat God before we are overtaken by sickness or adversity (comp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 1). In another place (Shabb. 32 *a*) we find this: "Ever let a man seek mercy before he is ill. For when he becomes sick they say to him: Shew thy merits, and thou shalt be delivered." In Sanh. 44 *b* we read: "Ever let a man pray before adversity comes." Again in Nedar. 41 *a* it is said: "The sick does not rise from his sickness till all his sins are forgiven him;" and in 'Babh. K.' 46 *b*, "There is no medicament like the medicine of prayer and of the Law." Other passages might be quoted from the tractate 'Berakhoth,' setting forth the connexion of prayer and humiliation with the healing of disease. The Syr. renders the passage somewhat differently, and as it seems to us, at any rate, paraphrastically.

23. *Before thou* **vowest,** *prepare thyself.*] That is, we are to consider whether the vow should be made, and whether we are prepared to perform it. In the Midrash 'Tanchuma' (Par. Vayyishlach, ed. Warsh. p. 43 *b*) this saying of Ben Sira is quoted as follows: "Before thou vowest, prepare thy vow lest thou be [or, that thou be not] as one that causeth to err." This agrees with the Syr., which, however, renders the second clause: "and be not as a man that tempteth his lord"—possibly altering the אדני of the Hebrew original into אדניו. But from the quotation in 'Tanchuma' it would rather seem that neither the one nor the other word was in the original. The passage is evidently based on Eccles. v. 4, 5, with which it is brought into connexion in 'Tanchuma.'

24. The Syr. here paraphrases what the translator either did not or else would not understand.

Remember [think upon the] *wrath* **in the days of** *the end* [death ?], *and the time of* **retribution in the turning away** [or hiding] **of the countenance.**] Viz. when God shall turn away or hide His countenance. This rendering is established by the use of the similar expressions in LXX. Deut. xxxi. 18, on which, indeed, the saying of the Siracide seems founded. Comp. for the expression also Deut. xxxii. 20 and other passages. (In general we mark the frequent reference in Ecclus. to LXX. Deut.) The verse under consideration has been generally understood as referring to the time of a man's death: "the days of the end" = "the days of death." But in that case we should have expected the singular, not the plural: "in the day," as in Ecclus. xi. 26, not "in the days." Accordingly we would suggest that the expression refers not to "death," but represents the Hebrew אַחֲרִית: that which cometh afterwards, the end, in later Heb. especially the future. Indeed, in LXX. Prov. xxiv. 14 אחרית is rendered by τελευτή. Thus the meaning of the verse would be: remember the wrath in the days hereafter, in the future, in the end, and that there will be a time of tribulation when He turneth away His countenance. We would farther suggest that the reference is primarily to the making of vows by which God is provoked (*v.* 24), and secondarily to all sins of rashness. Thus it would, in the strictest sense, be a paraphrase of Eccles. v. 6, which should be rendered (not as in the A. V., nor as in the R. V., but): "Suffer not [cause not] thy mouth to bring punishment upon thy flesh."

25. **Remember the time of hunger in the time of satiety,** (and) **poverty and need in the days of wealth.**] Here also the reference seems primarily to vows rashly made in a season of prosperity without bearing in mind the future difficulties which this may involve. Besides, the verse may also be intended generally to enjoin the

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evening the time is changed, and all things are soon done before the Lord.

[p] Prov. 28. 14.

27 [p] A wise man will fear in every thing, and in the day of sinning he will beware of offence: but a fool will not observe time.

28 Every man of understanding knoweth wisdom, and will give praise unto him that found her.

29 They that were of understanding in sayings became also wise themselves, and poured forth exquisite parables.

[q] Rom. 6. 6. & 13. 14.

30 [q] Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites.

31 If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies that malign thee.

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32 Take not pleasure in much good cheer, neither be tied to the expence thereof.

33 Be not made a beggar by banqueting upon borrowing, when thou hast nothing in thy purse: for thou shalt lie in wait for thine own life, and be talked on.

CHAPTER XIX.

2 *Wine and women seduce wise men.* 7 *Say not all thou hearest.* 17 *Reprove thy friend without anger.* 22 *There is no wisdom in wickedness.*

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need of timely preparation for the future. The Rabbis are urgent on the same topic, chiefly with the view of counselling preparation in this life for that which is to come: preparing during the week for the Sabbath; providing before setting out for the requirements of the journey, &c.

26. By a natural transition the writer passes to the rapidness of great changes and the consequent need of preparedness.

From morning to evening.] *I.e.* in the brief space between these two. For the expression, comp. Ruth ii. 7; Job iv. 20.

the time is changed.] We might almost incline to regard καιρός = *tempus*, in the sense of "weather," but it gives good sense even if we retain the ordinary rendering "time."

and all things are **rapid** *before the Lord.*] As the time quickly flieth—or else as the weather rapidly changes—from morning to evening, so all things are in their changeful occurrence rapid before God.

27. Omit "but a fool will not observe time."

A wise man will **be careful** [cautious] *in every thing, and in the* **days of sins**—i.e. in those in which sin abounds—*will beware of offence* [transgression].] The Syr. must here have had another text, since it conveys a different kind of lesson from the Greek.

28. The Syr. has: "Every wise man has to teach wisdom, and to render thanks to them that know her." It must be admitted that this fits in better with the following verse.

29. *They* **who are** *of understanding in sayings*—who understand their meaning—*become also wise themselves*—probably: **also display their wisdom,** *and* **pour** *forth exquisite* **proverbs.**] Their wisdom shews itself in this.

30. This verse is headed in the Greek text by the words: "Mastery (control) over the soul." This can scarcely have been in the original, and probably slipped from the margin into the text. It is therefore all the more remarkable that there should be an indication of this inscription in the Syr.—unless, indeed, the translator, or a later "hand," had the Greek before him. The heading itself is not inapt. In all probability the writer intended to begin with *v.* 30 the exquisite commonplaces or proverbs to which reference was made in *v.* 29.

but.] Rather, **and.**

31. *If thou* **ministerest** [suppliest] **to** *thy soul the* **pleasure** [gratification] **of desire** [appetite, passion], **it** *will make thee, &c.*] Omit the words: "that malign thee." A man who gives the reins to his desires will soon become a laughing-stock to his enemies.

32. **Delight not in much luxuriousness, nor suffer thyself to be bound to its association.**] So literally; the purport being to warn against being drawn into association with, or the society of, *bons vivans.* Συμβολή, in the LXX. always for חִבֻּרָת or מַחְבֶּרֶת — "Luxuriousness," not merely in the pleasures of the table, but including all the wantonness of which this formed part.

33. *banqueting.*] The expression refers to having a share in joint banquets. Philo ('de Ebr.,' § 6, ed. Mang. i. p. 360) makes curious reference to such joint feasts, and in haggadic manner traces the word συμβολοκοπέω to a connexion between συμβολαί, the contributions to these feasts, and κόπτω, "I strike," "wound," "smite." The last clause in the A. V. after "thy purse" must be omitted. The Syr. paraphrases or rather is a Targum on the verse.

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A LABOURING man that is given to drunkenness shall not be rich: and he that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.

[a] Gen. 9. 21. & 19. 32, &c. [b] 1 Kings 11. 1, 4.

2 [a]Wine and [b]women will make men of understanding to fall away: and he that cleaveth to harlots will become impudent.

3 Moths and worms shall have him to heritage, and a bold man shall be taken away. B. C. cir. 200.

[c] Josh. 22. 11. [d] Prov. 8. 36.

4 [c]He that is hasty to give credit is lightminded; [d]and he that sinneth shall offend against his own soul.

5 Whoso taketh pleasure in wickedness shall be condemned: but he that resisteth pleasures crowneth his life.

6 He that can rule his tongue

CHAPTER XIX.

From what seems a confusion in the text of *vv.* 3–5, it is not easy to arrange the chapter. But its general subject seems an admonition to carefulness: first in reference to sinful indulgence (*vv.* 1–3 of A. V.); secondly, in regard to what we listen to, and say (*vv.* 4–12 of A. V.), and what we credit (*vv.* 13–17). Then follows a caution as regards true and false wisdom, and what hypocritically assumes the appearance of wisdom (*vv.* 20–28); the last two verses forming a general conclusion (*vv.* 29, 30).

1. This verse connects itself with the close of the previous chapter.

and he that **despiseth the few** *things* —either he who is not careful over the few things which he hath, or else he who freely spends what in itself seems little, small sums —*shall* **speedily** [soon] **fall**, in the sense of being ruined. The Syr. has: "he that loveth flesh shall inherit poverty." It is difficult to account for this: the Greek seems more congruous with the first clause of *v.* 1; the Syr. with *v.* 2.

2. *fall away.*] Viz. from God: "will become impudent;" rather, **will be more reckless** (daring, audacious), viz. than those referred to in the first clause.

3. *moths.*] In the wider sense of insects of that kind (maggots).

and a **reckless soul** *shall be* **destroyed.**] Several considerations seem to suggest corruption in the text. Thus the description of him that cleaveth to harlots as more reckless seems strange, while the second clause of *v.* 3 is not only needless, but weakens the first clause. Accordingly it has been suggested that the words "will be more reckless" (τολμηρότερος) have somehow intruded from the second clause of *v.* 3 (ψυχὴ τολμηρά), and that the verse should read: "he that cleaveth to harlots, moths and worms shall have him to heritage." This would be parallel to such passages as Prov. v. 5; vii. 26, 27; ix. 18. But in that case it would also seem necessary to strike out the second clause of *v.* 3, as now doubly incongruous. That clause may originally have been a marginal gloss, which somehow crept into the text, and then in turn gave rise to the intrusion of τολμηρότερος ἔσται in *v.* 2. The alterations thus made may seem extensive, but they are in accordance with the Syr., which has: "and he that cleaveth to whoredom shall perish."

4. The writer now passes to an entirely different subject, which is connected with the verses following.

He **that hastily** [quickly] **trusteth** [giveth credence]—who is hasty to give trust and credence—**is of a light mind.**] The next clause presents difficulties. Its literal translation would be: **and he that sinneth against his soul shall offend**, or else **be guilty.** This, rather than the somewhat unnatural arrangement of the words adopted in the A. V. and by Fritzsche. But in any case it is difficult to see the connexion between this and the first clause of the verse. As in the LXX. the expression "against his own soul" is rendered by εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν (LXX. Prov. xx. 2; comp. viii. 36) and not ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, we might be inclined to suppose that the Son of Sirach had meant that one who sinned against the soul of another (not "his own") by lightly crediting a report was guilty of offence. But in the Book of Sirach ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ is also used for "his own soul." We would therefore suggest that the whole of this difficult clause was not in the original, but has somehow crept into the Greek text. And we are confirmed in this view by the circumstance that the Syr. substitutes for it: "he that condemneth himself, who shall justify him?"—which is an interpolation from x. 29, and is omitted in the Arabic Version.

5, 6. We notice, first, that clause 2 of *v.* 5 and clause 1 of *v.* 6 must be omitted. But even so the Greek text is evidently corrupt. Although generally unwilling to adopt extensive emendations, yet those proposed by Drusius are so reasonable and give such a good meaning that we accept them, although

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shall live without strife; and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil.

[e] ch. 41. 23.

7 [e]Rehearse not unto another that which is told unto thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse.

‖ Or, *of friend or foe.*

8 Whether it be ‖to friend or foe, talk not of other men's lives; and if thou canst without offence, reveal them not.

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9 For he heard and observed thee, and when time cometh he will ‖hate thee.

‖ Or, *shew his hatred.*

10 If thou hast heard a word, let it die with thee; and be bold, it will not burst thee.

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they involve some difficulties. The present text runs: *ὁ εὐφραινόμενος καρδίᾳ καταγνωσθήσεται*—"he that rejoiceth in heart" [is of joyous heart (?)] "shall be condemned;" *καὶ ὁ μισῶν λαλιὰν ἐλαττονοῦται κακίᾳ*—"and he that hateth babbling shall have less evil." Even Fritzsche admits that nothing can be made of *καρδίᾳ* in the first clause. It is therefore easiest to suppose with Drusius that the *καρδίᾳ* of the first clause, and the *κακίᾳ* of the second, have been misplaced and must be interchanged. This gives a very good sense for the first clause: "He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned," *i.e.* he whose delight it is to hear and spread evil. In the second clause a further emendation is required. Drusius supposes that the Hebrew text had שֹׁנֵא, "he that repeateth a thing," lit. a word, and that the translator misread it שֹׂנֵא, "he that hateth," and accordingly rendered "he that hateth babbling" (רבר). That the original had "he that repeateth" is confirmed by the Syr., which has the same word. The difficulties unsolved are the substitution of the א for the ה, and that in *v.* 7 what at first sight seem to have been the same Hebrew words (אַל תְּשַׁנֶּה דָּבָר) are correctly rendered in the Greek: *μηδέποτε δευτερώσῃς λόγον* (but see *v.* 7). Still the suggestion of Drusius offers the only satisfactory emendation of the verse. We have little doubt that the same inattention or ignorance which appears in the rendering "he that hateth babbling," also led to the strange error of literally translating חָסַר לֵב by *ἐλαττονοῦται καρδίᾳ*. Thus corrected, the second clause in the Hebrew may have read as follows: וְשֹׁנֵא דָּבָר (?בְּדָבָר) חֲסַר־לֵב; and the whole verse (*vv.* 5, 6 in A. V.) would have to be thus rendered: **He that taketh pleasure in evil shall be condemned; and he that repeateth a matter is wanting in understanding.**

7. **Never repeat a speech** [a word], *and thou shalt fare never the worse.*] Thus in the Greek. In the Syriac the last clause reads: "and no one shall revile thee." The Greek evidently took the root to be חָסַר, while the Syr. derived the word from חָסַד in the Piel, "to revile." Which of these was correct? We incline to the Syr., which would be a virtual adaptation of Prov. xxv. 9 *b*, 10 *a*. If we were conjecturally to reconstruct it according to that passage, the Hebrew of *v.* 7 may have differed from that in *v.* 6 (see above), and perhaps have run as follows: אַל־תְּגַל דָּבָר (?וְלֹא) פֶּן־יַחְסָדְךָ אִישׁ, "reveal not a matter [we prefer giving דבר the wider meaning of "matter," rather than "word" or "speech"] lest man revile thee;" or if וְלֹא, "and no one shall revile thee." But perhaps the construction may have been somewhat different.

8. Our conjecture of the derivation of *v.* 7 from Prov. xxv. 9 *b*, 10 *a*, is strengthened by *v.* 8, which would be an enlargement of the advice in Prov.—in fact, we have the אל תגל in the *μὴ ἀποκάλυπτε* at the close of the verse. The Syr. has here something quite different—whether by way of "targum" or otherwise, it is impossible to say. But we cannot suppose that it gives a correct representation of the Hebrew text, if only because it does not in any wise fit into the context. The Greek text runs: **Relate not** [viz. a speech, or any matter] **whether to friend or to foe** [an enlargement on Prov. xxv. 9], **and, unless sin** [fault, blame] **attach to thee, reveal** (it) **not**, *i.e.* either in the sense that blame or guilt would be imputed or else that it would really accrue, in which cases it would be duty to disclose a matter.

9. The Syr. has: "lest he that heareth thee hateth thee, and regard thee as an harmful person." This seems a closer paraphrase of Prov. xxv. 10 than the Greek text. But the whole section to the end of *v.* 12 bears evident reference to that passage. The verse reads: **For he heareth thee, and is on his guard against thee; and on occasion** [when occasion arises] **he will hate thee**; he will not only feel, but shew hatred. Grotius aptly: *occasione exacta odium tui monstrabit.*

10. **Hast thou heard a thing?** [lit. "a word," but *λόγον* here = דבר]. *Let it die with thee.* **Take courage!** [cheer up.] *It will not burst thee.*] For this latter the Syr. uses another illustrative figure.

B. C. cir. 200.

11 A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.

12 As an arrow that sticketh in a man's thigh, so is a word within a fool's ‖ belly.

‖ Or, *heart.*

13 *f* Admonish a friend, it may be he hath not done it: and if he have done it, that he do it no more.

f Lev. 19. 17. Matt. 18. 15.

14 ‖ Admonish thy friend, it may be he hath not said it: and if he have, that he speak it not again.

‖ Or, *Reprove.*

15 Admonish a friend: for many times it is a slander, and believe not every tale.

16 There is one that slippeth in his speech, but not ‖ from his heart;

‖ Or, *willingly.*

and who is he that hath not offended with his *g* tongue?

B. C. cir. 200.

g ch. 14. 1. & 25. 8. James 3. 2.

17 ‖ Admonish thy neighbour before thou threaten him; and not being angry, give place to the law of the most High.

‖ Or, *Reprove.*

18 *h* The fear of the Lord is the first step ‖ to be accepted [of him,] and wisdom obtaineth his love.

h Prov. 1. 7. ch. 40. 26.

‖ Or, *of receiving him.*

19 The knowledge of the commandments of the Lord is the doctrine of life: and they that do things that please him shall *i* receive the fruit of the tree of immortality.

i Rev. 2. 7. & 22. 2, 14.

20 The fear of the Lord is all wisdom; and in all wisdom is the

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11, 12. Two apt illustrations follow. "A fool **will travail** over [by reason of] **a matter** [*ἀπὸ προσώπου λόγου* = מִלְּפָנֵי דָבָר] **as over an infant she that giveth birth. An arrow stuck in the fleshy thigh,** so (is) **a matter** [lit. "word," as above] **in the inside of a fool.**" In the Heb. (after the analogy of Ps. xl. 9) probably בְּתוֹךְ מֵעֵי סָכָל: this, rather than בְּלֵב, since לֵב is never rendered in the LXX. by *κοιλία*; or it may have been, though less probably, בְּקֶרֶב. The Syr.: "the thigh of a man."

13. The writer proceeds a step further. From warning against telling a thing, he goes on to caution against crediting a matter or else allowing it a permanent influence.

Cross-question *a friend.*] More than merely "question," and not exactly "admonish," = the German *zurechtweisen*, probably somewhat stronger than Fritzsche's *zur Rede stellen:* frequently in the LXX.= הוֹכִיחַ. The Syr. adds: "that he may not do evil." This would require in the Greek *ποιήσῃ*, instead of the *ἐποίησε* of the text.

and if he **did something.**] *I.e.* if he did any part, although perhaps not the whole of what is imputed to him, &c.

14. Cross-question [perhaps: "expostulate with"—and so in the following verses] **a friend, perhaps he did not say** (it) [the Syr. makes here an alteration in the verb similar to that in *v.* 13]; *and if he* **has said** (it), *that he* **may not repeat** (it) [say it again].] Fritzsche supposes that the subject of the admonition, alike in *vv.* 13 and 14, is "a friend," and that the difference lies in this, that in the one case his deed, in the other his speech, is the object of expostulation. Fritzsche reads with C, Sin., some MSS., the Syr., and Vet. Lat., "the neighbour" instead of "a friend." In that case the distinction seems to extend also to the persons—in the one case, a friend; and the admonition would be, that we should speak to a friend about what he is supposed to have done, and to a neighbour about what he is reported to have said.

15. *Admonish.*] Rather, **cross-question**; see *v.* 13.

16. *There is* **that slippeth** [omit "in his speech"]; *but not from his* **soul.**] The reference here seems not to sins of speech (Fritzsche), but to slips in outward conduct, which do not always proceed from inward badness, so that we must not in all cases judge the one from the other.

and who **sinned not** *with his tongue?*] Sins of deed do not necessarily imply a bad heart, and every one is guilty of sins of speech. Syr.: "For there is that sinneth but not from the heart, and there is that stumbleth but not with the tongue."

17. Omit in the second clause the words "not being angry."

Admonish [rather, **cross-question**] *before thou threaten, and give place to the law of the most High.*] Fritzsche understands this to mean that in doing as directed in the first clause we shall obey the law of God, as in Lev. xix. 17. But the phrase means, as in Rom. xii. 19, Eph. iv. 27, "to give free scope to a thing." Here: expostulate first, and, if needful, reprove and threaten; but beyond this allow the Law of God to take its course, give free course to it. Thus Rom. xii. 19 would really be a reference to this passage. The Syr. is here quite different.

18, 19. These verses must be omitted.

20. All wisdom is fear of the Lord;

B. C. cir. 200. performance of the law, and the knowledge of his omnipotency.

[k] Matt. 21. 29. 21 [k]If a servant say to his master, I will not do as it pleaseth thee; though afterward he do it, he angereth him that nourisheth him.

22 The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom, neither at any time the counsel of sinners prudence.

23 There is a wickedness, and the same an abomination; and there is a fool wanting in wisdom.

24 He that hath small understanding, and feareth God, is better than one that hath much wisdom, and transgresseth the law of the most High. B. C. cir. 200.

25 There is an exquisite subtilty, and the same is unjust; and there is one that turneth aside to make judgment appear; and there is a wise man that ‖justifieth in judgment. ‖ Or, *judgeth.*

26 There is a wicked man that hangeth down his head ‖sadly; but inwardly he is full of deceit, ‖ Or, *in black.*

27 Casting down his countenance,

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and in all wisdom (there) **is doing** [fulfilling, observance] **of** *the Law.*] The words that follow in the A. V. must be omitted. The writer naturally passes from reference to the Law of God to true wisdom, which is its fulfilment. As regards the expression "doing of the Law," we again mark a similar use in St. James i. 25 (comp. *v.* 22), and the parallelism extends beyond the wording to the reasoning. But in the form in which the saying appears in Ecclus. it is so Alexandrian that we instinctively turn to the Syr. This has: "The words of prophecy and all wisdom is the fear of the Lord [religion?], and the fear of God is wisdom." If we could accept this as representing or approximating to the true text, it would, first, imply a desire to combine the prophetic and the "Wisdom"-books of the Old Testament as constituting the substance of true religion; and thus, secondly, represent the *via media* in the combination of a moderate Hellenism with Palestinianism, before their separation and later antagonism; in short, what we consider to have been the peculiar theological standpoint of which the Book of Sirach is the expression. It is scarcely necessary to add that if we adopt the Syriac text, the Greek rendering must be regarded as an Alexandrian adaptation by the younger Siracide.

21. This verse must be omitted.

22. **And wisdom is not knowledge of wickedness, nor is, where** *the counsel of sinners* (is), *prudence.*] Or else, "there is no case where the counsel of sinners is prudence." Fritzsche omits ὅπου with the Alex.: "nor is the counsel of sinners prudence." The verse seems aptly to follow the reasoning of *v.* 20. The Syr. gives the sentiment in a concrete form: "He is not wise who is wicked," &c.

23. As the first clause yields no proper meaning, Fritzsche proposes to substitute for πονηρία, "wickedness," πανουργία, "cleverness," as in *v.* 25—supposing that πονηρία had crept in from the preceding verse. But there is little MS. support for this emendation. Besides, even if we were so to correct the first clause of the verse, a similar want of meaning exists in the second clause. On the other hand, it has been well suggested that a comparison with the Syr. shews that the word πονηρία, "wickedness," in the first clause, has been interchanged with σοφία, "wisdom," in the second clause. Thus corrected, the text reads: "There is a **wisdom and it is** an abomination, and there is **a silly person who is without** [free from] **wickedness.**" With this the following verse agrees.

24. **Better one inferior in understanding who feareth** (the Lord) **than one who excelleth** [aboundeth] **in cleverness and transgresseth the Law.**] The Syr. is only a virtual repetition of the previous verse.

25. *There is an* **exact** [accurate, precise] **prudence** [subtilty], **and it is** *unjust.*] The outcome of this precise subtilty is not truth nor justice, but unrighteousness and injustice.

and there **is that** *turneth aside* (judgment) **for the sake of making it appear judgment.**] *I.e.* he not only makes his turning aside of judgment appear as if it were true judgment, but he is so subtle as to give to that which is really a turning aside of judgment the appearance of having been done for the sake of shewing forth judgment and vindicating the right. The clause is confessedly very difficult. We supply κρίμα after διαστρέφων; the same expression occurs in LXX. Ex. xxiii. 6 for מִשְׁפַּט יְהֹוָה.

26. The transition is natural from the clever deceiver to the clever impostor. "There is **that is wicked who is bowed down with sadness, and . . .**"

27. **He boweth down the face and**

B. C. cir. 200. and making as if he heard not: where he is not known, he will do thee a mischief before thou be aware.

28 And if for want of power he be hindered from sinning, yet when he findeth opportunity he will do evil.

29 A man may be known by his look, and one that hath understanding by his countenance, when thou meetest him.

[l] ch. 21. 20. 30 A man's attire, and [l] excessive laughter, and gait, shew what he is.

CHAPTER XX.

1 *Of silence and speaking.* 10 *Of gifts and gain.* 18 *Of slipping by the tongue.* 24 *Of lying.* 27 *Of divers advertisements.*

B. C. cir. 200. THERE is a reproof that is not [‖] comely: again, some man holdeth his tongue, and he is wise. ‖ Or, *seasonable.*

2 It is much better to reprove, than to be angry secretly: [a] and he that confesseth his fault shall be preserved from hurt. [a] Prov. 28. 13.

3 How good is it, when thou art reproved, to shew repentance! for so shalt thou escape wilful sin.

4 As is the lust of an [b] eunuch to deflower a virgin; so is he that executeth judgment with violence. [b] ch. 30. 20.

5 There is one that keepeth silence, and is found wise: and another by much babbling becometh hateful.

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is deaf with one ear; when he is not observed [perceived], **he will anticipate** [surprise, prevent] **thee.**] The A. V. correctly gives the meaning of the writer.

29. *By his look* [*i.e.* by what is seen of him, as it were the impression made by his appearance — מַרְאֶה] **shall a man be known,** *and one that hath understanding* **shall be known**—occursu faciei—**by the meeting of countenance.**] *I.e.* by the manner in which his countenance is met, the expression it wears.

30. The Talmud also gives rules in regard to appearance and demeanour by which a man may be known. Two of those here mentioned—dress and gait—are referred to in Ber. 43 *b*. Comp. also the three things in which it is said that a man shews what is in him: in his cups, in his purse, and in his anger, to which is added as a fourth—in his merriment (Erubh. 65 *b*).

CHAPTER XX.

From the long parenthesis in chap. xix. 20–30 the writer returns to the topic of chap. xix. 13–17. The main subject discussed in chap. xx. seems to be that of speech. The various points in the reasoning are somewhat loosely connected—rather linked together than of one piece. But this is characteristic of the whole book. In the first eight verses the advantages and disadvantages of silence and speech are discussed; the moral being that it is impossible to lay down any absolute rule, and that sometimes what seems the worse is the better and more desirable, and *vice versâ*. This leads the writer into a series of other illustrations, *vv.* 9–13. With *v.* 14 the writer returns to his subject, treating of the silly man in his talk (*vv.* 14–17), of the unpleasant man in his conversation (*vv.* 18–20), of rashness, especially in speech (*vv.* 21–23), of false speaking (*vv.* 24–26), and lastly, of the bearing of the wise, whether as regards speech, silence, or conduct.

1. *There is* **an expostulation** [arguing, ἔλεγχος] **which is not seasonable.**] Ὡραῖος bears the twofold sense of our word "seasonable,"—timely and seemly. As previously indicated, there is not an exact English equivalent for ἔλεγχος: it is not precisely admonition nor yet reproof, but that arguing which may imply either, or both, or on the other hand may fall short of them. The second clause is, if not quite literally, yet so forcibly rendered in the A. V. and so fully expresses the meaning of the writer that it had best be adopted, although for "again, some man" it will be better to substitute "**and there is.**"

2. **How** *much better to* **expostulate** *than to* **cherish anger.**] Omit "his fault."

hurt.] Rather, **damage.** The Syr. has here something quite different.

Omit *v.* 3 in A. V.

4. We should be disposed to regard this as an interpolation, since, at first sight at least, it does not seem to fit into the context, but it occurs also in the Syr. If, however, we regard ποιεῖν κρίματα not as meaning to execute judgment, but, like עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּטִים, in the Heb. and in the LXX., as occasionally meaning "to do judgments," in the sense of doing what is righteous, it would yield a good sense: "**so he that doeth judgments** (but) **in** [by] **violence.**" The point of comparison in the coarse illustration of clause 1 would then be the incongruity and impossibility of the attempt in both cases. If this be the correct view, *v.* 4 may be connected with the first clause of *v.* 2.

5. *There* **is that** *keepeth silence* **who** *is found wise, and* **there is that is odious**

B. C. cir. 200.

6 Some man holdeth his tongue, because he hath not to answer: and some keepeth silence, [c]knowing his time.

[c] Eccles. 3. 7.

[d] ch. 32. 4.

7 A wise man will hold his [d] tongue till he see opportunity: but a babbler and a fool will regard no time.

8 He that useth many words shall be abhorred; and he that taketh to himself authority therein shall be hated.

9 There is a sinner that hath good success in evil things; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.

10 There is a gift that shall not profit thee; and there is a gift whose recompence is double.

11 There is an abasement because of glory; and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 There is that buyeth much for a little, and repayeth it sevenfold.

13 [e]A wise man by his words maketh himself beloved: but the ‖graces of fools shall be ‖poured out.

[e] ch. 6. 5.

‖ Or, *pleasant conceits.*

‖ Or, *lost, or, spilt.*

14 The gift of a fool shall do thee no good when thou hast it; neither yet of the envious for his necessity: ‖for he looketh to receive many things for one.

‖ Gr. *for his eyes are many for one to receive.*

15 He giveth little, and [f] upbraideth much; he openeth his mouth like a crier; to day he lendeth, and to morrow will he ask it again: such

[f] ch. 41. 22.

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on account of [through] **much talk.**] "Found," probably נִמְצָא, and used in the same wide sense as = turn out, appear, be.

6. **There is that is silent,** *because he hath not* **a reply;** *and* **there is that is silent,** *knowing* **the proper time** [the opportunity, עֵת].] There is the silence of the foolish—because he has nothing to say; and there is the silence of the wise, who waiteth for the proper time and opportunity for speaking.

7. *A wise man will* **be silent till the proper time,** *but a* **boaster** *and a fool will* **pass beyond the opportunity.**] The one because he deems himself independent of opportunity, the other because he does not discern it.

8. *and he that* **assumeth** *authority.*] That is, he who speaks in an authoritative manner, as if every one must listen and obey.

9. *There* **is prosperity in adversity** [lit. "evils"] **to a man** [that is, as we understand it, what appears to be adverse may turn out for good], *and there is a gain* **unto** *loss.*

10. "Recompence" = return, גְּמוּל; "double," rather **twofold.** The Rabbis speak of certain good deeds, the fruit or interest of which is enjoyed in this world, while the capital itself still remaineth for the next world (Peah, i. 1; Shabb. 127 *a*; Qidd. 39 *b*, 40 *a*). But here it probably refers to the return which men make to us for our benefits. The Syr. of *vv.* 10 *b* and 11 is quite different.

11. *There is* **loss** [damage] **on account of** *glory.*] That is, a man may sustain loss or damage by reason of the glory which he either seeks after or attains unto.

from a low estate.] Out of a low estate, out of humiliation. The expression "there is" = there may be. The attainment of high estate may entail real loss, while sinking to a humble condition may issue in real exaltation. In all these matters outward or temporary appearance must not deceive us.

12. In the end it will cost him seven times the amount: "repayeth," יְשַׁלֵּם.

13. **The** *wise man by his* **speech . . .** *but the* **amenities** *of fools shall be poured out.*] That is, all the speeches and the like in which fools do their best to make themselves pleasant shall be like water, or some other fluid, that shall be poured away.

14. The middle clauses in A. V. must be omitted.

The gift of **one** [who is] **senseless** [silly, foolish—אויל, or else כסיל] **shall not profit thee, for in his view** [opinion, lit. his eyes—*in the Heb.* בְּעֵינָיו, "in his eyes," or it may have been כִּי עֵינָיו = בעיניו] **instead of one many.**] *I.e.* he considers one thing as if they were many: not necessarily with a view to the return which he expects, but it is characteristic of certain persons that they look upon every little thing that they have or bestow as if it were an immense quantity, and so indefinitely multiply in their own minds any favour or benefit. This view is confirmed by the following verse. [We would here call attention to the Syr. and the Vet. Lat., both for their additions and the remarkable agreement between them, as specially noticed in the General Introduction, § VIII., when treating of the Vet. Lat.]

15. Omit the closing words "of God and man."

B. C. cir. 200.

an one is to be hated of God and man.

16 The fool saith, I have no friends, I have no thank for all my good deeds, and they that eat my bread speak evil of me.

17 How oft, and of how many shall he be laughed to scorn! for he knoweth not aright what it is to have; and it is all one unto him as if he had it not.

18 To slip upon a pavement is better than to slip with the tongue: so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily.

‖ Or, *An unpleasant fellow.*

19 ‖An unseasonable tale will always be in the mouth of the unwise.

20 A wise sentence shall be rejected when it cometh out of a fool's mouth; for he will not speak it in due season. B. C. cir. 200.

21 There is that is hindered from sinning through want: and when he taketh rest, he ‖shall not be troubled.

‖ Gr. *shall not be pricked.*

22 [e]There is that destroyeth his own soul through bashfulness, and by accepting of persons overthroweth himself.

[e] ch. 42. 1.

23 There is that for bashfulness promiseth to his friend, and maketh him his enemy for nothing.

24 [h]A lie is a foul blot in a man, yet it is continually in the mouth of the untaught.

[h] ch. 25. 2.

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16. *speak evil of me.*] We should prefer rendering: **are paltry** [sorry] **of tongue.** Φαῦλος gives the idea of meanness rather than evil, and this suits the context very well, since a silly, boastful person who had an overweening opinion of himself would not complain that those who receive his benefits—eat his bread—speak evil of him, but that they do not make enough of him or of his good deeds, give him not sufficient public praise, are mean and sorry of speech.

17. Omit all after "laughed to scorn."

18. The subject of *vv.* 5 and following is now resumed, although tongue and speech have throughout been in the mind of the writer.

A slip [Slipping] **on** [because of, on account of] **the ground rather than by** [in] **the tongue;** *so the fall of the wicked shall come speedily* [quickly].] The idea seems to be: A slip on the ground brings a person to a sudden fall; but a slip as regards speech is far worse: he who committeth sins of speech may look for a sudden fall, far worse in every sense than the sudden downfall of a person who slips while he walks. The Syr. is quite different.

19. **An ungracious man** [is like] **unseasonable talk** [speech, saying]: **in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous.**] Viz. as unseasonable—not necessarily foolish or wrong—talk is continuous in the mouth of uncultured persons, so is an ungracious personage: even when in the right he is always *mal à propos*. This is followed out in the next verse.

20. *A* **parable from the mouth of a fool shall be rejected** [not necessarily because it is silly or false, but from this cause], *for he* **speaketh it not** *in* **its season.**] It is spoken unseasonably: so an ungracious person is always unseasonable in what he says and does, even if in itself it were right, and like an unseasonable saying he is rejected.

21. Silence from want of having anything proper to say may be preferable to unseasonable speech. This is illustrated by an analogous case.

There is that is hindered from sinning through want.] Lack of means prevents his sinning—just as a man may be silent because he has not anything to say. But what of that? So far from being a real disadvantage: **and in his repose he shall not feel remorse.** Once more the Syr. is, for one reason or another, not of any help to us.

22. On the other hand, there is false and wrong silence: "there is that **through bashfulness destroyeth himself**" (lit. his soul, נַפְשׁוֹ) = he is ashamed or afraid to speak out and ruins himself by such silence—"**and through a silly face overthroweth himself.**" The Syr. has "by covering his face." This may be merely a Targum of the Hebrew, just as the Greek was probably a paraphrase of it—or there may have been a confusion of the roots כָּסָה, "to cover," and כָּסַל, "to be foolish."

23. Similarly bashfulness may lead a person by his silence to give the impression of having made a promise to a friend, and thereby turn him into an enemy "for nothing"—when there is really no cause for it.

24. **in the mouth of the uncultured it will be continuous.**] *They will* always tell and do lies.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 A thief is better than a man that is accustomed to lie: but they both shall have destruction to heritage.

26 The disposition of a liar is [1]dishonourable, and his shame is ever with him.

[1] Or, *ignominy*.

27 A wise man shall promote himself *to honour* with his words: and he that hath understanding will please great men.

28 [i]He that tilleth his land shall increase his heap: and he that pleaseth great men shall get pardon for iniquity.

[i] Prov. 12. 11. & 28. 19.

29 [k]Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and [l]stop up his mouth that he cannot reprove.

[k] Exod. 23. 8. Deut. 16. 19.

[l] Or, *as a muzzle in the mouth*.

30 Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is hoarded up, what profit is in them both?

B. C. cir. 200.

31 [l]Better is he that hideth his folly than a man that hideth his wisdom.

[l] ch. 41. 15.

32 Necessary patience in seeking the Lord is better than he that leadeth his life without a guide.

CHAPTER XXI.

2 *Flee from sin as from a serpent.* 4 *His oppression will undo the rich.* 9 *The end of the unjust shall be nought.* 12 *The difference between the fool and the wise.*

MY son, hast thou sinned? do so no more, but [a]ask pardon for thy former sins.

[a] Ps. 41. 4. Luke 15. 21.

2 Flee from sin as from the face

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26. The Syr. has instead of what is rendered "disposition" the word "end." It has been suggested that the Heb. had אַחֲרִית, "the end," "what cometh after," and that the Greek misread it אֹרְחוֹת, "the paths;" in which case the Greek would have to be corrected: "The end of a liar is dishonour, and his shame is continuous with him." But it must be admitted that the Greek gives also a good sense and that it suits the context, while, on the other hand, the second clause in the Syr. shews that the rendering of the verse was paraphrastic, in which case we can understand the use of the word "end" for "paths," mode of life.

27. From sin and folly in speech, with their consequences, the writer again turns to wisdom in speech. The Vatican text has here again an inscription: "Sayings of Parables," or rather "Parabolic" or "Proverbial sayings." This has evidently crept into the text from the margin. It seems probable that these inscriptions represent an early attempt to arrange the somewhat loosely connected reasoning, especially in some parts, of this book under definite headings. "Shall promote himself" = make himself promoted.

and **a prudent man will please the great** [Bissell].] The morality of the sentiment is not very elevated. The Syr. is doubtful and at best paraphrastic.

28. *and he that pleaseth* **the great shall atone for unrighteousness.**] The point of comparison is successful labour: as regards the soil (comp. Prov. xii. 11) and as regards "the great"—in both cases it is not easy, but in both it will certainly yield a good return. The Syr. is quite different.

29. *Presents* [to guests—*xenia*, in Lat. as in Gr.] *and gifts blind the eyes of the wise* [all but the first word is a quotation from LXX. Deut. xvi. 19]; *and,* **as a muzzle on the mouth, they turn away reproofs** [Bissell].

30, 31. These verses occur again in xli. 14, 15. They may have been common sayings; but their repetition in the one or the other place is probably due to a marginal reference.

that is hoarded.] Rather, **that is not seen,** or, **that does not appear.** In either case, to be of use they must be brought forth.

he.] Lit. **a man.**

32. This verse in A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXI.

The writer returns in *v.* 1 to xix. 13 *b*. But it is difficult to perceive any orderly arrangement in this chapter, which is even more loosely strung together than others. It was perhaps on this ground that the marginal heading (see xx. 27) "Parabolic" or "Proverbial sayings" was chosen. We can, however, mark the antithetic description of the sinner and the righteous, and, side by side with it, of the wise and the fool. The best arrangement seems to be that of grouping the chapter into triplets of verses (*v.* 28 forming a general conclusion), in which case a progression of thought may be marked.

1. Comp. xix. 13 *b*. "Thy former:" viz. sins or else doings. Lit. **entreat for thy former ones.**

2. "As from the face of" = as from before, מִפְּנֵי נָחָשׁ. The danger of sin is illustrated by three figures: the serpent in its stealthy

B. C. cir. 200.

of a serpent: for if thou comest too near it, it will bite thee; the teeth thereof are as the teeth of a lion, slaying the souls of men.

3 All iniquity is as a two edged sword, the wounds whereof cannot be healed.

4 To terrify and do wrong will waste riches; thus the house of proud men shall be made desolate.

[b] Exod. 3. 9. & 22. 23. Ps. 34. 6.

5 [b]A prayer out of a poor man's mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and his judgment cometh speedily.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [c]He that hateth to be reproved is in the way of sinners: but he that feareth the Lord will [‖]repent from his heart.

[c] Prov. 12. 1. & 15. 10.

[‖] Gr. *be converted.*

7 An eloquent man is known far and near; but a man of understanding knoweth when he slippeth.

8 [d]He that buildeth his house with other men's money is like one

[d] Jer. 22. 13.

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and unobserved approach; the lion with his destructive teeth; and the two-edged sword with its incurable wounds.

too near.] Rather, **near.**

slaying.] Perhaps a somewhat too strong expression.

souls.] Here in the sense of the Heb. נֶפֶשׁ, and not in that which in English commonly attaches to the word. The Syr. text is corrupt.

3. **Every transgression** (is) *as a two-edged sword:* **for the wound thereof there is not healing.**

4. Second triplet. **Terrifying and violence**—the one perhaps referring to words, the other to deeds, or else: violence and outrage.

so the house of the proud *shall be made desolate.*] "The proud" are the Heb. גְּאִים, in the O. T. sense of "proud," which implies ungodliness. In fact, the clause is a reproduction of Prov. xv. 25, although the LXX. there renders בֵּית גְּאִים by *οἴκους ὑβριστῶν.*

5. **The** *prayer* **of the poor** (reacheth) **from the mouth** [viz. of the petitioner] **to his ears** [viz. those of the proud].] The A. V. and some interpreters refer the "his" to God, and would have us translate: "The prayer out of the mouth of a poor man reacheth to His ears," viz. those of God. But, first, "out of the mouth of the poor" would have been *ἐκ στόματος πτωχοῦ*; secondly, prayers that reach not "to" but "into" the ears of God are in the LXX. not rendered by *ἕως*, which cannot mean "to" in the sense of "into," but "up to," the *loci terminus ad quem.* The LXX. in such cases uses *εἰς*, as in LXX. Ps. xvii. 7, *εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ*, or else the writer would have chosen such an expression as in Ps. xxxiv. 15 (LXX. Ps. xxxiii. 16), with which his thought would have been strictly parallel. Lastly, the *αὐτοῦ*, "his," of *v.* 5 most naturally refers to "the proud" mentioned in *v.* 4. So also Grotius, Fritzsche, and Bretschneider. Accordingly the judgment spoken of in the second clause of *v.* 5 must be regarded as that of "the proud," *unto* but not *into* whose ears the prayer of the poor reacheth. The most curious attempt at interpretation is that of the Aethiop.: "When the poor man asketh, he gapes as far as his ears." [Here and in other references to the Aethiop.: Margoliouth.]

6. *He that hateth* **reproof** (is) **in the track** [in the wake] **of the sinner.**] Which perhaps is not the same as "he walketh in the way of the sinner" = in a sinful way, but rather that he walks in the footsteps, the track, which sinners who also refuse reproof have left.

reproof.] *ἐλεγμός*, "expostulation," "moral argument." The first clause of the verse evidently refers back to xix. 13–17, and the second clause to xix. 20.

but he that feareth the Lord will repent [turneth] **in heart.**] The same verb is frequently used in the N. T. to indicate conversion.

7. Third triplet. **Known from afar is he that is mighty in tongue, and** [not "but"] **his slips** [or "errors"] **will not escape the man of understanding.**] Generally, the "mighty in tongue" is supposed to mean an eloquent man who is known from afar,—as Fritzsche explains, easily. But *μακρόθεν* is not used in that sense, nor is it easy to perceive either the meaning of an eloquent man being known from afar or the fitness of introducing him in that connection. As the whole triplet is condemnatory in its character, we regard the expression "mighty in tongue" as used in an ironical or rather an evil sense, and as referring to "the tongue that speaketh great things," Ps. xii. 4. In fact, "the mighty in tongue" are the same as those in Ps. xii. 5, "who say, With our tongues we will prevail"—the *δυνατὸς ἐν γλώσσῃ* is the מְגַבִּיר בְּלָשׁוֹן (this rather than the לְ of Ps. xii. 5—see Delitzsch *ad loc.*), גִּבּוֹר being in the LXX. commonly rendered by *δυνατός.*

8. The last words in the second clause are

B. C. cir. 200. that gathereth himself stones for the tomb of his burial.

[e] ch. 16. 6. 9 [e]The congregation of the wicked is like tow wrapped together: and the end of them is a flame of fire to destroy them.

10 The way of sinners is made plain with stones, but at the end thereof is the pit of hell.

[f] John 7. 17. 11 [f]He that keepeth the law of the Lord getteth the understanding thereof: and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 [g]He that is not [‖]wise will not be taught: [h]but there is a wisdom which multiplieth bitterness.

[g] Prov. x. 7. ‖ Or, *witty*.

13 The [‖]knowledge of a wise man shall abound like a flood: and his counsel is like a pure fountain of life.

[h] Eccles. x. 18. ‖ Or, *subtilty*.

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rendered in the A. V. according to Co., or rather 248, 106, which agree with the Syr. In this reading εἰς χῶμα is substituted for εἰς χειμῶνα, and the words ταφῆς αὐτοῦ ("of his burial") are added. But, according to the generally accepted reading, the second clause must be translated: **as one that gathereth his stones for** [unto] **winter.** To this it seems difficult, if not impossible, to attach any meaning. Fritzsche regards it as implying: like a fool that gathereth stones instead of wood for winter. The explanation is even more difficult than the illustration which it professes to explain. We would suggest that the Greek misread חֹרֶף, "winter," for חֹרֶב, "desolation," which was the word in the original. In that case the original would have been: "He that buildeth his house by goods [property] belonging to others is as he that gathereth his stones for desolation [for a ruin, for what is to be such]."

9. *The congregation of* **transgressors** (is as) *tow* **gathered** [heaped] *together.*] A word-play here between συνηγμένον, "gathered together," and συναγωγή, "the gathering," "congregation."

and **their end** *a flame of fire.*] The reference is probably to Is. i. 31. Omit the words "to destroy them."

10. Fourth triplet. *but.*] Rather, **and.**

hell.] Rather, **Hades.** The Syr. has: "The path of the wicked is a stumbling-block to him, because the end thereof is a deep ditch." Does the difference between the Greek "made plain with (by) stones" and the Syr. "stumbling-block" depend upon a different reading or misreading of the Hebrew—to which the Aethiop. seems to point by its rendering, "rough are the stones of the road of sinners"? Or did the Syr. alter what seemed a dangerous statement in the original?

11. Omit in first clause the words "of the Lord." Thus corrected, the A. V. expresses one mode of rendering or rather interpreting the first clause, in which case it would be parallel to St. John vii. 17. But, as Fritzsche rightly observes, the word ἐννόημα could scarcely be used of "understanding" of the Law. The word does not occur in the LXX., and (besides this passage) is only used by Theodotion in the plural for תַּחְבֻּלוֹת, "the evil counsels" (of the wicked), Prov. xii. 5. We prefer therefore another rendering of the clause, which seems not only more easy, but entirely agrees with the Syr.: **He that keepeth** (נוֹצֵר) **the Law getteth the mastery** [rule] **over his inclination** [intent, mind, disposition, שְׁלִיט בְּיִצְרוֹ, in the peculiar sense of יֵצֶר]. The next clause of the verse is so entirely Alexandrian that we prefer regarding the Syr. as representing the genuine Hebrew text. It reads: "and he that feareth the Lord shall not want anything," which is a reproduction of Ps. xxxiv. 9 (Heb. 10). In the Syriac Psalter this verse seems wanting, but the Syriac of Ecclus. xxi. 11 reproduces the wording of the Targum on Ps. xxxiv. 10.

12. *wise.*] Rather, **prudent.**

taught.] Here rather in the sense of moral teaching. The Alex. rightly inserts δέ, "but," at the beginning of the second clause. The Syr. wholly omits the verse; and if our conjecture be correct as to the Hellenistic alteration introduced in the Greek of *v.* 11 *b*, we can understand the motive for such a sentiment as *v.* 12, which seems an adaptation from xix. 22–25.

wisdom.] Rather, **prudence**; perhaps here in the sense of subtilty.

13. This verse begins another triplet—unless, indeed, we were to regard it as commencing with *v.* 14, the four lines of *v.* 15 being in that case two verses thrown together.

shall abound.] Rather, **will increase,** —swell, become more full.

counsel.] Probably, as generally in the LXX., עֵצָה (this rather than מַחְשָׁבָה)—in the wider sense of "counsel" = resolve, purpose.

pure fountain of life.] Omit the word "pure." Generally the expression "fountain of life" is supposed to be = "living waters," מַיִם חַיִּים, but it rather corresponds to מְקוֹר חַיִּים in Prov. xiii. 14, xiv. 27, to both of which

B. C. cir. 200.

14 [i]The inner parts of a fool are like a broken vessel, and he will hold no knowledge as long as he liveth.

[i] ch. 33, 5.

15 If a skilful man hear a wise word, he will commend it, and [k]add unto it: but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it behind his back.

[k] Prov. 9. 9.

16 The talking of a fool is like a burden in the way: but grace shall be found in the lips of the wise.

17 They enquire at the mouth of the wise man in the congregation, and they shall ponder his words in their heart.

B. C. cir. 200.

18 As is a house that is destroyed, so is wisdom to a fool: and the knowledge of the unwise is as talk ‖without sense.

‖ Or, *not to be enquired after.*

19 Doctrine unto fools is as fetters on the feet, and like manacles on the right hand.

20 [l]A fool lifteth up his voice

[l] ch. 19. 30.

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this verse is strictly parallel, and where the LXX. translates πηγὴ ζωῆς. It is, indeed, not impossible that πηγὴ ζωῆς may represent the Heb. מְקוֹר מַיִם חַיִּים, "fountain of living waters," not "fountain of life," since in one passage (Jer. xvii. 13) it is so rendered in the LXX.; but it is very improbable, considering that in three other passages מַיִם חַיִּים is not so translated (Cant. iv. 15; Jer. ii. 13; Zech. xiv. 8).

14. Omit "as long as he liveth," which, however, is supported by 106, 248, Co., and is in the Syr.

he will hold no knowledge.] As a vessel that is broken cannot hold what is put into it, so are the inner parts of a fool as regards knowledge — ἔγκατα, קֶרֶב: so in the LXX. rendering of Ps. xlix. (LXX., l.) 12; Ps. cviii. (LXX., cix.) 18. It is not quite = לֵב (comp. Ps. xxxix. 4; lv. 5), but rather designates the seat of feeling and thinking. For "broken vessel" the Syr. has "broken cistern," which is both more apt and more biblical.

15. We suspect that in the original *v.* 15 *a*, *b* and *c*, *d* formed two verses (see above, *vv.* 12, 13).

a skilful man.] Rather, **a man of understanding** [knowledge], in the wider biblical sense, including, and in a sense identifying, moral and intellectual knowledge, ἐπιστήμων (in the N. T. only in St. Jas. iii. 13—which should be marked as farther shewing the correspondence between St. Jas. and Ecclus.); the Heb. נָבוֹן (so, with only one exception, in the LXX.), and generally combined with "wise."

but as soon as one of no understanding heareth it.] Rather, **"he that liveth in pleasure** [is given to pleasure] **heareth it, and it displeaseth him."** Clauses *a* and *c*, *b* and *d* are strictly antithetic. Opposed to "a man of knowledge" is ὁ σπαταλῶν, "he that is given to pleasure." The word occurs again in 1 Tim. v. 6; St. Jas. v. 5, but it is not used in the LXX., where we have, however, the compound καταστπαταλάω in Prov. xxix. 21; Amos vi. 4. Whereas the man of understanding addeth to a wise word, the man who liveth for pleasure casteth it behind his back. For the latter expression, see 1 Kings xiv, 9; Ezek. xxiii. 35; Nehem. ix. 26.

16. This verse begins another triplet.

talking.] **Narrative** (talk, here perhaps: explanation).

in the way.] *I.e.*, while journeying—instead of lightening its difficulties and troubles, only increasing them.

grace.] Not in the commonly understood biblical sense, but in that of pleasantness; see the Syr., which also instead of "fool" has "the wicked," and "the pious" instead of "intelligent."

the wise.] Rather, **of him who is intelligent**—has understanding.

17. **The mouth of the prudent will be sought.**] Viz., his word or saying; comp. as to God Amos viii. 12. In the second clause we accept (as in the A. V.) the Alex. reading διανοηθήσονται instead of the Vat. διανοηθήσεται.

18. **As a house destroyed.**] Fritzsche explains: "as a house destroyed is not of any use, so is wisdom to a fool." The Syr. has: "as a prison." We believe that the Syr. read בֵּית מִשְׁמָר (comp. Gen. xlii. 19) and the Greek בַּיִת מִשְׁמָד. More puzzling is the Syr. rendering in the second clause. Here the Greek has: **as words that will not bear enquiry** (A. V., "as talk without sense"); while the Syr. renders, "like coals of fire."

19. Another triplet. **Fetters on the feet** (so is) **instruction to those without understanding.**] Alike hindering and unpleasant, as preventing them from freely walking in their own ways.

on the right hand.] Which is mostly engaged in action.

20. *with.*] Rather, **in.**

B. C. cir. 200.

with laughter; but a wise man doth scarce smile a little.

21 Learning is unto a wise man as an ornament of gold, and like a bracelet upon his right arm.

22 A foolish man's foot is soon in his [neighbour's] house: but a man of experience is ashamed of him.

23 A fool will peep in at the door into the house: but he that is well nurtured will stand without.

B. C. cir. 200.

24 It is the rudeness of a man to hearken at the door: but a wise man will be grieved with the disgrace.

25 The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain not unto them: but the words of such as have understanding are weighed in the balance.

26 The heart of fools is in their mouth: but the mouth of the wise is in their heart.

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a wise man.] Rather, **a prudent man.** Grotius quotes Seneca: "risus sit sine cachinno."

21. **Instruction is to a man of understanding.**] The verse is in antithesis to *v.* 19.

22. Another triplet. **The foot of a fool** (is) **quickly into a house.** We believe this to be the passage (hitherto not localised) which the Talmud has in view, when it quotes as from 'The Book of the Son of Sira': "Three I hate and four I do not love—a prince (leader) who goes about drinking-houses—some say, who is quarrelsome; some say, who is quick-tempered—a man who places his habitation in the high places of the city . . . [we omit the third], *and a man who enters the house of his neighbour suddenly*" (without knocking) (Nidd. 16 *b*; comp. Pes. 112 *a*).

but a man of experience **will feel shame before the face.**] So literally; and the question is whether we are to explain it as "the face of him," *i.e.* before him that is to be visited, or else as meaning "before the house." Fritzsche goes so far as to apply the expression πρόσωπον (face) to the inner walls of the antechamber, before which such a person is supposed to hesitate or feel reluctance (*bat Scheu*). The Syr. renders: "bends down the face." If we suppose the Greek text to be a correct rendering of the Hebrew, we should certainly explain it as meaning "the face *of him*" in the sense of being bashful when visiting a house. But may it not be that the Hebrew text was בֹּשֶׁשׁ לְפָנָיו, "hesitates before it," which was misunderstood and mistranslated as above?

23. *A* **silly person . . . but a man who is instructed** [cultured, educated; the German *gebildet*].] While a silly person in his curiosity tries to get a peep of what is going on, a well-bred person purposely stands far away. The Syr. has a strange and certainly inapt rendering.

24. *It is* **want of breeding** [rudeness] **. . . but he who is sensible** [intelligent, prudent] **will be weighed down** [burdened] *with the* **dishonour.**] Viz., of doing such a mean thing.

25. Last stanza. The literal rendering of the Greek (both Vat. and Alex.) would be: "Lips of strangers will be burdened in these things." But as this yields not any intelligible meaning, we conclude that the text is corrupt rather than that the original had been mistranslated. For, although a man might mistranslate, there must at least be some meaning in his words. But apparently in the whole clause, χείλη ἀλλοτρίων ἐν τούτοις βαρυνθήσεται, only the first word (χείλη, lips) really forms part of the verse. Bretschneider suggests that the word ἀλλοτρίων, "of strangers," belongs to the first clause of *v.* 24, which should read "to hearken at the door of strangers," while similarly the ἐν τούτοις belongs to the second clause of *v.* 24, which should read, "is weighed down by the disgrace in these things." Lastly, the word βαρυνθήσεται, "will be weighed down," or "burdened," seems only a copyist's repetition from the previous verse. In the absence of any reliable text little can be learned from the Syr., "The mouth of the wicked *talketh* against his body;" *i.e.* his talk is really against *himself*, to *his hurt and detriment*. In these circumstances we seem restricted to the Complutensian reading, or rather that of 248, which is adopted in the A. V., "The lips of talkers will be telling such things as pertain *not unto* them" = as are not theirs, which concern them not and with which they have not anything to do. Fritzsche conjectures that the Hebrew read: "The lips of the proud [where he supposes זָרִים to have been misread זָרִים] are burdened with cursing" (בְּאָלָה, which he supposes to have been misread בְּאָלָה). But, to waive other objections, this would not suit the context.

26. **In the mouth of fools is their heart,** *but the* **heart of the wise is their mouth.**] The Syr. is the same except that the preposition "in" is transferred from the first to the beginning of the second clause: "the

B. C. cir. 200.

27 When the ungodly curseth Satan, he curseth his own soul.

[m] ch. 28. 13.

28 [m]A whisperer defileth his own soul, and is hated wheresoever he dwelleth.

CHAPTER XXII.

1 *Of the slothful man,* 3, *and a foolish daughter.* 11 *Weep rather for fools, than for the dead.* 13 *Meddle not with them.* 16 *The wise man's heart will not shrink.* 20 *What will lose a friend.*

B. C. cir. 200.

A SLOTHFUL man is compared to a filthy stone, and every one will hiss him out to his disgrace.

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mouth . . . ., but in the heart . . . ." The first part of the verse does not require any comment. "To wear one's heart on one's sleeve" indicates shallowness alike of feeling and of intellect. The second clause Fritzsche regards as meaning that the wise have first well pondered in their hearts what they utter with their mouths. But the antithesis seems to suggest more than this, viz. that the wise are reticent as to their deepest feelings: they do not parade them before all and every one—their heart is their mouth.

27. This verse is of the greatest interest, alike as regards the theology of the writer and indirectly the age of this book. When the writer speaks of cursing Satan as seducing a man unto sin, he refers to the person of the Devil. But the allusion implies not only belief in the personality of Satan on the part of the older Siracide, but that this belief was so general that the writer could put its expression into the mouth of the wicked. And not only so, but by the side of it we find also the rationalistic corrective that what men called Satan was really their own evil inclination. This certainly accords with an exceptional Rabbinic view, which identifies Satan with the *Yetser ha-Ra*, the evil inclination (Babh. Bathr. 16 *a*). But, as just hinted, this was not the common view, according to which Satan was also regarded as inciting man to sin (comp. the App. on Satanology in 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' vol. ii. p. 757). We have therefore here alike evidence of a general belief in Satan and its rationalistic modification. On the other hand, we also mark here a development (this rather than a progression) in the Old Testament standpoint on this subject. Its various stages in the later books of the Old Testament may be indicated in the following order:—Job i. 6–12, ii. 1–7; Zech. iii. 1, 2; and lastly, 1 Chron. xxi. 1, with which comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. With these passages should be compared, on the other hand, the curious (later) Rabbinic comments (see 'Miqr. Gedol.,' *ad loc.*). Considering the developed Angelology in the Book of Daniel, it seems strange that no reference should be made in it to Satan. Indeed, the apparent generality of the belief as implied in Ecclus. seems incompatible with this silence in Daniel, if the authorship of the latter were posterior to that of Ecclesiasticus. In the later Apocrypha (Bar., Tob.) Demonology appears in a very developed and Judaic form. To Wisd. ii. 24 we do not refer, on account of the late composition of that book. The Syr. paraphrase for "Satan," "him that has not sinned against him," is both interesting and curious. In our view it implies not another Hebrew text, but the avoidance of its meaning by a paraphrase.

28. *wheresoever he dwelleth.*] Rather, **in the neighbourhood**, *i.e.* among his neighbours. The Syr. has: "The soul of the wise is grieved (oppressed, in anguish) on account of the fool, because he knoweth not what he should say unto him."

CHAPTER XXII.

This chapter is better connected than that which preceded. The subject seems still a warning against folly, in its various manifestations, specially as regards speech. In that respect the aspiration of the last verse forms an appropriate general conclusion. The first five verses refer to certain aspects of folly of conduct, especially as regards the young. From this the transition is natural to instruction, especially of the young, which is hopeless in cases where there is a certain disposition (five verses, *vv.* 6–12, as *vv.* 9, 10 must be omitted). This leads to the admonition to avoid all intercourse with such persons (three verses, but one of them a triplet, in six lines: *vv.* 13–15). Next, the steadfast purpose of a wise man is contrasted with that of the fool (three verses: *vv.* 16–18). Lastly, the difference is described between the speech and action of the fool in regard to others, with its sad consequences (four verses, the last of them double: *vv.* 19–22), and the speech and action of the wise in regard to others, with its happy results (four verses, the first of them double: *vv.* 23–26). The chapter closes with an aspiration after higher direction in this matter.

1. *is compared.*] *I.e.* is like.

a filthy stone.] The *lapis latrinarum.*

will hiss him out to his disgrace.] Rather, **will hiss over his dishonour.** Generally the clause is supposed to refer to the filthy stone which is looked upon as disgusting. And so the Syr., "every one runs away from

B. C. cir. 200.

2 A slothful man is compared to the filth of a dunghill: every man that takes it up will shake his hand.

3 An evil nurtured son is the dishonour of his father that begat him: and a [foolish] daughter is born to his loss.

[a] Prov. 13. 22. ‖ Or, *shall be the heir of her husband.*

4 [a]A wise daughter ‖shall bring an inheritance to her husband: but she that liveth dishonestly is her father's heaviness.

5 She that is bold dishonoureth both her father and her husband, but they both shall despise her.

6 A tale out of season [is as] music in mourning: but stripes and correction of wisdom are never out of time.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 Whoso teacheth a fool is as one that glueth a potsherd together, and as he that waketh one from a sound sleep.

8 He that telleth a tale to a fool speaketh to one in a slumber: when he hath told his tale, he will say, What is the matter?

9 If children live honestly, and have ‖wherewithal, they shall cover the baseness of their parents.

‖ Or, *an art.*

10 But children, being haughty,

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the smell of it." But it seems better to refer the clause to the idle man, over whom every one will hiss, יִשְׁרֹק עָלָיו, Job xxvii. 23, for which the Syr. may have read יִרְחַק, and then translated paraphrastically.

2. The *βόλβιτον κοπρίων*, "filth of a dunghill," is the LXX. rendering of גִּלֻּלֵי צֵאָה in Ezek. iv. 12 (comp. Ewald, § 255 *b*, p. 639).

shake.] For the purpose of cleansing. The Syr. paraphrases, at the same time retaining the last words of the original: "will shake his hand." This is instructive.

3. (*There is*) **shame to a father in the begetting of a son undisciplined, but a daughter** [viz. of this kind; Syr. "a woman"] **is born to loss.**] There is progression here: an undisciplined son is a source of shame to his father, but an undisciplined daughter is a source of actual loss—of the one he may be ashamed, the other will cause him damage and hurt.

4. *A* **prudent** [sensible, mentally well conditioned] *daughter shall* **obtain** *her husband* (or are we to follow the Latin: *hæreditas viro suo*, and to suppose a misunderstanding on the part of the Greek translator?).] Bretschneider: "*ἄνδρα αὐτῆς*, maritum sibi destinatum"—and thereby she will bring honour to her father.

but **a daughter that bringeth disgrace is unto grief to him** [the grief of him] **that begat her.**] "That bringeth disgrace," in the Heb. no doubt מְבִישָׁה, but not in the sense of "disgraceful," as in Prov. xii. 4, but as in Prov. x. 5, xiv. 35, xvii. 2, in that of putting to shame. In these three passages מֵבִישׁ always stands antithetically to מַשְׂכִּיל, "prudent." Probably the same antithetic expressions may have been used in the Heb. of our verse, although the LXX. render מֵבִישׁ in Prov. x. 5, xiv. 35, by *νοήμων*. The Syr. wholly omits this verse.

5. **The bold** [viz. daughter] **disgraceth father and husband, and by both will she be despised.**] The term "bold" (*ἡ θρασεῖα*) is used in the sense of noisy self-assertion and impudence, as in Prov. ix. 13, which seems parallel, and where the LXX. render *γυνὴ ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα*—whatever meaning we may attach to the Hebrew phrase אֵשֶׁת כְּסִילוּת. The Syr. has "father and mother," instead of "father and husband."

6. **Unseasonable speech.**] Referring to instruction or admonition addressed to the young, but at that particular moment not in season: good in itself, but just then unsuitable. The second clause literally translated would be, "(but) stripes and **discipline at all times** (are) **of wisdom**," which is sometimes explained as meaning that the application of these at all times is the part of wisdom. But it is not easy to find this in the Greek text. The Syr. has: "is wisdom at all times." There can be little doubt that this represents the original Hebrew, בְּכָל־עֵת חָכְמָה, which the Greek mistranslated *ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ σοφίας*.

7. *Whoso.*] Rather, **he that.** Omit "and" in second clause.

sound sleep.] Rather, **deep sleep.** The point of comparison is the uselessness of the attempt in each case.

8. *He that* **narrateth . . . narrateth** *to one* **that is nodding** [slumbering], *and* **upon the completion** *he will say: What* **is it?**] The simile of *v.* 7 leads to that about slumber which is not inapt. The Syr. has in the first clause instead of our Greek: "like a man that eateth bread when he is not hungry."

9, 10. These verses must be omitted.

B. C. cir. 200.

through disdain and want of nurture do stain the nobility of their kindred.

[b] ch. 38. 16.

11 [b]Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light: and weep for the fool, for he wanteth understanding: make little weeping for the dead, for he is at rest: but the life of the fool is worse than death.

[c] Gen. 50. 10.

12 [c]Seven days do men mourn for him that is dead; but for a fool and an ungodly man all the days of his life.

13 Talk not much with a fool, and

[d] ch. 12. 12.

go not to him that hath no understanding: [d]beware of him, lest thou have trouble, and thou shalt never be defiled ‖with his fooleries: depart from him, and thou shalt find rest, and never be ‖disquieted with madness.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *when he shakes off his filth.*

‖ Or, *wearied.*

14 What is heavier than lead? and what is the name thereof, but a fool?

[e] Prov. 27. 3.

15 [e]Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear, than a man without understanding.

16 As timber girt and bound together in a building cannot be loosed with shaking: so the heart that is stablished by advised counsel shall fear at no time.

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11. *Weep for the dead,* **for light has failed** [ceased, passed away] **. . . for understanding has failed . . .** *Weep* **softly** [Bissell] *for the dead, for he is at rest.*] The contrast is melancholy, as indicating absence of hope as regards an after-life. The Syr. modifies the last clause and adds: "for worse than death is an evil life."

12. *Seven days.*] The ordinary period of great mourning (Gen. l. 10; Judith xvi. 24). St. Augustine finds in the number seven for the period of mourning an allusion to the Sabbath of rest, indicative of this, that the dead were at sacred rest. The contrast is very forcible. While we mourn seven days for the pious who are at rest, the whole lifetime of the fool and the ungodly is a period of mourning.

13. Another stanza, in which progression from the former verses is clearly marked. Lit.: "With one void of intelligence do not multiply speech." The Syr. has "make not pleasant" for "multiply not." We are inclined to believe that the Heb. had אַל תְּשַׁפֵּר, and that the Greek took שָׁפַר in the sense of measuring — measuring words, — while the Syr. understood it in the more common use of the word. Or may there have been some confusion of the roots רבה and רצה? For the second clause the Syr. has: "and with a pig do not go in the way." Possibly the original had חֲזִיר, "a pig," and the Greek translator, regarding this as below the dignity of the argument, may have altered it in common Rabbinic manner of commentation, as follows: Read not חֲזִיר, a pig, but חָסֵר, wanting = חֲסַר־לֵב, wanting in understanding. The third clause seems to support the Greek rendering, but the fourth accords rather with the Syr. On the other hand, the simile of the pig is not only un-Jewish, but seems abruptly introduced. Clause *d* should be translated: **and thou shalt not be defiled by that which he throws out.** This, whether we understand it realistically, as of saliva or the like, or figuratively, seems a not inapt paraphrase of ἐν τῷ ἐντινάγμῷ αὐτοῦ.

The last two clauses of *v.* 13 read: **Turn away** *from him, and thou shalt find rest,* **and not be overwhelmed by his senselessness.** "Overwhelmed" with the additional idea of fainting or being weary in consequence, corresponding to the Hebrew עָטַף, for which it is used in LXX. Ps. lx. (Heb. lxi.) 2; ci. (Heb. cii.) 1; cxlii. (Heb. cxliii.) 4.

14. The Syr.: "for he is much heavier than lead;" the Greek and the Syr. rendering the מה differently.

15. Syr.: "than to dwell with a foolish man."

16. This verse begins a new stanza.

A tie-beam [comp. Hab. ii. 11: "cross-beam out of the wood"] **bound into** *a building* **will not be loosed in a storm.**] Lit. "commotion," like its Hebrew original סַעַר and סְעָרָה (or rather in that instance סַעֲרָה), for which it stands in LXX. Jer. xxiii. 19; 4 (2) Kings ii. 1. In one passage (LXX. 3 Kings xix. 11) it stands indeed for רַעַשׁ, "earthquake," but that word also bears the general meaning of "quaking." In any case, the rendering "storm-wind" suits the context far better than "earthquake."

so the heart stablished **on** *advised* [considered] **thought** [purpose] *shall* **not be afraid at the time.**] At the proper time —בְּעֵת, at the right time, that which is to be looked for — when thought must pass into action and dangers threaten around (as the hurricane that falls upon a house), he who is as here described shall not give way through fear nor even be perturbed.

B. C. cir. 200.

17 A heart settled upon a thought of understanding is as a fair plaistering ‖on the wall of a gallery.

‖ Or, *of a polished wall.*

18 Pales set on an high place will never stand against the wind: so a fearful heart in the imagination of a fool cannot stand against any fear.

19 He that pricketh the eye will make tears to fall: and he that pricketh the heart maketh it to shew her knowledge.

20 Whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away: and he that *f* upbraideth his friend breaketh friendship.

f ch. 41. 22.

21 Though thou drewest a sword at thy friend, yet despair not: for there may be a returning [to favour.]

22 If thou hast opened thy mouth against thy friend, fear not; for there may be a reconciliation: except for upbraiding, or pride, or *g* disclosing of secrets, or a treacherous wound: for for these things every friend will depart.

B. C. cir. 200.

g ch. 27. 17. & 41. 23.

23 Be faithful to thy neighbour in his poverty, that thou mayest rejoice in his prosperity: abide stedfast unto him in the time of his trouble, that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage: for a mean estate is not always to be contemned: nor the rich that is foolish to be had in admiration.

24 As the vapour and smoke of a furnace goeth before the fire; so reviling before blood.

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advised **thought.**] Considered purpose, *διανόημα βουλῆς*: the former word corresponds to מַחְשֶׁבֶת, the latter to עֵצָה.

17. *A heart settled upon a* **prudent** [an intelligent] **purpose is like the plastered adornment of a smoothed wall.**] As we understand it, the reference is to a wall built of rough stones, but which becomes smooth and polished by being plastered—having the "plastered adornment." According to Grotius, Fritzsche, and others, the point of comparison lies in this, that the plaster does not fall off, but remains firm even in earthquake, storm, and rain. But such would certainly not be the case in an earthquake, while storm and rain could scarcely in any case affect the inside of a house. In our view the comparison lies in this: that as in a house of strong stones the "plastered adornment" gives firmness, beauty, and completion to what is now a polished wall, so the prudent purpose of a wise heart.

18. *Pales set on a high place* [rather, according to the Alex. reading: **small stones laid on a high place**] . . . *so a fearful heart* **upon** [*i.e.* caused by, the outcome of] **the purpose of** *a fool* **shall** *not stand against any* **alarm.**] For *χάρακες*, "pales" (palisades?), the Alex. reads *χάλικες*, "little stones," possibly in the sense of a heap of loose little stones. This reading is confirmed by the Syr., which has: "a pebble upon the top of a lofty stone."

19. Another stanza. *He that* **presseth** [hurteth] *the eye* [lit. pricketh, in the general sense of touching to hurt] . . . *and he that* **hurteth** *the heart* [the same verb as before] **causeth feeling** (viz. of pain?) **to appear** [brings it to light].] The point of the comparison lies in the making visible, bringing out the inward sensation or feeling. When you rub the eye, the visible effect is tears; if you similarly hurt the heart of another, the pain which you give will make itself outwardly apparent. This is further developed and illustrated in *v.* 20, where the "upbraiding" in clause *b* (*ὀνειδίζειν*) is, as it were, morally casting stones at a friend.

21. Omit "to favour."

22. *If.*] Rather, **though.** All direct and open attacks, whether by word or deed, are not necessarily offences which make a breach hopeless—there may be "return" or "reconciliation"—but the mean conduct mentioned in *v.* 22 *c* will for ever alienate a friend. Omit the word "for" in the last clause.

23. Last stanza. **Win trust with the** [thy] *neighbour in* (his) *poverty.*] Gain his confidence by the way in which thou actest towards him while he is poor. The Syr. paraphrases, although in the spirit of the sentence: "support thy companion in his poverty."

that thou mayest be heir with him in his heritage.] Probably rather, **that thou mayest have part with him in his possession,** *i.e.* when he attains to it. The rest of the verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

24. **Before a fire smoke of the furnace and vapour . . .** *so reviling before blood.*] Rather, "before **bloodshed**"—*αἵματα* bearing the same meaning as the Heb. דָּמִים. Bretschneider would place *v.* 24

B. C. cir. 200.

25 I will not be ashamed to defend a friend; neither will I hide myself from him.

26 And if any evil happen unto me by him, every one that heareth it will beware of him.

[h] Ps. 141. 3.

27 [h]Who shall set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly by them, and that my tongue destroy me not?

CHAPTER XXIII.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *A prayer for grace to flee sin.* 9 *We may not use swearing:* 14 *but remember our parents.* 16 *Of three sorts of sin.* 34 *The adulterous wife sinneth many ways.*

O LORD, Father and Governor of all my whole life, leave me not to their counsels, and let me not fall by them.

2 Who will set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom

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before *v.* 23. But *v.* 24 aptly precedes *v.* 25, if its meaning be: If bloodshed come, I will not be ashamed nor hesitate to protect a friend.

25. The Syr. paraphrases: "If thy friend become impoverished, put him not to shame."

26. The Syr. has instead of this: "If thy companion reveal to thee a secret, disclose it not, lest every one that heareth it beware of thee, and regard thee as an evil-doer." The Greek text expresses a sentiment by no means elevated, and which considerably detracts from the moral value of *v.* 25. The meaning seems to be: If harm comes, the blame will be imputed to the other who allows his friend to suffer for his sake; and thus he, not I, shall suffer in public esteem. Probably, however, the Syr. expresses what was the sentiment of the original.

27. Bretschneider and Fritzsche would connect this verse with the following chapter. But we have repeatedly observed that the close of one chapter prepares for the subject of the following, and in fact forms the connecting link with it.

Who shall set.] Rather, **Oh that one would set,** the Greek being only a literal rendering of a common Hebrew idiom (Ewald, § 329 *c*). As the verse is evidently formed upon Ps. cxli. 3, we may conjecture the Hebrew to have been מִי יִתֵּן or מִי יָשִׁית שְׁמָרָה לְפִי (or point שָׁמְרָה).

a seal of wisdom.] Rather, **of prudence**—this for the elegant Hebrew in the corresponding clause of the Psalm.

that I fall not suddenly by them.] Rather, **that I fall not from it,** viz. the watch or guard upon his mouth: for that purpose he asks for the additional security of a seal on his lips. Generally it is translated "that I fall not by it" (ἵνα μὴ πέσω ἀπ' αὐτῆς), and the reference is supposed to be to the γλῶσσα, "tongue," in the last clause. But it is difficult to understand how the ἀπ' αὐτῆς can refer not to what precedes, but to what follows in the next clause.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The chapter opens (see xxii. 27) with a prayer against sins of the tongue, of the eyes, and of the flesh (*vv.* 1–6; *v.* 5 in the A. V. must be omitted). Then follows what is appropriately entitled in the LXX. text as "Discipline of the mouth" (*vv.* 7–15). Here, after a general introduction (*vv.* 7, 8), we have a warning against profane language (*vv.* 9–11), against loose language (*vv.* 12, 13), and against disrespectful language (*vv.* 14, 15). What may be called Part II. consists of two stanzas, each of six verses (*vv.* 16–21; *vv.* 22–27), respectively directed against male and female offenders against purity.

1. *O Lord, Father and* **Ruler of my life,** *leave me not to their* **counsel** [to what they suggest], **suffer me not,** *&c.* (Bissell).] The reference must be to "the lips" in ch. xxii. 27, since the "their" and "they" can scarcely be referred to the "adversaries" of *v.* 3.

2. Oh that one would put rods [chastisements] *upon my* **thinking** [purposing, διανόημα, מַחֲשָׁבָה; in the singular only used in Ecclus., not in the LXX. nor in the N. T.] *and the discipline of wisdom* **upon** *my heart* [either wise discipline or that which leadeth to wisdom: probably the former]; **in order that they** [viz. the stripes] **may not spare my mistakes** ["spare" in the sense of "be indulgent to," "not punish;" "mistakes," מְשִׁגָּה, both in the Heb. and in the LXX. only used in Gen. xliii. 12, but in our verse used in the plural], *and* **that it** [viz. the discipline of wisdom] **may not** *pass by* **their transgressions**]—viz. when the "mistake" or משגה leads on to actual transgression. Or else, if we follow the Latin and derive παρῇ not from παρίημι (I pass by) but from πάρειμι (I am present, I arrive), we shall have to translate: "and that their transgressions (those which are the outcome of our mistakes) may not appear," or "come out." The ultimate meaning is nearly the same in both cases. The text is so complicated that it gave rise to early attempts at

B. C. cir. 200.

over mine heart? that they spare me not for mine ignorances, and it pass not by my sins:

3 Lest mine ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction, and I fall before mine adversaries, and mine enemy rejoice over me, whose hope is far from thy mercy.

4 O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy servants always

‖ Or, *a giant-like.* ‖ a haughty mind.

5 Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and thou shalt hold him up that is desirous always to serve thee.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 Let not the greediness of the belly nor lust of the flesh take hold of me; and give not over me thy servant into an impudent mind.

7 Hear, O ye children, the discipline of the mouth: he that keepeth it shall never be taken in his lips.

8 The sinner shall be left in his foolishness: both the evil speaker and the proud shall fall thereby.

9 [a] Accustom not thy mouth to swearing; neither use thyself to the naming of the Holy One.

[a] Exod. ao. 7. ch. 27. 14. Matt. 5. 33, 34.

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emendation. The most noteworthy of these is the omission of the μή, "not," from clause *c*, and the change of the verb from the plural to the singular. Thus the clause would read: "that he (viz. the Lord) would spare my errors"—the Syr.: "that the Lord would spare (not punish) my guilt." But the Syr. adds so much in the sequel that we must put it aside as a wide and not very apt paraphrase. Fritzsche not only corrects the number in clause *c* ("that he may not spare my follies"), but alters in clause *d* "their" into "my" ("that he may not let pass—*durchliesse!*—my sins"). This certainly is to cut the knot.

3. Omit from A. V. "to my destruction;" also the last clause, "whose hope," &c.

4. Sins and mistakes, the outcome of the heart, naturally lead to thoughts of the class mentioned in *vv.* 4–6.

a proud look.] Rather, **lascivious** (or lustful) **eyes**; comp. xxvi. 9: literally, "lifting up of eyes." This would correspond to the Hebrew usage of נְשָׂא עֵינַיִם, as in Gen. xxxix. 7. But in the LXX. the latter passage is rendered, *ἐπέβαλεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς*. Moreover the word used in our verse for "uplifting of eyes" (*μετεωρισμὸς ὀφθαλμῶν*) occurs either as a substantive or a verb, or in some derivative form, not less than twenty times in the LXX., but always in the sense of "high," or when connected with "eyes" for "proud;" so in LXX. Ps. cxxx. (cxxxi.) 1 and in Is. v. 15. Can there have been some misunderstanding, such as that עֵינֵי מִרְמוֹת, "eyes of deceit," was misread עֵינַיִם רְמוֹת, "proud eyes,"—there being in the MS. neither vowel-points nor final letters, nor yet the separation of words? In that case a similar misreading would also have to be assumed in xxvi. 9. In the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira' we read: "Woe to him who walketh after his eyes, and he knoweth that they are children of whoredom, and he has nothing from them,"—in the sense of not gaining anything by them (comp. in Jer. Ber. 3 *c* and in several Midrashim: "The heart and the eyes are the intermediaries of sin"). [On the figurative expression "whoredom of the face" for a bold and shameless look, comp. Hos. ii. 4 in the A. V. and R. V. ii. 2. Comp. also Prov. vii. 13; Jer. iii. 3.]

but turn away, &c.] Instead of this clause in the A. V. (which follows 248, Co.) read: **and turn away lust from me.** There is not, as some have supposed, anything in this prayer inconsistent with the fullest recognition of personal self-determination.

5. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

6. The somewhat realistic rendering of the A. V. had best be left. Omit from the A. V. "thy servant," and render: "and give **me** not over to a **shameless** mind."

7. This verse begins a new stanza. In the text of the LXX. we have here the inscription: "Discipline of the mouth"—originally, probably, a marginal note. In the second clause translate: "shall never be **caught**." For "caught" the Syr. has "exposed to infamy." The words following, "in his lips," or rather **through his lips**, must be joined to *v.* 8 *a*. So in the Alex. and in the Syr.

8. **Through his lips shall** *the sinner be* **taken** [we would read *καταληφθήσεται*, supported by 157]: *both the* **railer** *and the proud shall* **be made to stumble by them.**

9. St. James v. 12 seems different in spirit from this warning, which is rather against the habit of lightly swearing, as leading to profanity and profanation. "The naming of the Holy One" may refer to the invocation

B. C. cir. 200.

10 For as a servant that is continually beaten shall not be without a blue mark: so he that sweareth and nameth God continually shall not be faultless.

11 A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague shall never depart from his house: if he shall offend, his sin shall be upon him: and if he acknowledge not his sin, he maketh a double offence: and if he swear in vain, he shall not be ‖innocent, but his house shall be full of calamities.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Gr. *justified.*

12 [b] There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant that it be not found in the heritage of Jacob; for all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins.

[b] Lev. 24. 15, 16.

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of the name *Jahveh* in an oath. The uttering of that name was not prohibited at that time. "The Holy One:" a common mode of expression for God—the formula in later Hebrew being הקב"ה (הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא): "The Holy One, blessed be He." The Syr. seems to have thought such a light use of the Holy Name impossible, and hence applies the passage to judicial investigations. It renders the second clause: "and be not sitting among judges" [or may the words have here slipped in from *v.* 14*b*?]. The Syr. accordingly continues in *v.* 10: "For every son of man who swears much (often) will not be free from stripes [shall not be without incurring, or deserving, the punishment of scourging]: similarly he who lyingly swears shall not be free from guilt." In this latter distinction the Syr. had perhaps in view the Rabbinic idea of the punishment "by the hand of God," or by "cutting off."

10. This verse seems rather to confirm the impression given by the Syr. (see above), that in the original the reference was to forensic swearing, and in that case the Syr. helps us to understand the otherwise difficult comparison in the Greek text.

For as a **domestic slave** *that is continually* **being examined** *shall not* **be lacking in weals** [he will bear the bodily marks of such investigation, which was by scourging], *so he that sweareth and taketh* **the Name** (viz. of God) **at all times shall not be clean from sin.**] Here in the sense of being free from guilt. As he lightly or lyingly resorts constantly to swearing, the invisible Hand lays on him the spiritual scourge, the weals and bruises of which are the defilement of sin, the guilt which he contracts.

11. The figure is continued and developed.

iniquity.] Rather, **unrighteousness.**

the plague.] Perhaps better, **stroke,** referring to the stroke of God. In the LXX. it is used for נֶגַע in LXX. Ps. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 11; lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 33; xc. (xci.) 10; and repeatedly in the N. T. in the general sense of a Divine stroke.

if he shall offend, &c.] Rather, "if **he offend** [transgress], his sin (is) upon him." The first two clauses having laid down the general principle, its application is shewn in three possible cases. The first is that of swearing and not doing: this involves sin. The second is: and if he neglect, overlook—this meaning being established by the use of the word in Ecclus. (ii. 10; xxxv. 17 [in the Greek MSS. except in 248, ch. xxxii. 14]; and especially in xxxviii. 16)—that is, if he simply treat his oath as nothing, then "**he sinned twofold**"—once by breaking his oath, the other time by treating an oath as if it were nothing. The third case contemplated is not that of an oath which is broken, nor of an oath which is treated as if it were nothing, but of one which is needlessly taken: "and if he swear in vain" (without cause, חִנָּם, for which it stands four times in the LXX.: once for לָרִיק, Lev. xxvi. 16; once for רֵיקָם, Ps. xxiv. (Heb. xxv.) 3; and only once, in Ps. xxx. (Heb. xxxi.) 7, for לַשָּׁוְא)—in such a case "he shall not be **absolved,**" not be pronounced innocent, without guilt, not be so treated—lit. he shall not be justified. The expression in that sense is common in Hebrew. The Syr. paraphrases and alters, as it seems to us, purposely.

12. From swearing the writer passes to lewd speaking. Generally the verse is regarded as referring to blasphemy, but this does not accord with the third and especially not with the fourth clause. On the other hand, the reference to lewd speaking is borne out by *v.* 13. Such speech was only too common among the surrounding heathen nations, but happily not "in the heritage of Jacob."

There is a **way of speaking** [a speech] *which* **over against it is surrounded by** *death.*] The consequence of which is death on every side, ἀντιπεριβεβλημένη. The reading ἀντιπαραβεβλημένη, "the counterpart of which is death," is very attractive, but not necessary, and would only suit the context if the reference were to blasphemy.

God grant that.] Rather, **may it not be**

B. C. cir. 200.

13 Use not thy mouth to intemperate swearing, for therein is the word of sin.

14 Remember thy father and thy mother, when thou sittest among great men. Be not forgetful before them, and so thou by thy custom become a fool, and wish that thou hadst not been born, and [c] curse the day of thy nativity.

[c] Job 3. 1, &c.

15 [d] The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life.

[d] 2 Sam. 16. 7.

B. C. cir. 200.

16 Two sorts of men multiply sin, and the third will bring wrath: a hot mind is as a burning fire, it will never be quenched till it be consumed: a fornicator in the body of his flesh will never cease till he hath kindled a fire.

17 [e] All bread is sweet to a whoremonger, he will not leave off till he die.

[e] Prov. 9. 17.

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found. For "shall" in the next two clauses, rather "will." Omit "their" before "sins."

13. To filthy [lewd] **coarseness accustom not thy mouth.**] Indulge not in that species of coarseness which consists in filthy talk. The last clause literally rendered would be: "for therein is word of sin," or perhaps "speech of sin." But this seems so inapt that we suppose the Hebrew דָּבָר, literally "a word," to have been here as frequently used in the sense of "matter of," as in עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, or דְּבַר רָע (which, however, rather means something noxious) or דְּבַר רַע, or as the Rabbis have it: דְּבַר שֶׁל קְלוֹן. Accordingly, we would translate: "**for therein is matter of sin.**" [It has been suggested that the λόγος ἁμαρτίας here may throw light on the difficult expression *ratio peccati* ("the nature of sin") in Article ix.: "Of original or birth-sin."] The Syr. once more gives something different—as we believe, of purpose.

14. The admonition in regard to the tongue is now applied in a different direction. Fritzsche supposes the writer to be still referring to the same subject as in *v.* 13. He proposes to alter the "for (γάρ) thou sittest" into "when thou sittest" (as in the A. V.), and explains: Let consideration for thy parents, as those who have educated thee, act as a deterrent against coarse speech, lest thou bring them to shame. But irrespective of the arbitrariness involved in this explanation, it is difficult to see how indulgence in coarse speech could lead a person to wish he had not been born (clause 5). Lastly, *v.* 15 forbids any reference of *v.* 14 to lewd speech. Bretschneider cuts the knot by regarding *v.* 14 as spurious, while Grotius proposes a number of alterations too arbitrary for serious consideration. In our view the author here refers to another class of sins of the tongue—those in breach of the fifth commandment. It is the latter which he has in view. "Remember thy father and thy mother, for thou sittest **in the midst of great ones, that thou be not** forgetful before them (see Winer, § 56, 2), **and by thy custom** [viz. with them, thy habituation, here = familiarity] **thou behave foolishly**"—when the consequences mentioned in the last two clauses would ensue, as threatened on breach of the fifth commandment. For ἐθισμός, "custom," see LXX. Gen. xxxi. 35 (הֶרֶךְ) and 3 Kings xviii. 28 (מִשְׁפָּט).

15. A man *who is accustomed* [who accustoms himself] *to* **words of reproach** [viz. towards his parents, or else words of shame, viz. in regard to them—either גִּדּוּפִים, as in LXX. Is. xliii. 28, or חֶרְפָּה] **will not become instructed** [in the high moral sense—trained, educated—and in this, its true meaning, *gebildet*] **in all his days.**] The Syr. paraphrases—again intentionally—*vv.* 14, 15 (the former rather according to our interpretation of it), and adds a clause at the end of *v.* 15 which raises the suspicion of a desire to obscure what was the real subject referred to in the original.

16. From words the author turns to deeds. The meaning is sufficiently brought out in the A. V. "Two sorts"—"of men" is understood, not expressed in the text. The two sorts of men referred to are: **A soul, hot as** burning fire (so better than in the A. V.); and, secondly, the man guilty of the sin "in the body of his flesh," of whom it is said: **he will never cease till he have kindled fire** (so, more correctly). Fritzsche understands the ἐν σώματι σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ just referred to of the שְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ of Lev. xviii. 6; xxv. 49: but this is quite differently rendered in the LXX., nor could such a sin have been ranked as less than the third class, described in *v.* 18, which is characterised as bringing down wrath (*v.* 16 *b*). The Syr. omits the first of the triad.

17. This verse is a parenthetic sentence referring to and explaining *v.* 16, and also preparing for the enormity of *v.* 18.

All bread.] Every kind of bread; "bread," a euphemism, for which the parallel in Prov. ix. 17 is doubtful (Prov. xx. 17 does

B. C. cir. 200.

18 A man that breaketh wedlock, saying thus in his heart, [f] Who seeth me? I am compassed about with darkness, the walls cover me, and no body seeth me; what need I to fear? the most High will not remember my sins:

[f] Job 24. 15. Ps. 10. 11. Isai. 29. 15.

19 Such a man only feareth the eyes of men, and knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are ten thousand times brighter than the sun, [g] beholding all the ways of men, and considering the most secret parts.

[g] ch. 15. 19.

20 He knew all things ere ever they were created; [h] so also after they were perfected he looked upon them all.

[h] Gen. 1. 31.

21 [i] This man shall be punished in the streets of the city, and where he suspecteth not he shall be taken.

[i] Lev. 20. 10. Deut. 22. 22.

22 Thus shall it go also with the wife that leaveth her husband, and bringeth in an heir by ‖ another.

‖ Or, *a stranger.*

B. C. cir. 200.

23 For first, she hath disobeyed the [k] law of the most High: and secondly, she hath trespassed against her own husband; and thirdly, she hath played the whore in adultery, and brought children by another man.

[k] Exod. 20. 14.

24 She shall be brought out into the congregation, and ‖ inquisition shall be made of her children.

‖ Or, *visitation.*

25 Her [l] children shall not take root, and her branches shall bring forth no fruit.

[l] Wisd. 4. 3.

26 She shall leave her memory to be cursed, and her reproach shall not be blotted out.

27 And they that remain shall know that there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and that there is nothing sweeter than to take heed unto the commandments of the Lord.

28 It is great glory to follow the

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not refer to this). Prov. xxx. 20 is more parallel, and Ecclus. xxiii. 18 seems to have this verse in view. But the euphemism was adopted in later Hebrew parlance (as פַּת, "bread"), and is very coarsely carried into detail in Shabb. 62 *b*, last line.

19. The language is abrupt, but all the more striking.

And the eyes of men are his fear.] *I.e.* the object of his fear. It is difficult to reproduce the last clause. Perhaps this gives it most nearly: **and fully looking into** [perceiving] **the secret places** (lit., "parts"). This verse and that which follows are a very apt digression, which enhances the force of the admonition implied in the previous verses.

20. **Before all things were** [the All was] **created they were known to Him, and so also after they were completed.**] This is a bold Alexandrianism, for which the Syr. has what we believe correctly represents the original: "For before things are they are open before Him, nay and after the consummation of the world He judgeth it."

21. The writer returns to the subject in hand, and shews that although the adulterer may imagine that he can withdraw himself from the sight of God, yet He will bring his sin to light and punish it publicly by the hand of man.

22. From the male sinner the writer turns to the adulteress: **Similarly also the wife.** On the form παριστῶσα, see Winer, p. 72.

23. Instead of "her own husband," the Syr. has "the husband of her virginity." It has also only one verb, instead of the Greek: "she hath disobeyed . . . she hath trespassed." Probably the original had only the expressive בִּגְדָה, which would equally apply to her sin before God and towards man.

24. In the first clause the Syr. has: "she shall be driven from the congregation." The Greek seems to contemplate the public inquisition into her crime, which appears more likely to be correct than the excommunication indicated by the Syr., or the Syr. may have had Deut. xxii. 21 in view. In the second clause it is added that the consequences of her sin shall be felt by her children, **and upon her children shall be visitation,** —probably יִפָּקֵד עֲוֹנָהּ. Syr.: "and upon her children shall her sins be remembered."

27. The Syr.: "and all the inhabitants of the earth shall know, and all that are left in the world shall understand." It seems scarcely likely that these two clauses were in the original. Was the first clause original, and was the second taken from a comparison with the Greek translation? [See the *General* Introduction, § VIII.] Or are we to regard it as a Christian addition or rather amplification?

B. C. cir. 200. Lord, and to be received of him is long life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1 *Wisdom doth praise herself, shew her beginning,* 4 *her dwelling,* 13 *her glory,* 17 *her fruit,* 26 *her increase and perfection.*

B. C. cir. 200. WISDOM shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people.

The praise of Wisdom. 2 In the congregation of the most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power.

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28. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Once more the closing lines of the preceding chapter form a transition to this, which is aptly headed in the LXX., "Praise of Wisdom." The beauty of this chapter has been generally acknowledged. Accordingly it has not only been separately translated into German (see the literature in Fritzsche, p. 124), but also repeatedly into Hebrew. Here we have to mention first the Hebrew translation by Lowth (in 'De sacra poesi Hebr. prælectiones,' ed. Oxon), reprinted by Fritzsche in his 'Comment. on Ecclus.' ('Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. ü. d. Apokr.,' v., pp. 134–136), and furnished by him with Notes marking the alterations made by him in his own independent translation. While fully recognising the merits of this version, it must be admitted that it leaves not a little to be desired. Next, although not in the order of time, we have the version of Isaac Seckel Fränkel in his Hebrew translation of the Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1830). This elegant rendering is not open to some of the objections which have been made to that of Lowth. But it is far inferior in beauty of classical Hebrew to that of Ben Seebh (see General Introd.). The latter, however, follows to a great extent the Syriac, and often deviates from the Greek text. Passing from this to the subject-matter of the chapter, its general arrangement seems as follows. After an introduction in two verses, in which Wisdom places herself, as it were, in the midst of Israel, follow three stanzas in praise of Wisdom, each consisting of five verses. Stanza I. (*vv.* 3–7) presents Wisdom before Israel's history commenced; Stanza II. describes Wisdom as having taken root in the midst of Israel (*vv.* 8–12); Stanza III. sets forth the glory and beauty of the tree thus planted (*vv.* 13–17; *v.* 18 must be omitted). These three stanzas are followed, in a fourth stanza (of four verses, 19–22), by an admonition to accept that Wisdom. This stanza seems to form a transition to what we regard as the underlying thought in the rest of the chapter (two stanzas: 6 + 5 verses). Their purport may, for want of better terms, be described as prophetic and missionary—not in any controversial sense, nor even as directly referring or addressing itself to the heathen world, but as embodying the thought and hope that the river of Wisdom, swelling in the fulness of its waters, shall yet become a sea; that her morning light shall spread to the utmost bounds of earth, and that her teaching as prophecy shall sound in the ears of all and to all generations (*vv.* 30–34). The Syriac translation leaves no doubt that the chapter formed part of the original work of Sirach. Thus viewed, the chapter is of the greatest importance, as illustrating not only the religious views of the writer but, by implication, also the date of the composition of his book and the religious history of that period. For we mark a decided advance upon Prov. viii. That chapter itself is characteristic of the *Chokhmah*-literature of Israel, but of its biblical period, although of a late stage in it. But Ecclus. xxiv. goes much beyond it in the direction of admitting the influence of Grecian thought, and indicating a benignant attitude towards the world outside the bounds of Israel. The former appears even from the manner in which Wisdom is described; the latter, from the thoughts and hopes expressed of the ultimate universal prevalence and acceptance of Israel's Divine Wisdom in the happy future in prospect. Eichhorn regards this chapter as beginning the Second Part of Ecclesiasticus (to xlii. 14); Fritzsche, as opening Section III.

1. The meaning would probably be more accurately thus represented: "Let Wisdom praise herself, and in the midst of her people let her glory." The writer, as it were, calls upon Wisdom to open her mouth and to set forth her excellency before the whole people. The future tense is to be understood in this jussive sense. From *v.* 3 onwards Wisdom is introduced as responding to this call.

her people.] The Syr. has "the people of God." This, no doubt correctly. It also has "she will be honoured" instead of "let her glory."

2. *In the congregation of the Most High* [probably בְּעֵדַת אֵל, as in the Syr.] **let her** *open her mouth, and* **let her glory** [*i.e.* set forth her glory] *before His* **Might** [*i.e.* before God].] The most divergent opinions prevail as to the meaning of the expression "before His Might" (ἔναντι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ). Lowth renders לִפְנֵי חֵילוֹ, "before His host," pre-

B. C. cir. 200.

3 I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a ‖ cloud.

‖ Or, *a mist.*

4 [a] I dwelt in high places, and [b] my throne is in a cloudy pillar.

[a] Job 22. 14.

[b] Ps. 104. 3.

5 I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation, I got a possession.

7 With all these I sought rest:

sumably Israel; Fritzsche, לִפְנֵי עֻזּוֹ, "before His Might"; Fränkel, עֻזּוֹ. We believe that the original was לִפְנֵי הַגְּבוּרָה; literally, "before the Might," but a very common mode of expression in later Hebrew for "before God." Perhaps, however, the Hebrew may have been לפני גבורתו.

3. Wisdom responds to the appeal: "I came **forth from** the mouth of the Most High." This is the earliest identification of Wisdom with the λόγος, but as yet only as God manifesting, not as having manifested, Himself: hence not yet "the Word."

cloud.] The dark and misty cloud. The λόγος as the creative (or rather the formative) agency is brooding over the face of the dark chaotic deep. What in Gen. i. 2 is said of "the Spirit of God" is here attributed to Wisdom, with this additional difference, that this emanation of Wisdom from God as He is manifesting Himself is represented as immediately preceding that orderly arrangement of the world in which Wisdom is the agent. The older Church writers regarded this personification of Wisdom as the Christ. But the vital difference of thought in Ecclus. is apparent from the following verses (see especially *v.* 9). We find here, not the beginnings of Christianity, but of Alexandrianism; and the personification (?) or rather distinction of Wisdom as God manifesting Himself points forward to Philo, not to the Gospels.

4. *I dwelt in* **the heights,** *and my throne* (is, was?) **on the pillar of cloud.**] We cannot see in this any reference to the cloudy pillar in the wilderness. It is true that Philo ('Quis rer. Div. her.' § 42) regards the cloud which separated Israel and the Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 19) as an emblem of Wisdom, but the whole context forbids us to identify this allegorical combination with the passage before us (see Dähne, 'Jüd. Alex. Relig. Phil.' ii. pp. 134, 135). The figure of Wisdom as enthroned on a pillar of cloud is sublime.

5. The figure is further developed. Amidst the solemn silence and solitude prevailing Wisdom fills all and pervades all.

I compassed.] In the sense of "I circled," or of "I went round about," סַבּוֹתִי.

alone.] The Syr. has: "together with Him." The difference is great, and of serious importance if the inference which it suggests be well grounded. We can scarcely account for it merely by a different reading of the same or similar Hebrew letters. For the Syr. at least suggests the word עִמּוֹ. And, irrespective of this, the rendering of the Greek evidently suits the context, which the Syriac does not. It would therefore seem that the Syr. expression "together with Him" represents an intentional alteration on the part of the translator? If so, remembering that the ancient Christian writers identified "Wisdom" in Ecclus. with Christ, it suggests a Christian hand, either in the translation or the redaction of the text. Without claiming certainty for our inference, the alteration in this verse forms an important element in determining the question of the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. In any case the expression "together with Him" goes much beyond the language of Prov. viii. 30, in which Wisdom presents herself as "an artificer by His side" (אָצְלוֹ—certainly not = "together with Him"). When the Siracide speaks of the all-pervading presence of Wisdom, he refers presumably to her formative agency in regard to our present world.

in the bottom of the deep.] Lit. **in the depth of the abysses.** The expression is interesting.

6. We advance another step. The rule of Wisdom is to be traced, not only in nature, but also among men.

I got a possession.] Fritzsche supposes the Greek to have misunderstood קָנִיתִי in the original; that the word here meant "I created" (as in Prov. viii. 22 and other places); and that it should have been translated by ἔκτισα. But this seems impossible. The underlying idea would not be Hebraic—in fact, it would be inconsistent with Prov. viii. 22. Nor yet would it be Alexandrian, as even the Greek translation of the verse shews. Still less would it belong to that intermediate period to which we ascribe the work of the Siracide. Lastly, what would be the meaning of a creative agency of Wisdom "in the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation"? Our difficulty is rather increased than diminished by the Syr., which renders: "I was given rule [or control] over

B. C. cir. 200. and in whose inheritance shall I abide?

8 So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.

9 He [c] created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail.

10 In the [d] holy tabernacle I served before him; and so was I established in Sion.

11 [e] Likewise in the [‖] beloved city

B. C. cir. 200.

[c] Prov. 8. 22.

[d] Exod. 31. 3.

[e] Ps. 132. 8, 13, 14.

‖ Or, *holy.*

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the waves of the sea," &c. Did the Syr. purposely choose an expression that might mean one thing or another, or must we regard this as an emendation similar to that in *v.* 5?

7. *With all these.*] Viz. every people and nation. We can scarcely doubt that the question here propounded by Wisdom (although not necessarily addressed to God, as Fritzsche supposes) expresses what was afterwards formulated by the Rabbis in the legend that the Law had been offered to, and refused by, every nation before it was accepted by Israel at Mount Sinai ('Abh. Z.' 2 *b*, towards the end). The legend in the Talmud was supported by an appeal to Deut. xxxiii. 2 and Hab. iii. 2. Possibly the legend represents a survival of the fundamental thought of Alexandrianism, or rather of that more free thinking which in Palestine itself formed the root and source of what afterwards was developed in Jewish Hellenism as the idea of an original share of all mankind in that highest Wisdom which found its full expression in the Law. Long after such views had passed away in Palestine, and indeed evoked the bitter antagonism of the Rabbis, its leading idea may, all unconsciously to themselves, have survived in this legend. From its theological aspect that question ultimately resolves itself into the great problem which must engage every thoughtful student of Revelation: that of the universal Fatherhood of God. How differently it was solved in the Gospel and in Apostolic preaching, need not here be explained.

8. *So.*] Rather, **then**. The reference here is to the Revelation of God in Israel, and more particularly to the Law, wherein Wisdom, which is the emanation of God, restfully tabernacled upon earth.

and thine inheritance in Israel.] Lit. "and let thine inheritance be given thee in Israel."

9. *from the beginning.*] Fritzsche (objecting with reason to the מראשית of Lightfoot) suggests מִקֶּדֶם as the original Hebrew, but incorrectly, and his appeal to Mic. v. 1 only goes against him. We believe the Hebrew words were מֵעוֹלָם and מֵרֹאשׁ, as in Prov. viii. 23, which, indeed, the LXX. renders by the same words as in our passage (*πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ*—in our passage *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). The verse reads as follows: **Before the Aeon** [*i.e.* before time began], **from the beginning, He created me** (the two terms are evidently not identical, as Fritzsche supposes); **and to the Aeon** [i.e. the end of time] **I shall not ever fail.** The Syr. has: "Before the world I was created, and to the Aeon of Aeons [eternity] my remembrance shall not fail." Here also we should perhaps note as significant the alteration "to the Aeon of Aeons" in the Syr. for the Greek "to the Aeon." The expression "Aeon of Aeons," or, more frequently, "the Aeons of Aeons," is frequent in the N. Test. It does not occur in the Gospels, where *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* is peculiar to St. Matthew (there five times, once in Heb. ix. 26), but in the Pauline Epistles (Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 18), in Heb. (i. 8; xiii. 21), in 1 Pet. (iv. 11), and especially in the Book of Revelation (there fourteen times). In the Old Testament it is only found in Dan. vii. 18 (there also in the LXX.). Besides this, it occurs in the LXX. (with the exception of 1 Esdr. iv. 38) exclusively, although frequently, in the version of the Psalms (there not less than twenty-eight times), and in Tob. vi. 18. Does this indicate that the LXX. version of the Psalms was made after Daniel, in which the expression was apparently introduced—but soon after it, as the frequency of its occurrence seems to suggest? It also occurs in the Targum Onkelos, and later on in that on the Psalms, which cannot date earlier than the second half of the 7th century. We regard it as characteristic of the anti-Hellenistic tendency of the Syr. that, while making the last clause of *v.* 8 a separate verse (*v.* 9), it adds to *v.* 9 (which in the Syr. is *v.* 10) the first clause of our Greek *v.* 10. For thereby what in the Greek exhibits Wisdom in a wider and universal aspect (*v.* 9) becomes strictly Judaic (comp. the note on *v.* 34). If the emendations, therefore, are Christian, they must be Judæo-Christian. To complete its re-arrangement of the verses, the Syr. adds the Greek *v.* 10 *b* to *v.* 11, which thus becomes a verse of three lines.

10. *and so.*] The Syr. has "and again." Had the original וְגַם, or did the Syr. wish to convey something special?

was I established.] In all probability the

B. C. cir. 200.

he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power.

12 And I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.

13 I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon.

14 I was exalted like a palm tree in ‖ En-gaddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree ‖ by the water.

15 I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus, and I yielded a pleasant odour like the best myrrh, as galbanum, and onyx, and sweet storax, and as the fume of *f* frankincense in the tabernacle.

16 As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace.

17 *g* As the vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honour and riches.

18 I am the mother of fair love, and fear, and knowledge, and holy hope: I therefore, being eternal, am given to all my children which are ‖ named of him.

19 *h* Come unto me, all ye that be

‖ Or, *Cades.*

‖ Or, *in the water.*

B. C. cir. 200.

f Exod. 30. 34, 36.

g John 15. 1.

‖ Or, *chosen.*

h Isai. 55. 1.

Hebrew had, as the Syr., קְמוּתִי, which bears the Greek rendering. The verse points to the presence of God and the Divinely instituted worship in the Tabernacle, which became permanent in the Temple. In the Tabernacle Wisdom became, as it were, the ministrant, and in this her office she was established in Zion. At the same time, this verse, when viewed in connexion with *v.* 9, is not by any means Judaic in the special sense of the term. For Wisdom, which in *v.* 9 was spoken of in relation to the world generally, is in *v.* 10 only presented as concentrating her agency: she has her ministration in the Levitical worship, and her Metropolis, so to speak, is in Zion. And this mode of viewing Wisdom is, as we have seen, characteristic of the theological standpoint of the older Siracide.

11. *my power.*] Rather, **my authority,** "rule," as in the Syr.

12. *And I took root in an* **honoured** *people* [one that attained honour, became distinguished through this very thing] *in the portion of the* **Lord,** (the portion) **of His** *inheritance.* (Comp. Deut. xxxii. 9, where the LXX. has the same two words.)

13. This verse begins a new stanza. *I was exalted.*] Rather, **I grew lofty.** Wisdom having thus taken root, her glory is next set forth under some figures.

14. *I was exalted.*] Rather, **I grew lofty.**

in En-gaddi.] The Vat. text has ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς, "by the sea-shores," but the reading of the A. V., found in one or another form in several MSS., must be preferred, as being confirmed by the Syr. and also generally more suitable, since palms are not supposed to attain any special height by the sea-shore, while Engedi was celebrated for its palms, as even its other name, *Chatsatson Tamar*, indicates. Omit "pleasant" before "field;" omit also "by the water." The Syr., however, has the words, "a rose plant," — no doubt in Heb., as in the Syr., וְרֹד, or else וְרֹדָא. The word occurs in the Mishnah.

15. But there is not only glory; beauty also and sweetness, as well as rich fruit.

like cinnamon and **aromatic aspalathos.**] The latter is described by Pliny as of the height of a small tree, with flower of rose. Its root was used for making a precious ointment.

I yielded.] Rather, **I spread, I diffused.** The words "in the tabernacle" are omitted in the Syr. The omission further indicates the Christian authorship of this version.

16. Rather, **and my branches** (were) **branches of glory** *and grace* — "grace" here in the sense of beauty. For "terebinth" the Syr. has "rhododaphne," the rose-laurel, probably either a species of oleander or a rhododendron.

17. **I, like a vine, budded forth beauty** [adopting the Alex. reading, ἐβλάστησα], *and my flowers* (ripen into) *fruit of* **glory** *and riches.*] We are here reminded of St. John xv. 1.

18. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted. It is probably of Christian authorship. It is not found in the Syr., which in general arranges the previous verses somewhat differently.

19. This verse begins another stanza (see the introductory remarks to the chapter). On the ground of the previous description, Wisdom now makes her appeal to all men.

B. C. cir. 200.

desirous of me, and fill yourselves with my fruits.

[i] Ps. 19. 10, 11.

20 For my memorial is [i] sweeter than honey, and mine inheritance than the honeycomb.

21 They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.

22 He that obeyeth me shall never be confounded, and they that work by me shall not do amiss.

23 All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, *even* the [k] law which Moses commanded for an heritage unto the congregations of Jacob.

B. C. cir. 200.

[k] Exod. 20. 1. & 24. 3. Deut. 4. 1. & 29. 1. & 33. 4.

24 Faint not to be strong in the Lord; that he may confirm you, cleave unto him: [l] for the Lord Almighty is God alone, and beside him there is no other Saviour.

[l] Isai. 45. 21.

25 He filleth all things with his

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fruits.] Lit., **products.** The Syr. is somewhat paraphrastic.

20. *For my* **remembrance** [the memory, thought of me] *is* **more sweet** *than honey, and mine inheritance* [this suits the context better than "portion"] **above** *the honeycomb.*] We read with some MSS. and many authorities, *κηρίον* (Alex., 248, and cognate MSS. *κηρίου*); the Vulg. (which has *Spiritus meus* for "my remembrance") renders: *super mel et favum*; the Syr. has simply *favus.* More probably the Hebrew had צוּף־דְּבַשׁ, as in Prov. xvi. 24; and the word occurs again in נֹפֶת צוּפִים, "the forthpouring of the honey cells," Ps. xix. 11 (see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*). This verse and the following have this additional interest that they show the well-known hymn attributed (rightly, in its genuine parts) to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, to have been based on Ecclus. xxiv. [The hymn in Daniel, 'Thes. Hymnol.' i. p. 222; Mone, 'Hymni Lat.' i. p. 329; and again in Daniel, *u. s.* iv. p. 215. It is in parts translated in the well-known hymn, "Jesu, the very thought of Thee," 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' 178; the first stanza more closely in Hymn 177. In its entirety it has been translated by the present writer: 'The Jubilee Rhythm of St. Bernard and other Hymns,' London, *1867.*] The opening stanza of the hymn is an adaptation of Ecclus. xxiv. 20: *Jesu dulcis memoria—dans vera cordis gaudia—sed super mel et omnia—dulcis ejus praesentia.* Again Ecclus. xxiv. 21 reappears in lines 45, 46 (*apud* Mone; 77, 78, *apud* Daniel): *qui te gustant, esuriunt—qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt.* And this settles a curious literary question. Mone gives the hymn from the oldest MS. (dating from the 14th cent.: see *u. s.* p. 330), in which it bears the title: *Cursus de aeterna sapientia,* and alike he and Daniel (*u. s.* t. iv.) are uncertain as to the origin of the superscription *de aeterna sapientia,* which so widely differs from those in other MSS. But in view of the connexion between this hymn and Ecclus. xxiv. its ancient title seems accounted for. The expression *cursus* is either = *officium horarum,* or else = the *δρόμος τῆς πίστεως*—in this instance more likely the latter, although the hymn is arranged for "the hours."

22. *be confounded.*] Rather, **be ashamed.**

not do amiss.] Rather, **not sin.** Syr.: "shall never fall, and all his works shall not be corrupted"—they shall be incorruptible, either in the sense of their being permanent in value and goodness, or in that of not becoming gradually perverted. The Syr. version gives, in our view, a better meaning than the Greek. In the original the first clause was probably, as in the Syr., שׁוֹמֵעַ לִי לֹא יִפּוֹל. Fritzsche explains: "he shall not be put to shame," viz. as regards his hope of happiness, by obedience to the Divine commandments. But the second clause is against this interpretation.

23. The Greek is here peculiarly interesting. Literally it reads: "**All these** [with reference to all that was previously said of Wisdom] **the book** of the covenant of the most high God." The sentence requires some verb. The Syr. has: "all these (things) are written in the book of the covenant of the Lord." We believe that the Hebrew had כָּל אֵלֶּה בְּסֵפֶר בְּרִית יְיָ, "all these things are in the book of the covenant of Jehovah," and that the Greek, by way of giving a Hellenistic turn to the statement, left out the בְּ, so as simply to identify Wisdom with the Law. We suspect a somewhat similar tendency in the next clause: "the law which Moses **commanded, an** [the ?] inheritance to the congregations of Jacob" (we punctuate as Tischendorf and as in the Alex.). The plural "congregations" must refer to the Diaspora, and would scarcely have been in the original. The Syr. has: "the law which Moses commanded, it is an inheritance to the congregation of Jacob." The expression מִקְהָלִים, Ps. xxvi. 12, and מִקְהִלּוֹת, Ps. lxviii. 27—both rendered by the LXX. *ἐν ἐκκλησίαις*—certainly do not here afford a parallel so as to explain the plural. The accus. *νόμον,* by virtue of attraction (see Winer, *u. s.* § 66, 5, p. 552).

wisdom, as [m] Phison and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits.

26 He maketh the understanding to abound like Euphrates, and as [n] Jordan in the time of the harvest.

27 He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage.

28 The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last find her out.

29 For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep.

30 I also came out as a ‖brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden.

31 I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed: and, lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.

B. C. cir. 200.

[m] Gen. 2. 11.

[n] Josh. 3. 15.

‖ Or, *drain, or, ditch.*

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24. This verse in the A. V. must be omitted.

25. **Which** [viz. the Law] **maketh wisdom full** *as Phison, and as Tigris in the time of the new fruits.*] The Greek seems to convey the meaning that the Law gives the fulness of wisdom, which is again a Hellenistic turn for the Syr.: "which is full, as Phison, with wisdom." And this, as we suppose, the original had. The point of comparison is: when these rivers are most full of water.

in the time of the new fruits.] יְמֵי הַבִּכּוּרִים, Numb. xxviii. 26. The allusion here is not to Pentecost (as seems implied in *v.* 26 *b*), since the rivers would then not be in flood. St. Jerome (on Hagg. ii.) rightly describes Nisan (*Abhibh*)—March or April—as "the month of the new fruits" (*mensis novorum*). Very significantly the streams selected are those of Paradise: Pishon, Gen. ii. 11, and Hiddeqel (Tigris), Gen. ii. 14. The figure is continued in *v.* 26. The Syr. must have confused the lines. It has: "as Tigris in the days of field-products [harvest] . . . and as Jordan in the days of Nisan."

27. **It** [the Law] *maketh* **instruction** [viz. of the moral kind, παιδεία] **to** *appear* [brings it forth], *like the* **Nile.**] The Greek has "as the light," but this evidently from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew כָּאוֹר, which, as in Amos viii. 8, stands for כַּיְאֹר, comp. Amos ix. 5 (see Hitzig-Steiner, 'Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.' *ad loc.*; and Gutmann, 'd. Apokr.' p. 83, note). The Syr. renders the word correctly.

Geon.] Gen. ii. 13; afterwards regarded as the Nile (comp. LXX. Jer. ii. 18).

28. *The first* [viz. man, not, as Fritzsche supposes, the first searcher] *knew her* [viz., here again, Wisdom] *not perfectly* [did not complete to know her, did not finish knowledge of Wisdom]; **and likewise** *the last* (man) *shall* **not search** *her out.*] She is beyond the complete ken of man.

29. *For her* **thought** [thinking?] **is full** *more than the sea, and her* **counsel more** *than the great deep.*] So abundant that it cannot be all taken in (*v.* 28 *a*); so deep that it cannot be quite searched out (*v.* 28 *b*). Ἀπό—a well-known Hebraism (comp. Vorstius, 'de hebr. N. T.,' p. 352).

30. A new stanza. Wisdom being thus beyond the compass of unaided man, she made for herself a channel in Revelation, and specifically in the Law, by which to carry her fertilising waters in the first place to her "garden," viz. Israel. But this river is yet to become a sea: the blessings first communicated to Israel are to be shared by all mankind and to all ages, and so shall the final aim of Wisdom be realised and her true character appear.

And I *came out as a* **channel** *from a river, and as a conduit into* **an orchard** [garden, park, παράδεισος].] Mark that this channel and conduit issued from the paradisiac streams previously referred to. The underlying idea seems to be that these rivers had compassed all Paradise—that originally all mankind were intended to have share in that Divine Wisdom, but that in the course of time (comp. *vv.* 7–9) her waters passed through the channel of the Law into Israel, which thus became "a well-watered garden," Is. lviii. 11, κῆπος μεθύων—the two words actually occur in *v.* 31. It is therefore the Law which, as Wisdom residing in the midst of Israel, is once more the speaker.

31. Omit from the A. V. "best" before "garden."

my brook, &c.] Rather, **the channel became to me a river.** The last line is specially interesting: "and my river became a sea." For this the Syr. has: "and the river went down to the sea." It is scarcely possible to account for this difference either by a misreading or a mistranslation of the original. Nor can we suppose that the Syr. made an alteration of the original: first, because the thought which it expresses is much more Hebraic than the Greek version (we suppose both the Heb. and the Syr. to have referred to the Diaspora); secondly, because we cannot perceive any object for such an alteration

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32 I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off.

33 I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever.

[e] ch. 33. 17.

34 [e] Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom.

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXV.

1 *What things are beautiful, and what hateful.* 6 *What is the crown of age.* 7 *What things make men happy.* 13 *Nothing worse than a wicked woman.*

‖ Or, *gloried.*

IN three things I ‖was beautified, and stood up beautiful both before God and men: the [a] unity of brethren,

[a] Gen. 13. 8. Ps. 133. 1. Rom. 12. 10.

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in the Syriac. For we cannot regard it as an allusion to the communication of Israel's Wisdom to the Gentiles by the Gospel (see next verse). On the other hand, if the alteration be on the part of the Greek translator, its object and meaning are obvious. The narrow channel of the Law becomes the wide river of prophetic declaration, of true Wisdom-lore, perhaps swelled by Grecian tributaries; and this again merges into the boundless sea, when Wisdom shall be no longer Hebraic nor yet Grecian, but universal, watering every shore. That such was the meaning of the Greek translator seems confirmed by the verses which follow.

32. *I will yet* **light up instuction** [in the moral and religious sense] *as the* **dawn** [ὄρθρος = שַׁחַר, Joel ii. 2 — כְּשַׁחַר פָּרֻשׂ עַל־הֶהָרִים, possibly the figure may have been in the mind of the writer, although with very different application], *and I will* **cause it** [instruction] **to shine forth** [shew it] **unto** *afar off.*] Αὐτά: see Winer, *u. s.* § 22, 3, p. 128, for the combination of these pronouns in the plural with a noun in the sing. Fritzsche suggests that ῥήματα παιδείας was in the mind of the translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [tell] my doctrine in the morning and shall leave it to many ages." The latter clause appears in the Greek as *v.* 33 *b*. As regards the first clause, the כְּ—*as* the dawn or morning—has been evidently misread בְּ. Irrespective of this alteration, it must be left undetermined whether the Greek or the Syr. correctly represents the Hebrew original. Our view is in favour of the Syr.

33. *I will yet pour* **forth teaching** [instruction] *as prophecy.*] Possibly a Hellenistic adaptation of Joel ii. 28 may have been intended by the Greek translator. The Syr. has: "Yet again shall I declare [tell] my doctrine in prophecy" (once more—possibly though not probably—a confusion of בְּ and כְּ).

and leave it **unto generations of Aeons** = all generations, the εἰς marking the time, not the persons. For this clause the Syr. has: "and the end will be unto afar off." Possibly the original may have had (as in Talmudic usage) such a word as אוֹרַיְתָא, "doctrines," "teaching," and the Syr. may have misread it אֲחֳרִיתָה.

34. The final exclamation of the Jewish Law, thoroughly Hellenistic in spirit: "Behold that I **laboured not** for myself only, but for all them that seek **her**," viz. Wisdom: the Law laboured not only for the Jews, but for all who sought Wisdom. The Syr. omits this verse, nor do we believe that it was in the original Hebrew. We may perhaps suggest that the younger Siracide introduced it in this place from xxxiii. 17 (in the A. V.; xxx. 26 in the Greek MSS.), where the wording is similar, although not the connexion.

CHAPTER XXV.

From the height attained in ch. xxiv. the writer again descends to the general level of this book. In the chapter before us various proverbial sayings, the outcome of a not very elevated Oriental experience of life, are grouped under the headings of things desirable and undesirable. The first two verses are general. They are followed by a statement of what is desirable and honourable in old age, and specially in the eldership (four verses: *vv.* 3–6), and of what is generally desirable in life (five verses: *vv.* 7–11). Then follows what is undesirable in life (three verses: *vv.* 13–15; *v.* 12 in A. V. must be omitted); lastly, what is undesirable in that which forms the largest factor in life, the family and the relation between the sexes (eleven verses: *vv.* 16–26).

1. Interpreters have regarded the text as in a state of confusion, nor indeed is it easy to determine who is introduced as speaking in *v.* 1. The Syr. has: "Three things my soul desired, and they are beautiful before God and man." As regards the Greek text we are inclined to believe that the writer intended here to introduce universal Wisdom as speaking in her character of discipline or "instruction" (xxiv. 32, 33). In any case it seems difficult, without altering the whole text, to give it the meaning of the Syr., which the Vet. Lat. follows. Translate: **concord among** brethren (viz. of the same

B. C. cir. 200. the love of neighbours, a man and a wife that agree together.

2 Three sorts of men my soul hateth, and I am greatly offended at their life: a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer that doateth.

3 If thou hast gathered nothing in thy youth, how canst thou find any thing in thine age?

4 O how comely a thing is judgment for gray hairs, and for ancient men to know counsel!

5 O how comely is the wisdom of old men, and understanding and counsel to men of honour! B. C. cir. 200.

6 Much experience is the crown of old men, and the fear of God is their glory.

7 There be nine things which I have judged in mine heart to be happy, and the tenth I will utter with my tongue: A man that hath joy of his children; and he that liveth to see the fall of his enemy:

8 Well is him that dwelleth with

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nation, Israel), **affection among kindred**, &c. We have thus an ascending climax of relationship.

2. But *three sorts* (of men) *my soul hateth, and I greatly* **abhor** [abominate, am vexed at?] *their* **manner of life** [ζωή—so probably, although possibly their life = the fact of their existence; the latter would be better Greek]: *a poor man* **who is arrogant** [ὑπερήφανος, not merely "proud," but arrogantly and insolently so], *a rich man* **who is lying** [as it were: a beggar who is a braggart, and a rich man who makes promises and breaks them. The bearing or conduct of these two "sorts" is utterly incongruous, absolutely inexcusable, nay unaccountable; it is of a character to evoke abhorrence, or else to make one wish such persons out of existence], *and an* **aged** *adulterer* [an adulterous old man] **who is wanting in understanding.**] The last clause must be regarded not as an apposition, but, as frequently in Hebrew, as generally applying to and describing the conduct of such an one. Like that of the other two, his conduct is utterly incongruous, inexcusable, nay unaccountable and abominable. For what we have rendered "arrogant," ὑπερήφανος, the Hebrew had no doubt נַאֲוָה, as (four if not five times) in the LXX.; for "who is lying" it would have כֹּזֵב; כזב with ל meaning "to lie to a person," "to deceive him,"—more particularly "to break one's plighted word" (comp. Ps. lxxxix. 36). The Syr. does not specify the sin in the third clause, but has: "and an old man who is foolish and wanting in knowledge." Similarly the Vet. Lat. and the Syr. Hex. The Talmud mentions these three things as what "the mind cannot bear," adding as a fourth: a *Parnas*—official, administrator in the congregation—who exalts himself over the congregation: either in the sense of vanity or else of neglecting their wants (Pes. 113 *b*).

3. *If thou hast* **not gathered in youth.**] The Syr. adds "wisdom." Similar sentiments are expressed in Talmudic writings, the most closely resembling that of the Son of Sirach being the following quoted as a proverb: "If in thy youth thou hast not desired them (the words of the Law), how shalt thou attain them in thine old age?" (Ab. d. R. Nath. xxiv. about the middle).—The sentence is intended to prepare for the praise in the next verses of a wise old age, for which it is necessary to gather the stores in youth.

4. *judgment.*] מִשְׁפָּט, in the sense of "right, justice."

ancient men.] Rather, **aged men.**

to know counsel.] The Syr., "understanding." Only such old age as here described is desirable.

5. *how comely is the wisdom of* **elders,** *and understanding and counsel to* **those placed in** *honour.*] We believe the reference here to be to the official elders, the γέροντες, זְקֵנִים, the members of the γερουσία. This view is confirmed by the next verse; and in that case *v.* 6 also gains additional meaning. Similarly the Syr. has "dignitaries."

6. The crown of elders [again in the official sense] **is much experience, and their glory** (boast) **fear of the Lord.**] See previous verse. This adorns and dignifies them in truth.

7. A new stanza: what is desirable in life: Lit. **Nine suppositions** [= cases supposed] **I in heart** [*i.e.* in my own unspoken thinking and wishing] **deem happy**—while as to the tenth he has no hesitation in uttering and declaring it. The Syr. has: "Nine (things) which have not entered into my heart I have praised, and ten which I have not uttered." This must depend on a misreading. We would suggest that the original had תִּשַּׁע עָלוּ אֶל־לִבִּי, and that the Syr., dropping out the second ע, read: תִּשַּׁע לוּא

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a wife of understanding, and that hath not [b]slipped with his tongue, and that hath not served a man more unworthy than himself:

[b] ch. 14. 1. & 19. 16. James 3. 2.

9 Well is him that hath found ‖prudence, and he that speaketh in the ear of them that will hear:

‖ Or, *a friend.*

10 [c]O how great is he that findeth wisdom! yet is there none above him that feareth the Lord.

[c] Prov. 3. 13.

11 But the love of the Lord passeth all things for illumination: he that holdeth it, ‖whereto shall he be likened?

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‖ Or, *to whom.*

12 The fear of the Lord is the beginning of his love: and faith is the beginning of cleaving unto him.

13 [Give me] any plague, but the plague of the heart: [d]and any wick-

[d] ver. 19.

לְלִבִּי, or even לוֹא אֶל־לִבִּי. The sentiment of the last clause is certainly not of an elevated character. For the remaining part of the verse the Syr. has: "the man who rejoiceth in his end" (presumably, who looks forward trustfully and joyously to the final Divine vindication and retribution, whether in this life or the next) "while he yet liveth shall see the fall of his enemies." We may feel certain that this was not in the original. It is another question whether the alteration was intentional or not. We believe the former, and that the Syr. sought, by a perhaps slight change in the Hebrew text, to convert what was an objectionable into a pious sentiment.

8. Three further "beatitudes" follow (the third, fourth, and fifth): "Well is him"—rather, **happy he**—"that hath not slipped;" rather, **that slippeth not.** Last clause: "and that **serveth not one unworthy of him**"—a person whose character or folly renders it derogatory, or a trial, to have to do his bidding or to be his subordinate. To the first clause of the verse there are many parallels in Rabbinic writings. But the Syr. addition to this clause is, so far as we remember, the only source of what is an undoubtedly Jewish simile for an ill-assorted marriage. The verse in the Syr. version reads: "Well to the husband of a good wife, who draws not the plough with an ox and an ass together." May the apostolic injunction (2 Cor. vi. 14), "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers"—which seems, in the first place, to refer to religiously unequal marriages—have been derived from a Jewish proverb, preserved in this Syr. rendering, rather than from Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 10? Or is the opposite the case, and did the Syr. derive its simile from 2 Cor. vi. 14? Instead of "that slippeth not with his tongue," the Syr. has, "whose tongue does not overthrow [destroy] him."

9. Beatitudes 6 and 7. **Happy he who findeth** [=attaineth] **prudence**—*φρόνησις*, in the sense of knowledge of what should be done. "And he that speaketh," viz. it,—that is, in the prudent direction to duty. The A. V., although not literal, gives the meaning accurately. The Syr. has "mercy" instead of "prudence." Probably the original had דֵּעָה, "knowledge," "prudence," as in אִישׁ דֵּעָת (Prov. xxiv. 5), which the LXX. renders: *ἀνὴρ φρόνησιν ἔχων*; and the Syr. read, instead of דֵּעָה, the word רֵעָה—which means "a friend," or else by a different punctuation of the Syr. may mean "mercy." In point of fact, the Vet. Lat. has here "a true friend."

10. Beatitudes 8 and 9. "Yet is there none;" rather, **yet is he not.** The Syr. omits this verse, but curiously interposes the following: "well to the man whom poverty has not broken, nor yet want hath broken"—possibly to make up the number of the beatitudes. "Wisdom" in its theoretical aspect is here distinguished from practical Wisdom, or the fear of the Lord.

11. The writer now sets forth that "tenth" thing he had in *v.* 7 declared it his purpose to "utter" with his tongue; that is, to make matter of special and explicit praise without fear of contradiction.

The **fear** *of the Lord* **surpasseth above every thing.**] Thus, and not as in the A. V.: the *ὑπέρ* in the verb, in addition to that preposition, represents the Hebrew עַל עֲלֵה. The second clause of the verse is omitted in the Syr.

holdeth.] Rather, **holdeth fast.**

whereto.] Perhaps, rather, **to whom?** To this question no answer is returned, perhaps to indicate that comparison is here not possible, since the condition of such a person surpasseth all else.

12. This verse deserves special attention. It does not occur either in the Vat. or in the Sinait. Cod. but in H., 248, Co. We can scarcely doubt that it is a spurious addition, and due to a Christian hand. That we find it in the Syr., and in the Vet. Lat. and the Arab., does not surprise us, and confirms our impression of the Christian origin of the Syr. Version, and of the dependence upon it of the Vet. Lat.

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edness, but the wickedness of a woman:

14 And any affliction, but the affliction from them that hate me: and any revenge, but the revenge of enemies.

15 [c]There is no head above the head of a serpent; and there is no wrath above the wrath of an enemy.

16 [d]I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than to keep house with a wicked woman.

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17 The wickedness of a woman changeth her face, and darkeneth her countenance [‖]like sackcloth.

‖ Or, *like a bear.*

18 Her husband shall sit among his neighbours; and when he heareth it shall sigh bitterly.

19 [f]All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman: let the portion of a sinner fall upon her.

[c] Prov. 21. 19. & 25. 24.

[f] ver. 13.

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13. A new stanza. After the *res expetendæ* come the *res fugiendæ*.

Any **wound but not a wound** *of the heart, and any wickedness* **but not** *the wickedness of a woman.*] The Syr. has in both clauses, "but not as;" the Vet. Lat. either misunderstood or alters the wording. In the Talmud we have this (we italicise the parallel words): "Any disease but not disease of the bowels; *any wound but not a wound of the heart;* any ache but not ache of the head; *any wickedness but not a wicked woman*" (Shabb. 11 *a*). This is interesting, as shewing that many of these sayings of the Siracide must have been proverbial among the Jews.

14. *Any affliction* **but not** *the affliction* **of** *them* [= from them].

15. This verse is one of the most curious and interesting from the exegetical point of view. Since the time of Bretschneider, it has been generally held that what the Greek rendered "head" and "head of a serpent" (κεφαλή) was a mistranslation of רֹאשׁ, "poison," as in Deut. xxxii. 33. And the evidence of what in itself seems probable lies in this, that the word θυμός, which occurs in the second clause of our verse in Ecclus., is the word by which the LXX. render רֹאשׁ in Deut. xxxii. 33. The correct rendering of the *Hebrew* text of Ecclus. xxv., 15 would therefore be: **There is not a poison above** [more virulent than] **the poison of a serpent, nor rage** [vehemence of passion] **above the rage of an enemy.** But this is not all. Not only has the Syr. also mistranslated רֹאשׁ by "head"—unless the word means in Syr. also "poison"—but it has: "There is not a head [poison?] more bitter than the head [poison?] of a serpent, and there is not an enmity of more bitterness than that of woman." The Vet. Lat. has: *et non est ira super iram mulieris;* thus giving another evidence of its dependence upon the Syriac. As regards the clause itself, we have little doubt that the Syr. here purposely altered the original Hebrew, which was correctly given by the Greek, and the alteration is the more cunning that it fits so well into the context of the following verses. But what was the purpose of the alteration? We cannot help suspecting that it was intended to allude to the doctrine of the fall of man.

16. A new stanza. *I* **would** *rather* [I should prefer to] *dwell* **together with** *a lion and a dragon than* **dwell in the** *house with a wicked woman.*

17. *her face.*] Rather, **her appearance.** The meaning of the second clause seems to be that it makes her face, or herself, sinister instead of being bright as the day. The Syr. has: "makes pale the face of her husband, and makes it dark, &c." It is not easy to account here for the change of person in the verse, although the Syr. seems more natural than the Greek. The Alex. has, instead of "like sackcloth," "like a bear"—possibly some misreading. Curiously the Vet. Lat. has *both* the Vat. and the Alex. reading: *tamquam ursus, et quasi saccum ostendit.* We conjecture that a later hand had altered the original translation and put, either in the text or margin, both the Alex. and the Vat. readings —markedly, the Alex. first—and that then an attempt had been made to make sense out of the two: *nequitia . . . obcæcat vultum suum tamquam ursus* (in the nomin.), &c.

18. **In the midst of his neighbours** [possibly in the sense of relatives] **her husband resteth;** *and* **as he heareth** [viz. either what is said of her, or else the praise of good women], **he sigheth** *bitterly.*] Instead of ἀκούσας, "and as he heareth," other texts have ἀκουσίως, "involuntarily." As the Syr. has the same, we imagine that this must be the correct reading. The Syr.: "In the midst of his companions sitteth the husband of the foolish woman, and involuntarily he sigheth." The Vet. Lat. seems once more to combine the two different readings, slightly altering them.

19. *All.*] Better, **any.** The Syr. modifies: "Manifold is wickedness, but it is not like the smallest wickedness of a wicked woman." It seems needless to quote Rabbinic

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20 As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife ‖full of words to a quiet man.

21 [e]Stumble not at the beauty of a woman, and desire her not for pleasure.

22 A woman, if she maintain her husband, is full of anger, impudence, and much reproach.

B. C. cir. 200.

23 A wicked woman abateth the courage, maketh an heavy countenance and a wounded heart: a woman that will not comfort her husband in distress maketh weak hands and feeble knees.

24 Of [h]the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die.

‖ Or, *scolding.*

[e] 2 Sam. 11. 2. ch. 42. 12.

[h] Gen. 3. 6. 1 Tim. 2. 14.

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parallels, but we may mention that which, on the basis of Eccles. vii. 26, prays for deliverance from that which is worse than death —a wicked woman (Yebam. 63 *a*).

20. **A sandy** (place of) **ascent,** *&c.*] Equally trying to a quiet man is a woman who always puts in her words. The Syr. has, "of a long tongue."

21. These things being so, a general warning follows. "Stumble not," &c.—let not the beauty of a woman cause thee to stumble while pursuing thy way—**and bear not desire after a woman.** The Alex. supplements after "woman" ἐν κάλλει, and Fritzsche adopts this; but the addition seems to us disturbing. The Syr. has: "be not allured by the beauty of a wicked woman; and even if she have wealth, do not desire after her." This seems rather an alteration than a different reading of the text. The Vet. Lat. repeats the tautology of the Alex. reading.

22. **Anger, impudence, and great shame, when a woman supplies** [viz. his livelihood—but the word is difficult] **to her husband.**] Such are the consequences when a husband depends upon his wife for his living. The Syr. has: "for hard servitude and evil shame (is) a woman who doeth harm to and lords over her husband, and with whom the heart is also covered [who dissembleth]." The last clause is an addition—unless it be a strange mistranslation of the opening Greek words of the next verse (*καρδία ταπεινή*). Putting aside this clause, we suppose that the original had עֶבְרָה קָשָׁה, "cruel wrath," —a similar expression in Gen. xlix. 7—in which the Greek misunderstood קָשָׁה for "impudent," as in Ezek. ii. 4, קְשֵׁי פָנִים, and then resolved the substant. and adject. into two substantives, while the Syr. misread the substantive and misrendered the adjective as if it had been עֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה, "hard service" (taking קשה in the primary meaning of the word). In that case the original would have meant "cruel anger" (viz. on the part of the wife), "and great shame" (viz. on the part of the husband). But how are we to account for the difference between the "sustaining" of the Greek, and the "doing harm and lording" in the Syriac. Can it be that there was here a confusion between some form of סער (in the Greek) and סשר (in the Syr.)?

23. *A wicked woman* [here follow the results]: **a heart depressed, a countenance sullen, and a heart stricken** [lit., stroke of heart]; **hands relaxed** [weak, that hang down], **and knees palsied: such an one as makes not happy her husband** [causes not his happiness].] Two kinds of wives are here distinguished: the wicked woman and, in the second part of the verse, one who does not actually secure the happiness of her husband. The influence of such a wife on his life is paralysing. It deserves notice that the quotation from Is. xxxv. 3, "relaxed hands and palsied knees," is not literally taken from the LXX. The passage is again quoted in Heb. xii. 12—and there the same difference from the LXX. obtains, while the words are adduced precisely as in Ecclus.

24. The verse is remarkable, as ascribing to Eve not only the introduction of death, but also the commencement, although not the introduction, of sin. The first of these two propositions is not inconsistent with Ecclus. xiv. 17 (mark there the word διαθήκη, and the pointed reference to LXX. Gen. ii. 17). But we must be careful not to identify the statement that "*of woman* [came, or was] *the beginning of sin*" with the N. T. doctrine of original sin. The Hebrew had probably ראשית, and the Syr. here reproduces it: "from woman began sins." We surmise that in 1 Tim. ii., culminating in *vv.* 14, 15, the Apostle had this verse in Ecclus. in view, although his reference was no doubt also to Gen. iii. 17. [We might almost conjecture that one of the objects in 1 Tim. ii. 14, 15 was to prevent any false inference as to the undesirableness of the married estate on the part of Christian women.] Apart from this, it is noteworthy that the Apostle emphasises the introduction of sin through woman. In Galilee it was the custom for the women to go before the bier, so as to mark that death came through woman (Ber. R. 17).

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25 Give the water no passage; neither a wicked woman liberty to gad abroad.

26 If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh, [f] and give her a bill of divorce, and let her go.

[f] Deut. 24. 1. Mark 10. 4.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1 *A good wife,* 4 *and a good conscience, do glad men.* 6 *A wicked wife is a fearful thing.* 13 *Of good and bad wives.* 28 *Of three things that are grievous.* 29 *Merchants and hucksters are not without sin.*

B. C. cir. 200.

BLESSED is the man that hath [a] a virtuous wife, for the number of his days shall be double. [a] Prov. 31. 10, &c.

2 A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the years of his life in peace.

3 [b] A good wife is a good portion, which shall be given in the portion of them that fear the Lord. [b] Prov. 18. 22.

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25. *neither to a wicked woman* **rule** (perhaps better: *authority* or *power*).] Omit "to gad abroad," which is added in 248, Co. For ἐξουσίαν, "rule," Fritzsche would read with the Sin., Alex., 248, and six other MSS. παῤῥησίαν, "liberty," or rather "confidence." But this not only gives the impression of a later emendation, but is forbidden by the Syr., which has "rule" or "power," and therefore establishes the Vat. text. The A. V. follows 248, Co. Very curiously the Syr. has: "nor to a woman face and rule." Did the Syr. make some confusion with such an expression as וְאַף in the original, or may the latter have had נְשִׂיאוּת פָּנִים, "lifting up of the face," in the sense of special honour, distinction, which the Syr. misunderstood? The Syr. also adds: "for as the issue of waters as it proceeds becomes larger, so a wicked woman proceeds and sinneth." The Vet. Lat. is apparently emendated, but generally accords with 248, Co., which (as already indicated) have for ἐξουσίαν, παῤῥησίαν ἐξόδου. It renders: *non des aquæ tuæ exitum, nec modicum; nec mulieri nequam veniam prodeundi* (the latter also in A. V.).

26. *If she go not* **according to thy hand**]—that is, either "according to thy manner," כְּיָדֵךְ, or more probably עַל־יָדֵךְ, "under thy leadership." The words "and give her"—viz. a bill of divorce—"and send her away" (more freely rendered in the A. V.) must be omitted. They are neither in the Vat., the Alex., nor the Sin. (which latter has in the first clause, instead of χεῖρά σου, χεῖράς σου). But the clause occurs in 248, Co., and also in the Syr. The wording of the latter (*carnem tuam reseca*) might lead us to suspect some indelicacy in the original which the Greek has modified (but see the note on xxvi. 1). The Vet. Lat. is paraphrastic or explanatory in the second clause.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The arrangement of this chapter presents special difficulties from the state of the text, since *vv.* 19–27, although found in 248, Co., and in the Syr., are not in either the Vat. or the Alex., while *vv.* 28, 29 evidently belong to ch. xxvii. (see the notes). The chapter as thus curtailed treats of the favourite subject of the Son of Sirach: woman. Four verses in praise of a good woman are followed by eight verses (*vv.* 5–12) which describe the ills entailed by evil women. Lastly, we have six verses in praise of a fair woman (*vv.* 13–18).

1. **Happy the husband of a good wife, and.**] This verse and *v.* 3 are quoted in the Talmud in two passages (Yebam. 63 *b*; Sanh. 100 *b*) as from Ben Sira. In Sanh. 100 *b* they are introduced as useful for preaching purposes. But although the two verses are quoted precisely alike in both Talmudic passages, and are the same as in the Greek version, their order is inverted, *v.* 3 (of the Greek text) preceding *v.* 1. Moreover, between these two sayings another is inserted, which represents the closing verse of the previous chapter; being, however, neither exactly like the Greek nor the Syriac version, but almost a compromise between the two. We can scarcely agree with Fritzsche that the second clause of our verse is explanatory of the first. The doubling of the number of days seems a continuation, rather than an explanation, of the first clause.

2. **a brave** [worthy] **wife.**] γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, by which the LXX. render the אֵשֶׁת חַיִל of Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10 (LXX. xxix. 28), while the same Hebrew expression in Ruth iii. 11 is rendered by γυνὴ δυνάμεως—another evidence that the translation of Prov. and that of Ruth were made by different hands and presumably at different periods.

his years.] Not "the years of his life," as in the A. V. after 248, Co. The Syr. interchanges *vv.* 2 and 3, and it has "in joy" instead of "in peace." Such a woman will be a defence from evil and strife.

3. As regards the second part of the verse, the repetition of the word "portion" shews that there must have been some misapprehen-

B. C. cir. 200.

4 Whether a man be rich or poor, if he have a good heart toward the Lord, he shall at all times rejoice with a cheerful countenance.

5 There be three things that mine heart feareth; and for the fourth I was sore afraid: ‖ the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation: all these are worse than death.

‖ Gr. *an evil report.*

6 But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman, and a scourge of the tongue which communicateth with all.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 An evil wife is ‖ a yoke shaken to and fro: he that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.

‖ Or, *a yoke of oxen.*

8 A drunken woman and a gadder abroad causeth great anger, and she will not cover her own shame.

9 The whoredom of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids.

10 [c] If thy daughter be shameless, keep her in straitly, lest she abuse herself through overmuch liberty.

[c] ch. 42. 11.

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sion on the part of the translator. The mistake is rectified by the quotation in the Talmud, which has in the second clause בְּחֵיק, "in the bosom," misread by the Greek בְּחֵלֶק, "in the portion." Thus the original Heb. text would have been: **she shall be given** [or it shall be given, viz. the gift: כִּתְּנָה, as in the Talmud] **in the bosom of them that fear the Lord.** The Syr. puts it thus: "a good wife shall be given to the man who feareth the Lord in return for good works"—a somewhat bold emendation, probably in order to avoid the appearance of fatalism. The Vet. Lat. here once more shews alike its dependence on the Syr. as well as on the Greek by combining the Syr. and the Greek, as follows: *in parte* (this from the Greek) *timentium Deum debitur viro* (this from the Syr.) *pro factis bonis* (this again from the Syr.).

4. **The heart of the rich and also of the poor** (is) **happy, at all times** [here = under any circumstances] **the countenance cheerful.**] Viz. if he have such a wife. The A. V. follows 248, Co.

5. There is some difficulty about the second clause. The text of the A. V. is here also that of the Alex. and S^2. But this reading seems almost impossible (see Fritzsche). On the other hand, the Vatic. has: "with the face I have prayed," which is no doubt the better text, but gives no meaning, since "to pray with the face" can scarcely be regarded as = "to pray humbly," *i.e.* with down-turned face. We imagine that the confusion originally arose from the expression פֶּן, "lest" (of course our present final letters were not in use), which the Greek translator misread פָּנַי, or even פָּנִים, "face," and thus bunglingly turned into προσώπῳ, "with the face." But as the reading "with the face I have prayed" gave no meaning, it was next emended into "I have feared." The original had probably neither one nor the other, but something that would give this meaning: **"Of three things my heart is afraid, and over the fourth, lest (פֶּן) it befall me"**—or something of that kind.

the gathering together of **the multitude** [presumably, mob-rule and mob-law] . . . *all these are* **more wretched** *than death.*] The Syr. combines into one sentence the first two causes of fear in a manner similar to what we have noted in xxv. 7 (see the note).

6. This verse states that fourth object which inspired him with such dread. Omit "but." The last clause we propose rendering: **and a scourge of tongue which (equally) gives a share to all**—is equally administered to all: the sense being that one of the (three) things connected with a jealous woman is that her evil speaking—the scourge of her tongue—equally falls upon all, however unreasonable and uncalled-for the promptings of her jealousy may be. The Syr. omits this verse.

7. *a yoke shaken to and fro.*] Rather, "an **ox-yoke moved** to and fro," *i.e.* unsteady in its movement, one of the animals pulling in the other direction. The Syr. renders it by "a hard yoke," perhaps reading מוֹטָה, while the Greek derived the word from the verb מוּט.

he that **layeth** *hold of her is as* **one that seizes** *a scorpion.*] Which turns round to inflict a poisonous bite.

8. *A* **woman drunken** [*and roaming about*, which the A. V. falsely softens].] The italicised words within brackets, which are not in the Vat. nor Alex. but in 248, Co., are also represented in the Syr. The idea suggested is sufficiently plain.

9. *in* **the upliftings of the eyes and in her** *eyelids.*

10. Three warnings follow.

shameless.] ἀδιάτρεπτος; lit. "**over a**

B. C. cir. 200.

11 Watch over an impudent eye: and marvel not if she trespass against thee.

12 She will open her mouth, as a thirsty traveller when he hath found a fountain, and drink of every water near her: by every ‖hedge will she sit down, and open her quiver against every arrow.

‖ Or, *stake.*

13 The grace of a wife delighteth her husband, and her discretion will fatten his bones.

14 A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord; and there is nothing so much worth as a mind well instructed. B. C. cir. 200.

15 A shamefaced and faithful woman is a double grace, and her continent mind cannot be valued.

16 As the sun when it ariseth ‖in the high heaven; so is the beauty of a good wife in the ‖ordering of her house.

‖ Gr. *in the highest places of the Lord.*

‖ Or, *ornament.*

17 As the clear light is upon the holy candlestick; so is the beauty of the face ‖in ripe age.

‖ Or, *in constant age.*

18 As the golden pillars are upon the sockets of silver; so are the ‖fair feet with a constant ‖heart.

‖ Or, *comely.*

‖ Or, *breast.*

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daughter that cannot be turned aside—here from lust (this, rather than "headstrong," see Fritzsche) — **keep a strait watch."**

through overmuch liberty.] Rather, **"lest finding relaxation,"** *i.e.* of the watchfulness advised. Fritzsche tries to explain the sin referred to in a better sense than that implied in the A. V.; but in our opinion with little success.

11. (To go) **After an impudent eye, be on thy guard** (beware, have a care).] It is scarcely worth discussing the meaning to be attached to these words, nor whether the reference is to a daughter, as in *v.* 10, or to another woman — probably the latter. If the warning of the first clause be neglected, marvel not if she leads thee into sin.

12. **As a thirsty traveller will open his mouth and drink of every water that is near, so will she sit down before every peg,** *&c.*

13. A new stanza, in praise of woman. The antithesis to the previous verses which described the bad woman is not difficult to trace. The expression "make fat the bones," as in Prov. xv. 30.

14. Omit from the A. V. the words "and a loving" — evidently a later emendatory addition.

and there is nothing so much worth.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα, **there is not an exchange**—here, best: **equivalent in value.** Instead of "as a mind well instructed" of the more polite Greek, the Syr. has "as continence [exiguity, parsimony] of throat."

15. Omit from the A. V. the words "and faithful" (see *v.* 14). Lit., **is grace upon grace** = utmost grace.

cannot be valued.] A good paraphrase of οὐκ ἔστι σταθμὸς πᾶς ἄξιος. Instead of "a continent mind" the Syr. has "continence [exiguity, *u. s.*] of the mouth;" but the allusion of the Greek is to something different, and marks a progression on the first clause of the verse.

16. *in the high heaven.*] Rather, **in the heights** (the highest places, ἐν ὑψίστοις) **of the Lord.**

in the ordering of her house.] More correctly, according to the Vat., "the ordering of **his** house," viz. that of her lord. The comparison is between the sun in the heights, or high places, of his lord, and woman in the house of her lord: both have a lord, and both are beautiful in the effectual discharge of the functions assigned to them. What the sun is in the house above, woman is in that upon earth. The Syr. has: "so is the beauty of a good woman when she abideth in her house." This probably represents the original more accurately.

17. *As the* **lamp that shineth forth** *upon the holy candlestick, so is beauty* **of face upon a steadfast** *age* [life].] The word ἡλικία is always used in that sense in the Apocr., and the meaning would be: so is matronly beauty after a constant, steadfast life.

18. Another figure, no doubt also derived from the furniture of the Temple, and equally designed to exhibit the combination of beauty with goodness.

As golden pillars upon a silver base, so fair feet with [lit., upon] **the heart** [lit., breasts] **of one who is stable** [quiet].] Or, adopting the reading εὐσταθέσι, "with a stable [quiet?] heart." The antithesis to *vv.* 8–12, as well as the parallelism with the previous verse, are clearly marked. At the same time it should be mentioned that commentators following the lead of S^1, the Vet. Lat., and the Syr. propose to alter στέρνοις into πτέρναις, and to translate "so are fair feet upon firm soles." But this not only destroys the parallelism, but does not yield any good, scarcely an intelligible, meaning.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 My son, keep the flower of thine age sound; and give not thy strength to strangers.

20 When thou hast gotten a fruitful possession through all the field, sow it with thine own seed, trusting in the goodness of thy stock.

21 So thy race which thou leavest shall be magnified, having the confidence of their good descent.

22 An harlot shall be accounted as ‖spittle; but a married woman is a tower against death to her husband.

‖ Or, *a swine.*

23 A wicked woman is given as a portion to a wicked man: but a godly woman is given to him that feareth the Lord.

24 A dishonest woman contemneth shame: but an honest woman will reverence her husband.

25 A shameless woman shall be counted as a dog; but she that is shamefaced will fear the Lord.

B. C. cir. 200.

26 A woman that honoureth her husband shall be judged wise of all; but she that dishonoureth him in her pride shall be counted ungodly of all.

27 A loud crying woman and a scold shall be sought out to drive away the enemies.

28 There be two things that grieve my heart; and the third maketh me angry: a man of war that suffereth poverty; and [d]men of understanding that are not set by; and [e]one that returneth from righteousness to sin; the Lord prepareth such an one for the sword.

[d] Eccles. 9. 15.
[e] Ezek. 18. 24.

29 [f] A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin.

[f] ch. 27. 2.

19–27. These verses, which are not found either in the Vat. or in the Alex., are an interpolation, although probably an old one. They occur in H., 248, and Co. They are also found in the Syr. (though not in the Vet. Lat.), but with expressions so strange and divergent from the Greek as to raise the suspicion of a later addition. We entertain the less doubt as to the spuriousness of these verses, since they often contain repetitions of what had been previously said.

28. This verse evidently begins a subject totally different from that hitherto discussed. We can scarcely doubt that this and the following verse form part of ch. xxvii. The new subject is introduced in a manner similar to Ecclus. xxvi. 5. The object of the writer in thus introducing a new theme seems to be, by first stating three things on which all are agreed, to prepare for, and to conciliate, the favourable consideration of his readers in regard to the new subject which he is about to bring before them.

Over two things has my heart been grieved, and over [for] **the third strong feeling cometh upon me . . .** *and men of understanding* **if they** *are not set by.*] As the fifth line is not introduced in any of the Greek texts by *καί*, we propose beginning with it a new sentence, and combining it with the last line: **He that returneth from righteousness to sin, the Lord prepareth him** [such an one] **for the sword.** [So also Bissell, although not as to punctuation.] The Syr. has "and." In this it is followed by the Vet. Lat., although not in the somewhat peculiar rendering of the three cases instanced: "a free man" for "a man of war;" "men of celebrated fame who fall from their glory," and "over him who turneth from adherence to God [apostatises from the true religion]."

29. The sentence is in strict accordance with Rabbinic sentiment. The *ἔμπορος* is here the תַּגָּר (as in the Syr.) of the Targumim and Talmud, the larger, resident, or else the importing merchant (even the dealer *en gros*), while the *κάπηλος* is either the travelling hawker, the סַחְרָן of the Talmud, or more probably the חַנְוָנִי, "huckster" or "shopman." But in the LXX. the *ἔμπορος* is alike the סוֹחֵר, although even so a travelling merchant, and the רוֹכֵל of biblical Hebrew—resident merchants being apparently unknown. The word *κάπηλος* occurs only in the LXX. modification of the last clause of Is. i. 22 ("thy hawkers mix the wine with water"—the introduction of the term seeming to imply different authorship and perhaps laterdate than other parts of the LXX. The LXX. in Ezek. has only *ἔμπορος*). The Talmud ranks the חַנְוָנִי, "huckster" or "shopkeeper" (by which the Syr. renders the *κάπηλος* of our text among those whose occupation involves robbing (Qidd. 82 *a*, *b*—altogether a curious passage). In Ab. ii. 5 we are told that he who trafficks much (multiplieth merchandising, סְחוֹרָה) cannot become a sage, while in Erubh. 55 *b* Deut. xxx. 13 is thus explained: "Thou shalt not find it [the Law] either with hawkers or

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1 *Of sins in selling and buying.* 7 *Our speech will tell what is in us.* 16 *A friend is lost by discovering his secrets.* 25 *He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it.*

[a] Prov. 28. 21.
[‖] Or, *a thing indifferent.*
[b] Prov. 23. 4.
[1] Tim. 6. 9.

MANY [a]have sinned for [‖]a small matter; and he that [b]seeketh for abundance will turn his eyes away.

2 As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones; so doth sin stick close between buying and selling. B. C. cir. 200.

3 Unless a man hold himself diligently in the fear of the Lord, his house shall soon be overthrown.

4 As when one sifteth with a sieve, the refuse remaineth; so the filth of man in his [‖]talk.

[‖] Or, *thought.*

5 [c]The furnace proveth the potter's vessels; so the trial of man is in his reasoning. [c] Prov. 27. 21.

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with merchants" (לֹא בְסַחְרָנִים וְלֹא בְתַגָּרִים). The Syr. curiously adds explanatively: "for if he stumbles not in this, he stumbles in that." But "the shopkeeper" or "hawker" is absolutely given up—he "**is not free** from sin."

CHAPTER XXVII.

The subject begun in the two closing verses of ch. xxvi. is continued in the three opening verses of ch. xxvii. From "commerce" the writer proceeds to that other "commerce," the intercourse of daily life. This forms the general subject of the chapter. First, the source of conversation is traced to the condition of mind and heart (stanza 2, four verses: 4–7). This gives rise to a parenthetic stanza of three verses on righteousness and truth (*vv.* 8–10). Then follows an antithetic stanza about the discourse of the wise and that of the fool (stanza 4 of five verses: 11–15). Next we have a stanza (the fifth) on unwarrantable and dangerous speech (six verses: 16–21); and then a sixth stanza of three verses on deceitful speech and action (*vv.* 22–24). The last stanza (six verses: 25–30) —on malice and anger—follows up that which had preceded, and intimates the righteous retribution of God on conduct such as that referred to. This stanza also serves as a transition from ch. xxvii. to xxviii.

1. *a small matter.*] Rather, **a thing indifferent,** which has no real value and for which he perhaps little cares. Comp. Note on vii. 18.

seeketh for abundance.] To increase = to accumulate wealth.

will turn **away the eye.**] Viz., either from that which is right, or else in the sense of an obliquity of vision. The Syr. curiously has: "he that seeketh to multiply sins turneth away his eyes."

2. *As a* **peg is driven in** [made fast] *between the joinings* **of stones,** *so* **is sin crushed in** *between buying and selling.*] There is some difficulty about the meaning of συντριβήσεται ("crushed in"). It is simply arbitrary on the part of Fritzsche to change the word into συνθλιβήσεται—by way of following (?) the Vet. Lat., *angustiabitur.* The Syr. renders: "is made strong." This, as has been suggested, would represent תַּחֲזִיק, or it might be תַּחֲזֵק, which the Greek, however, read תָּחֻזַּק, "layeth hold of." And although συντριβήσεται properly means "is crushed," yet the figure in the first clause about the peg driven in might naturally suggest this free, but substantially correct, rendering of the Greek for the Hebrew: "layeth hold of."

3. The previous verse is followed by a general warning, which in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. is cast in the form of a personal address. The meaning is: Such being the temptations of daily life, take care lest instead of building your house by your gains you destroy it in consequence of your sin. The Syr. rendering of the second clause is both inapt and unaccountable.

4. A new stanza. *talk.*] Rather, **thinking.** As in the LXX. generally, we must regard λογισμός, as = מַחֲשָׁבָה. The object of the writer is to shew that the real character of a man will ultimately appear in his discourse. The lighter substances may be shaken out of a sieve, but the heavier remain. So it is with a man. The vile remains in his thinking and purposing, and it will manifest itself. This is the real test of what a man is and of what he will do or say.

5. *in his reasoning.*] Rather, **in his consideration**—in his balancing of what course to take, and in his consequent choice. This meaning seems to suit the whole context and also best to fit in with *vv.* 8–10. The expression δοκιμάζει κάμινος, "the furnace proveth," reminds us of LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 (δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ) rather than of LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21. Nevertheless, we suspect that the gloss (perhaps originally marginal) found in LXX. Prov. xxvii. 21 may be based on Ecclus. xxvii. 5, 6, rather than on LXX. Prov. xvii. 3 or on xii. 8.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 [d] The fruit declareth if the tree have been dressed; so is the utterance of a conceit in the heart of man.

[d] Matt. 7. 17.

7 Praise no man before thou hearest him speak; for this is the trial of men.

8 If thou followest righteousness, thou shalt obtain her, and put her on, as a glorious long robe.

9 The birds will resort unto their like; so will truth return unto them that practise in her.

10 As the lion lieth in wait for the prey; so sin for them that work iniquity.

11 The discourse of a godly man is always with wisdom; but a fool changeth as the moon.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 If thou be among the indiscreet, observe the time; but be continually among men of understanding.

13 The discourse of fools is irksome, and their sport is the wantonness of sin.

14 [e] The talk of him that sweareth much maketh the hair stand upright; and their brawls make one stop his ears.

[e] ch. 23. 9.

15 The strife of the proud is bloodshedding, and their revilings are grievous to the ear.

16 Whoso discovereth secrets los-

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6. **The cultivation of a tree its fruit sheweth forth** [mark the similarity with, and yet difference from St. Matt. vii. 16, 20, and comp. especially St. Jas. iii. 12, 17], **so the matter** [λόγος = דבר, in the sense of "object"] **of desire** [or of cogitation] **the hearts of men** (taking καρδίας as the accus. plur., not the gen. sing.).] It would be extremely difficult, and perhaps scarcely worth the labour of the attempt, to explain the divergences in the Syr.

7. This verse, which forms the conclusion of this part, is omitted in the Syr. Translate: Praise **not a man irrespective of** (his) **thinking**,—viz. before thou knowest what that is—"for this is the trial [the test] of men."

8. This stanza follows naturally upon what had preceded. "If thou followest **the right**, thou shalt obtain [attain] and put it on," &c. The "long robe," ποδήρης, as in Rev. i. 13, especially the robe of the High Priest (Ecclus. xlv. 8), and also in the LXX. O. T. (where its use in Ezek. ix. 2, 3 for בַּדִּים deserves notice). Here it indicates holy beauty and glory as of the raiments of the High Priest.

9. **Birds** *will resort* [turn in to lodge with] *unto their like.*] Comp. our note on xiii. 16; "similarly truth will return," &c.: will ultimately appear on the side of the righteous and vindicate them, however they may have suffered or been misrepresented. On the other hand, sure destruction will ultimately overtake those who do the wrong (*v.* 10). Omit "as" in the A. V.

11. The Syr. here interposes what in the Greek is *v.* 12. A new stanza.

always with wisdom.] According to the better reading, **always wisdom.** The constancy of his wisdom, as the outcome of piety within, is contrasted with the phases of a fool, changing like those of the moon. The Vet. Lat. has this peculiar rendering: *homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol*, which gives a better antithesis than either the Greek or the Syr. text. This may have suggested the alteration—perhaps with some (Christian?) reference to Ps. lxxii. 17. It has indeed been argued that the Vet. Lat. has here preserved the correct Hebrew text, כַּחַמָּה תָמִיד, "as the sun perpetual," which the Greek misread: חָכְמָה תָמִיד, "wisdom perpetual=is always." But it is difficult to understand either the supposed sentiment or that it should be so expressed (comp. Ps. lxxii. 17); still more whence the Greek could have derived the word διήγησις, the genuineness of which is attested by its occurrence in the antithetic *v.* 13. Lastly, the Syr. has the verse as in the Greek.

12. **Into the midst of** [among] **those of no understanding: have heed to** *the time*—choose the proper season, the proper moment for going among them; **into the midst of those of understanding: be continuous.**

13. *The discourse of fools is* **an offence,** *and their* **laughter in** *the wantonness of sin* —in wanton sin.

14. The profanities and blasphemies in their brawls are such that one stops his ears.

15. *The strife of the* **audacious** [insolent, proud, ὑπερηφάνων] *is* **shedding of blood** —leads to it—**and their angry railing a** *grievous* **sound.**] This and the two preceding verses evidently constitute a climax. The Syr. text is here confused, and seems corrupt.

B. C. cir. 200.

eth his credit; and shall never find friend to his mind.

17 Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him: but *f* if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him.

f ch. 22. 22.

18 For as a man hath destroyed his enemy; so hast thou lost the love of thy neighbour.

19 As one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so hast thou let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again.

20 Follow after him no more, for he is too far off; he is as a roe escaped out of the snare.

21 As for a wound, it may be bound up; and after reviling there may be reconcilement: but he that bewrayeth secrets is without hope.

B. C. cir. 200.

22 He *g* that winketh with the eyes worketh evil: and he that knoweth him will depart from him.

g Prov. 10. 10.

23 When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words: but at the last he will ‖writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings.

‖ Or, *alter his speech.*

24 I have hated many things, but nothing like him; for the Lord will hate him.

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16. Another stanza, and another instance of "discourse" which betrayeth an unworthy soul.

discovereth.] Rather, **revealeth.**

17. *bewrayest.*] Rather, **revealest.**

follow no more after him.] It will be useless trouble, for he will not be reconciled. The Syr. deserves special notice: "Try thy friend, and then trust him [this probably correctly according to the Hebrew, although perhaps interpolated from vi. 7]; but if he reveal the secret of the faith, go no more after him." The subtle alteration in the second clause betrays the Christian emendator. He must have been later than the Arabic translator, who made his version from the Syr., and yet does not reproduce this alteration. Similarly, the addition is not found in the Vet. Lat.

18. *lost.*] Rather, **destroyed.** The meaning of the Greek would be: thou hast completely destroyed all friendship as one completely destroyeth an enemy. But the Syr. has, for "his enemy," "has lost his portion;" the Vet. Lat., "loseth his friend." Bretschneider conjectures that the original had צֵידוֹ, "his prey" (in hunting), for which the Greek read צָרוֹ, "his enemy." But although this would accord with the following verses, it does not explain the Syr. nor yet the Latin rendering. Horowitz (in Frankel's 'Monatsschrift,' xiv. p. 197) adopts the Syr. reading, and supposes that the original had חֶבְלוֹ, "his portion," which the Greek misread חֹבְלוֹ, "him that hurts or ill-treats him." In that case it might be further conjectured that the Vet. Lat., if it had the Hebrew before it (which is certainly not impossible), read חֲבֵרוֹ, "his friend." But the whole combination is very doubtful.

19. *As one that letteth.*] Rather, **and as thou lettest.**

get him again.] θηρεύσεις—a hunting term, "catch him in the hunt."

20. *he is too far off.*] Better, **he has withdrawn himself** far off.

as a roe.] Rather, "as a **gazelle**," or antelope, known for its fleetness. The Syr. has here the addition: "and as a bird out of the snare," evidently taken from Prov. vi. 5.

21. Omit "as" in the A. V.

wound.] For the Vat. θραῦμα, "breaking," which may represent the Hebrew שֶׁבֶר, we adopt the Alex. reading τραῦμα. There are hurts which can be healed, but not that here supposed.

22. A new stanza, describing another manifestation of the same sin. The A. V. here follows the reading of H., 248, Co. (which is also adopted by the Armen.), καὶ ὁ εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἀποστήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. This is certainly preferable to the Vat., καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀποστήσει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ = and no one will be able to get rid of him. A., C., and eight MSS. have αὐτὰ ἀποστήσει—referring to the "evil" in the first clause.

winketh with the eye.] Indicating malicious plotting; comp. Prov. vi. 13, x. 10.

23. The writer proceeds to give a description of such a person. Lit., **before thine eyes he will make his mouth sweet,** &c.; adopting the reading στόμα αὐτοῦ with A., C., 55, 106, 157, 248, 307, Co., Vet. Lat. (the Syr. here is throughout corrupt). This evidently suits the context better than the Vat., which has στόμα σου, "thy mouth."

but **afterwards he will turn about his speech.**] The last clause, literally rendered, reads: "and **will put in thy words an offence;**" that is, he will pur-

B. C. cir. 200.

25 Whoso casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds.

[h] Ps. 7. 15. Prov. 26. 27. Eccles. 10. 8.

26 [h] Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and [i] he that setteth a trap shall be taken therein.

[i] Ps. 9. 15. & 35. 8.

27 He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh.

28 Mockery and reproach are from the proud; but [k] vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them.

[k] Deut. 32. 35. Rom. 12. 19.

29 They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die.

B. C. cir. 200.

30 Malice and wrath, even these are abominations; and the sinful man shall have them both.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 *Against revenge,* 8 *quarrelling,* 10 *anger,* 15 *and backbiting.*

HE [a] that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins [in remembrance.]

[a] Deut. 32. 35. Rom. 12. 19.

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posely attach to them a meaning which will cause offence.

24. *I* **hate** *many things, but nothing like him.*] Literally, but **I do not make them equal to him,** &c., *i.e.* I do not put other things hateful to me on the same level with this.

for.] Rather, **also,** the Heb. גַּם. The Syr. adds: "and will curse him." The Arab. omits this, which proves that it is a later emendation of the Syr. Version, which the Arab. throughout follows.

25. A new stanza, describing the righteous retribution on such a course.

shall make wounds.] Rather, **shall distribute wounds;** an obscure phrase, which from the context we suppose to mean that the consequence of a deceitful stroke will be to wound him that deals it, as well as him to whom it is dealt.

26. The Syr. is different, and the Vet. Lat. has an explanatory addition.

27. We are once more carried back to Prov. vi.: see above, *v.* 13. The expression *ὁ ποιῶν πονηρά,* "he that worketh **evil,**" is preserved in the Syr. in its Hebrew form, as in Prov. vi. 14. There the person described in Ecclus. xxvii. 23 as "turning about his speech" is characterised by הַהֹפְכוֹת בְּלִבּוֹ, "turnings about in his heart" (comp. Prov. viii. 13, x. 32, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת פִּי; Prov. x. 31, תַּהְפֻּכוֹת לָשׁוֹן). Again (as in the Syr.) the *ποιῶν πονηρά* is = חֹרֵשׁ רָע, "he that forgeth evil" (comp. xiv. 22, iii. 29), or in Prov. vi. 18, לֵב חֹרֵשׁ מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָוֶן.

whence it cometh.] Add: **upon him.**

28. This verse is not found in the Syr. (although in the Vet. Lat.), and reads like an interpolation.

29. The Syr. here has a different and certainly erroneous rendering, probably due to a misreading of the Hebrew, which it is scarcely worth the labour to trace in detail, although in part it is evident.

30. *even these.*] Rather, **these also.** Omit from the A. V. the final word "both."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

This chapter stands in close internal connexion with the preceding. It deals with that to which the sins previously referred to give rise, and finally returns to these sins themselves. The special topics of the chapter may be grouped as follows: *Revenge* (stanza 1, of seven verses); *strife* (second stanza, of five verses: *vv.* 8–12); *calumny* (third stanza, of four verses: *vv.* 13–16); *its baneful effects* (fourth stanza, of five verses: *vv.* 17–21—although this and the previous stanza may possibly be combined into one). Lastly, we have a stanza which on the one hand promises to the righteous safety from the consequences of backbiting, and on the other admonishes to watchfulness (five verses: *v.* 22 to the end).

1. The words italicised, "keep his sins *in remembrance,*" are inadequate. The verb is used here as in Ps. cxxx. 3: "if Jehovah keep sin;" that is, not only remember, but reserve it for punishment (comp. the figure in Job xiv. 17), only that here it must have been שָׁמוֹר יִשְׁמוֹר, which the Greek preserves, as well as the Vet. Lat. (*servans servabit*). We need scarcely here remind ourselves of Rom. xii. 19. But the whole sentiment seems so unlike the spirit of the book, and so Christian in its conception, that we suspect an interpolation. The Syr. is quite different, and perhaps preserves the Hebrew original. It begins the verse with what seems a modification of the second clause of the last verse in the previous chapter: "And the deceitful man destroyeth his way" (perhaps the

B. C. cir. 200.

2 [b] Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest.

3 [c] One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord?

4 He sheweth no mercy to a man, which is like himself: and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?

5 If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, who will intreat for pardon of his sins?

6 Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; [remember] corruption and death, and abide in the commandments.

7 Remember the commandments, and bear no malice to thy neighbour: [remember] the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance.

[b] Matt. 6. 14. Mark 11. 25. Luke 6. 37.

[c] See Matt. 18. 23, &c.

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original had something like Ps. i. 6: וְרֶרֶךְ רְשָׁעִים תֹּאבֵד, "and will receive retribution [vengeance] from God, because all his sins shall be carefully preserved to him."

2. *Forgive* **the unrighteousness** [the wrong, injury] **of thy neighbour, and then when thou prayest thy sins shall be loosed** [λυθήσονται; comp. St. Matt. xviii. 18].] The latter expression, but chiefly the addition "when thou prayest"—which makes the verse parallel with St. Mark xi. 25—indicates Christian alteration. In Talmudic writings we find indeed such statements as "To whom is sin pardoned? To him who forgiveth injury" (Rosh Hash. 17 *a*, and in other places); and again: "every time that thou art merciful, God will be merciful to thee; and if thou art not merciful, God will not shew mercy to thee" (Jer. Babha Q. viii. 10, and other places). Other similar passages might be quoted, to which St. Jas. ii. 13 forms the N. T. parallel. But so far as we know there is not any ancient Jewish saying strictly parallel to this verse in Ecclus. We therefore regard it as a later Christian alteration. The Syr. Christian emendation goes even further. It has: "Remit what is in thy heart and afterwards pray, and all thy sins shall be remitted thee." The Vet. Lat. follows the Greek.

3. (One) *Man* **keepeth anger** *against* (another) *man, and doth he seek* **healing** *from the Lord?*] "Healing," like רָפָא, or rather here כֹּרְפֵּא, in the sense of forgiveness. We are here again on strictly Jewish ground. The N. T. also offers well-known parallels. Fritzsche quotes from the Pastor of Hermas, B. iii., *Similit.* ix. 23. But that passage rather recalls St. Jas. iv. 12. A better parallel would have been *u. s.*, B. ii., Comm. ix.: "For He is not like men who remember evils done against them; but He Himself remembers not evils, and has compassion on His own creatures." This seems based on the following from Yoma, 86 *b*: "Come and see that the measure [manner of dealing] of the Holy One, blessed be He, is not like that of flesh and blood. A man makes his neighbour angry [offends him] by words, there is a doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by him; and if thou sayest, he will be assuaged by him, there is doubt whether or not he will be assuaged by words, but the Holy One, blessed be His Name: a man committeth a sin in secret—He [God] is assuaged of him by words (see Hos. xiv. 2)."

4. Rather, **he hath not mercy.**

doth he ask forgiveness.] Rather, "**does he entreat** (viz. mercy) **on account of his sins?**" The Syr. omits the verse.

5. He that is flesh keepeth resentment [μῆνιν], *who will* **atone for** [expiate] *his sins?*] (Bissell.) The Syr. has: "he who is a son of man is not willing to remit, and who shall remit his sins?" These verses are intended to mark the incongruity of his position. But *v.* 5 seems also to indicate that works of mercy were regarded as a kind of atonement.

6. The writer now proceeds to positive admonition.

thy end.] Rather, **the end.** For "abide in the commandments," the Syr. has "abstain from sinning"—probably correctly representing the original, since the first clause of the next verse is as in the Greek. Verses 6 and 7 mark a progression, which the Greek probably wished to make more emphatic by this "abide in the commandments," to be immediately followed by "remember the commandments," &c.

7. *bear no malice to.*] Rather, **be not angry against.**

wink at.] Rather, **overlook.**

ignorance.] ἄγνοια, as in the LXX., always in the sense of guilt or sin of weakness, שְׁגָגָה, or else אָשָׁם and אַשְׁמָה. The Syr. has: "Remember the commandment and hate not thy neighbour before God, and give him what lacketh to him." It has been ingeniously suggested that the Syr. for "before" (ܩܕܡ) is corrupt, and that we should read (ܩܝܡ) "covenant"—"the covenant of God"—while

B. C. cir. 200.

8 [d]Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins: for a furious man will kindle strife.

[d] ch. 8. 1.

9 A sinful man disquieteth friends, and maketh debate among them that be at peace.

[e] Prov. 26. 21.

10 [e]As the matter of the fire is, so it burneth: and as a man's strength is, so is his wrath; and according to his riches his anger riseth; and the stronger they are which contend, the more they will be inflamed.

11 An hasty contention kindleth a fire: and an hasty fighting sheddeth blood.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 If thou blow the spark, it shall burn: if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched: and both these come out of thy mouth.

13 [f]Curse the whisperer and doubletongued: for such have destroyed many that were at peace.

[f] ch. 21. 28.

14 A backbiting tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from

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the other differences between the Greek text might be explained by supposing that the Greek read נָשָׂא לוֹ עָוֹנוֹ, while the Syr. read עָנְיוֹ.

8. *A new stanza: strife.*] Omit from the A. V. "thy" before "sins." If we abstain from strife, there will be fewer sins on our part; but this will not be the case if a man is wrathful. The Syr. omits the last part of the verse.

9. Rather, **And** a sinful man — the expression being general, to indicate that other sins besides fury may lead to strife.

disquieteth.] ταράξει, **perturbs, stirs up.** The manner of it is immediately explained: **and casteth in calumny** [possibly, ill-feeling—so the Syr. and Vet. Lat.] **among them that are** at peace. Instead of "disquieteth friends," the Syr. has, what seems more apt: "loveth litigation." If we suppose that the original had אֹהֵב מְרִיבָה, "loveth strife," we might conjecture that the Greek read אֹהֵב מֵרִיב, which he interpreted as above.

10. The clauses of this verse are evidently misplaced in the Vat. The Sin., Alex., and many other Codd. make the fourth clause the second; and as this is also the order in the Syr.—as well as the natural order—we conclude that such was the arrangement in the original. The Vet. Lat. omits the second clause. Possibly, it was only inserted in the Vat. (and there in the wrong place) by a later corrector. Correcting the order of the clauses (as above), the first two would read as follows: **According to the fuel of a fire** so it burneth [the Syr.: "whatever thou castest into the fire will burn"], **and according to the firmness** [strength?] **of a strife will it burn up.** The Syr.: "the more thou increasest litigation, the larger will it grow." The original may have been רִיב כְּעָצְמוֹת, which the Greek understood as = according to the strength, the Syriac as = according to the amount; (clause *c*) "**according to a man's strength is his wrath;**" the Syr., "as is the glory of a man's hands, so is his wrath;" in the Hebrew original perhaps כְּכֹחַ יָדָיו (in the LXX. *ἰσχὺς* is mostly the translation of כֹּחַ)—"and according to his **wealth** his anger riseth."

11. The Syr. evidently read the original differently: "Pitch and naphtha kindle fire, and frequent quarrels spill blood." This seems more apt than the Greek text.

fighting.] Rather, **strife.**

12. All depends on the disposition of men. What in the one case issues in fire, in the other is quenched: it is the individual not the thing which causeth the mischief. The twofold simile of fire and water in connexion with disputes (the latter simile brought out more fully in the Syr. than in the Greek) recalls St. Jas. iii. 6 and 10, 11. The Syr. is interesting as shewing that, even where it and the Greek are evidently renderings of the same Hebrew words, there may be slight differences between them, because each translator would deem himself at liberty to translate freely. The following is quoted in Vayyk. R. 33 (beginning) as from Ben Sira: "Is there a coal before thee—blow upon it, and it will kindle up; spit upon it, and it will be extinguished."

13. A new stanza (see introductory remarks). The Syr. renders: "also 'the third tongue,' let it be cursed, for it has laid low many corpses." The expression "third tongue" is of post-biblical Jewish usage. It means the calumnious, babbling tongue, and its designation "third tongue" is explained by this, that it kills three: the person who speaks the calumny, the person who listens to it, and the person concerning whom it is spoken (Ar. 16 *b*; Jer. Peah, 16 *a*; in Vayyk. R. 26 an instance of this is given; in Jer. Peah it is added that in the time of Saul it killed four). The Syr. translator seems to have had this in mind in his paraphrastic rendering of the verse.

B. C. cir. 200.

nation to nation: strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men.

‖ Or, *third.*

15 A ‖ backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women, and deprived them of their labours.

16 Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly.

17 The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh: but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

18 Many have fallen by the edge of the sword: but not so many as have fallen by the tongue.

19 Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass.

21 The death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.

22 It shall not have rule over them that fear God, neither shall they be burned with the flame thereof.

23 Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard.

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14. ‖ *A* **third** [a calumnious] *tongue hath* **tossed many to and fro.**] Before "strong cities" insert "**and.**" The last clause gains in emphasis by restoring its order as in the Greek: **and houses of great men** (*μεγιστάνων*) **hath it overthrown.** It is very interesting to find that not only the later Syriac but the Greek translator knew the Jewish expression "third tongue," explained in the previous note, and therefore in all probability the popular interpretation recorded in the Talmud. Indeed, the reference to the influence of a calumnious tongue in regard to other lands (clause *b*) recalls the Talmudic legend (told immediately after the explanation of the term "third tongue"), in which, in reply to a question of R. Samuel b. Nachman, the serpent explains that if its poisonous bite in one member extends to all the members, a calumnious tongue speaks in one place and its killing stroke falls in Rome, or else it speaks in Rome and its stroke falls in Syria. The Syr. translates somewhat differently, but is probably only a free version.

15. *virtuous women.*] Better, perhaps, **brave women,** *γυναῖκας ἀνδρείας*: comp. xxvi. 2.

deprived them of their labours.] *I.e.* of the fruit of them.

16. **He who giveth heed to** *it shall never* **find rest, nor yet shall he dwell tranquilly.**] The Syr. omits this verse.

17. *marks in the flesh.*] Better, **weals.**

19. *Well.*] Rather, **happy.**

and hath not passed through the venom thereof.] Rather, **who has not entered into the passionate fury** thereof; "who hath not drawn the yoke thereof" (Deut. xxi. 3, מֹשְׁכָה בְּעֹל; in the LXX. εἵλκυσε ζυγόν), —a Hebraism, meaning, who does not experience it.

21. *The death thereof.*] *I.e.* the death which it—viz. the calumnious tongue—worketh is evil, being a moral death (comp. Juvenal, viii. 192, and the note of Mayor).

and *the grave.*] Rather, **and Hades is profitable rather than it,** viz. Hades is more profitable, serves a better purpose, were rather to be chosen than such a tongue.

22. Possibly a new stanza: of promise and admonition. "It"—viz. such a tongue, not Hades—"shall not have rule." The use of the genit. here (*κρατήσῃ εὐσεβῶν*) shews that it refers to a continuous hold (see Winer, *l. l.* p. 182). The Syr. renders our verse, "burn not:" in the optative form, "mayest thou not burn upon the righteous," &c.

23. *burn in them* = among them.

devour them as a leopard.] Rather, **mutilate them as a leopard** (or panther). For "it shall be sent upon them as a lion," the Syr. has "it shall rule over them;" evidently reading (as has been suggested) תִּשְׁלַם, while the Greek read תִּשְׁלַח. If even in the Greek the wording of the first two lines (referring to the flame—although, from the context, that kindled by the tongue) raises the suspicion of a Christian modification, so that the words about the flame that would burn without quenching might be understood of Hades; this suspicion is increased by the Syriac, which seems to go much further in the same direction. It has: "All that forsake the fear of God shall fall into it [the flame]; upon them shall the fire kindle and not be extinguished, it shall rule over them as a lion, and as a panther tear them in pieces."

24, 25. The four lines of which these two

B. C. cir. 200.

24 Look that thou hedge thy possession about with thorns, and bind up thy silver and gold,

25 And weigh thy words in a balance, and make a door and bar for thy mouth.

26 Beware thou slide not by it, lest thou fall before him that lieth in wait.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 *We must shew mercy and lend:* 4 *but the borrower must not defraud the lender.* 9 *Give alms.* 14 *A good man will not undo his surety.* 18 *To be surety and undertake for others is dangerous.* 22 *It is better to live at home than to sojourn.*

B. C. cir. 200.

[a] HE that is merciful will lend unto his neighbour; and he that strengtheneth his hand keepeth the commandments. [a] Ps. 37. 26.

2 [b] Lend to thy neighbour in time of his need, and pay thou thy neighbour again in due season. [b] Deut. 15. 8. Matt. 5. 42. Luke 6. 35.

3 Keep thy word, and deal faithfully with him, and thou shalt always find the thing that is necessary for thee.

4 Many, when a thing was lent

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verses consist are misplaced in the Vat. (although Origen—Hom. i. in Ps. xxxviii. and Hom. Cant. vii. 8—favours the Vat. arrangement). The natural, and no doubt correct, succession of the lines is preserved in H., 248, Co., as well as in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. It is as follows:—

v. 24 **Lo, surround thy** possession [referring to land] with thorns [a hedge]
(25 *b*) And make a door and bar for thy mouth;
v. 25 (24 *b*) Bind up thy silver and thy gold,
(25 *a*) **And make for thy words a beam and weight** [an accurate balance].

The latter illustration is the more forcible because silver and gold, so tied up, were *weighed* —money going by weight. The two verses express the same thought—only the one in a negative, the other in a positive form. The hedge round the field, and the door and bar to the mouth, are to keep out evil; the balance is to weigh out the precious metals. Instead of "thy possession" in 24 *a* the Syr. has "thy vineyard," and the Vet. Lat. *aures tuas* (thine ears), adding the explanative clause: "linguam nequam noli audire." The *aures* of the Lat. instead of the "possession" of the Greek is strange. The Syr. rendering, "vineyard," has its parallel in the LXX., where כרם is repeatedly translated by κτῆμα.

26. Beware lest by any means thou slip by it, &c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

This chapter is only loosely connected with that which preceded. Generally we might say that we have in these chapters a succession of prudential counsels, conceived in a quasi-religious spirit, grouped under different headings, and bearing on different aspects of daily life. Possibly there may be some connexion between what was said at the close of the previous chapter about the binding up of silver and gold, and the admonition to mercy in this chapter; and again between the previous admonition to have a care over our words and the present warning against suretiship for another. The topics of the present chapter are: (1) an admonition to *mercy in lending*, one stanza of six verses, *v.* 7 forming the transition to the next stanza, which (2) presents another phase of *Mercy:* that which is not discouraged by misuse, but bestoweth freely (*vv.* 8–13). (3) The next stanza presents yet another aspect of *Mercy: Suretiship* (*vv.* 14–19—six verses). Lastly (4), the opposite point of view is taken, and we are shewn how desirable it is not to seek nor to accept *Mercy* (*vv.* 21–28).

1. *He that is merciful.*] Lit. **he that doeth mercy,** עֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד, or גֹּמֵל חסד.

he that strengtheneth his hand [similarly the Vet. Lat.: *prævalet manu*].] Rather, "**and** he that **maketh strong with** [by] his hand;" that is, supporteth another by helping him. The Hebrew would be: מְחַזֵּק בְּיָדוֹ, or חֹזֵק, or כְּמַחֲזִיק, the construction as in Ezr. i. 6. As for "the commandments" thus "kept," see Lev. xxv. 35 (וְהֶחֱזַקְתָּ בּוֹ); Deut. xv. 7, 8; comp. Ps. xxxvii. 26 (there חוֹנֵן וּמַלְוֶה, and in the next verse עֲשֵׂה־טוֹב). Comp. St. Matt. v. 42.

2. The duty of lending in such a spirit has for its correlative the obligation of punctual repayment. The Syr. is explanative rather than literal.

3. A further admonition to him who has contracted the obligation.

Keep thy word.] Lit. **make strong,** confirm it—a Hebraism.

always.] Lit., **at every season,** בְּכָל־עֵת, viz. whenever thou shalt need it. Observance of duty will in that case bring its own reward.

B. C. cir. 200.

them, reckoned it to be found, and put them to trouble that helped them.

5 Till he hath received, he will kiss a man's hand; and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly: but when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief, and complain of the time.

‖ Or, *If he be able.*

6 ‖ If he prevail, he shall hardly receive the half, and he will count as if he had found it: if not, he hath deprived him of his money, and he hath gotten him an enemy without cause: he payeth him with cursings and railings; and for honour he will pay him disgrace.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 Many therefore have refused to lend for other men's ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded.

8 Yet have thou patience with a man in poor estate, and delay not to shew him mercy.

9 Help the poor for [c] the commandment's sake, and turn him not away because of his poverty.

[c] Deut. 15. 11.

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4. Lit. **Many consider a loan as a find**—they treat a loan as if they had found something on the road, which they may appropriate and think no farther of him who lost it. In the second clause the simile is continued: the lender is represented as having the labour and trouble of searching after what he had lost. It has been ingeniously suggested that in the first clause the original may have had a word-play between שְׁאֵלָה, "a thing asked," and שָׁלָל, "a spoil" or "gain."

5. The description of the dishonourable borrower is true to the life—only it applies also to those of a like character who ask and obtain any favour.

Till he hath received.] Rather, **until he obtain.**

kiss a man's hand.] Lit. "**kiss his hand.**"

and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly.] Rather, "**about** his neighbour's property he will speak **humbly**" (lit. humble the voice). The meaning seems to be: he will refer in very humble language to the wealth of another—how easily he could help him, perhaps what liberal use he was wont to make of it. The Syr. gives the same impression. But afterwards matters are quite changed. "When he should repay," lit. **at the time of giving back** (ἀποδόσεως), then there is postponement: **he will protract the time**, the payment is delayed for the future, while what he does "give back" (ἀποδώσει) are "**words of sorrow** (regret):" he is very sorry—but the times are so bad.

6. *If he prevail* [that is, if the creditor succeed in getting back any money from the debtor] *he shall hardly* **recover** *the half, and he will* **regard it** [esteem it] **as a find** [something that he had considered absolutely lost]. **But** *if not* [that is, if the creditor does not get back anything at all, then] *he* [the debtor] *hath deprived him* [the creditor] *of his* **property,** *and* [viz. at the same time] *he* [the creditor] *hath gotten him* [the debtor] *an enemy without cause* [δωρεάν, חִנָּם—for nothing].

> "Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
> For loan oft loses both itself and friend."
> *Hamlet*, Act i., Sc. 3.

The writer then looks back upon *v.* 5 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and marks the contrast. This is the repayment made: **Cursings and revilings will he "give back" to him** (ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ—comp. *v.* 5 *d*)—such is the coin in which he pays him back—**and instead of glory** [as when he kissed his hand and spoke so humbly about the other's property] **he will "give back" to him** (ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ) **dishonour.**

7. Lit. *Many* **turned away** [viz. from lending—this, rather than they who came to borrow] **on account of wickedness** [viz. such as that above described]: **they feared to be deprived** [viz. of their property] **for nothing.** The Syr. has: "Many have refused to lend, not from [without its being from] wickedness, but because they were afraid of a useless quarrel." There can be little doubt that the Greek and not the Syr. translator here rightly understood the Hebrew original. It is therefore all the more deserving our attention that the Vet. Lat. follows the interpretation of the Syr. It has: *multi non causâ nequitiae non foenerati sunt.*

8. This verse begins the admonition not to be discouraged in well-doing, to which *v.* 7 formed the transition from the previous stanza. The first clause of the verse refers to a case in which the delay—blamed in *vv.* 5, 6—may not be culpable, and the creditor should be patient and forbearing: **and in regard to charity** [in the sense of bestowing alms or benefits, ἐπ' ἐλεημοσύνην; the Alex. and others read: ἐπ' ἐλεημοσύνῃ, "in charity"] **do not defer** [delay] **him**—put him not off to another time; let him not wait.

9. **For the commandment's sake**

B. C. cir. 200.

10 Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and [d]let it not rust under a stone to be lost.

11 [e]Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the most High, and [f]it shall bring thee more profit than gold.

12 [g]Shut up alms in thy storehouses: and it shall deliver thee from all affliction.

13 It shall fight for thee against thine enemies better than a mighty shield and strong spear.

B. C. cir. 200.

14 An honest man is surety for his neighbour: but he that is impudent will ‖forsake him.

15 Forget not the friendship of thy surety, for he hath given his life for thee.

16 A sinner will overthrow the good estate of his surety:

17 And he that is of an unthank-

[d] ch. 20. 30.
[e] Dan. 4. 27. Matt. 6. 20. Luke 11. 41. & 12. 33. Acts 10. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 18, 19.
[f] Matt. 19. 21.
[g] Tobit 4. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. ch. 17. 22.
‖ Or, *fail.*

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assist [Syr.: "relieve"] **a poor man, and according to his lack** [need, want] **turn him not away empty.**] As we understand the second clause, it may probably point in the direction of the Rabbinic rule that the poor should be assisted in a manner conformable to their former condition—according to their lack (Kethub. 67 *b*). The Syr. rendering depends either upon a misreading or is a mistranslation.

10. *Lose* **money through a** *brother and* [or] **a** *friend, and let it not rust under* **the** *stone* **unto loss.**] "The stone:" the definite stone that marks the place where the money is buried. The meaning is: better to lose money through a friend than by letting it rust. It is a secondary point that such an expression as loss by rust is scarcely applicable to silver. For there might be loss in such manner, or at any rate considerable deterioration. On the other hand, the figure of rust as affecting metals might be transferred from one metal to another (see the same about rust as affecting the gold of the idols: Ep. of Jer. *vv.* 12, 24). It is of much greater importance and interest to notice that this verse affords fresh evidence of the use which St. James made of Ecclus. For the figure in St. Jas. v. 3 of the rust as affecting the unused gold and silver is not found in any other part of Scripture, and seems derived from our passage. Moreover, of the two expressions for "rusted" and "rust" in St. Jas. v. 3, the one (*ἰός*, "rust") which in this signification occurs only in that place in the N. T. is used in our passage in Ecclus. (*ἰωβήτω*), while the other word in St. Jas. v. 3 (*κατίωται*—"your gold and your silver *are rusted*") does not occur in any other place in the N. T. nor yet in the LXX., but only in Ecclus. xii. 11. This also indirectly shews in what general use our book must have been among the Jews—a fact confirmed, as we have seen, by the numerous Talmudic quotations from Ecclus. The Syr. has, instead of "let it not rust under a stone unto loss," this: "rather than thou hide it under the stone or wall." The difference in the two versions, "wall" (in the Syr.) and "loss" (in the Greek), we would account for by the latter reading שְׁחַת, while the Syr. read שְׁרוֹת (Jer. v. 10), "walls." For the divergence—the Greek reading "rust," the Syr. "hide"—it is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. Possibly the Greek translation was not intended to be literal.

11. *than gold.*] Rather, "than **the** gold." We remember here the better and far higher direction in St. Matt. vi. 19, 20. The Rabbis speak of certain things of which a man enjoys the fruit or interest in this world, while the capital itself remaineth for the next (Peah i. 1, and in other places). Among them—although the study of the Law is said to outweigh all the others—the bestowal of mercy is mentioned (גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים—in Shabb. 127 *a* this is applied to hospitality and visiting of the sick). The Syr. paraphrases this verse.

12, 13. What a man is to lay up in his storehouses is not grain, nor fruits, nor any other source of wealth—but alms. This will prove a preventive against or else a deliverance from the ill that would otherwise befall him. The simile is farther developed in *v.* 13. When the Vet. Lat. thus paraphrases *v.* 12: *conclude eleemosynam in corde pauperis, et haec pro te exorabit ab omni malo* —it may have had St. Luke xvi. 9 in view.

14. A new stanza: *Suretiship.* Translate: "**A good man will be** surety . . . but he **who has lost shame** will **leave** him," in the sense of deserting him: such an one will leave the person who has become surety for him to bear the consequences of his rash kindness.

15. *the friendship.*] Rather, **the favours** —the kindness.

he hath given his life.] Lit., **his soul**, in the sense of "himself." The Syr. omits the verse.

16. *the good estate.*] Rather, **the possessions.** The Syr. omits this verse, and paraphrases *v.* 17 in a manner which raises suspicion of a later revision.

B. C. cir. 200.

ful mind will leave him [in danger] that delivered him.

18 Suretiship hath undone many of good estate, and shaken them as a wave of the sea: mighty men hath it driven from their houses, so that they wandered among strange nations.

19 A wicked man transgressing the commandments of the Lord shall fall into suretiship: and he that undertaketh and followeth other men's business for gain shall fall into suits.

20 Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and beware that thou thyself fall not into the same. B. C. cir. 200.

21 The [h]chief thing for life is water, and bread, and clothing, and an house to cover shame. [h] ch. 39. 26.

22 Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage, than delicate fare in another man's house.

23 Be it little or much, [i]hold thee contented, that thou hear not the reproach of thy house. [i] 1 Tim. 6. 6, 8.

24 For it is a miserable life to

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18. *of good estate.*] Rather, **that were in a prosperous condition.**

shaken them.] Rather, **tossed them.**

driven from their houses.] Rather, **made to emigrate** [to remove].

strange nations.] Rather, **foreign** nations.

19. This verse is found in its simplest and, no doubt, original form in the Vat. Cod. It reads: **The sinner** [the addition in the A. V., "transgressing," &c. occurs in H., 248, Co., Syr., Vet. Lat., and is no doubt a later gloss] **who falleth into suretiship** [perhaps in the sense of purposely incurring it, throwing himself into it—or else even in the sense of "rashly" doing so] **and who pursueth after improper gains shall be thrown into judgments** [law-sentences]. There is probably not a more difficult expression in Ecclus. than διώκων ἐργολαβείας, which we have rendered: "who pursueth improper gains"—although with great doubt. For, assuredly, it does not suit the context, whether of the previous clause or of the preceding verses, which throughout refers to suretiship. If therefore we have not the courage to give up the usual meaning of either διώκων or ἐργολαβείας, the latter must at least be taken *sensu malo* (which it sometimes bears), so as in some way to fit into the context. But we would venture to suggest that διώκων might here be taken as a law-term—"a prosecutor"—and ἐργολαβείας as in the genitive. In that case the words might be rendered: **and who prosecutes** [another] **for a contract**—referring to a man who first wrongfully or foolishly became surety, and then by a law-process tried to get rid of his engagement. This, if admissible, would suit the context well. The Syr. seems from its paraphrastic language to have had difficulty about this verse, and it inserts between the two clauses what reads like a later interpretation. The Arab. omits it.

20. On the preceding verse this follows as a general conclusion and summary: "**Assist** thy neighbour according to thy power, and (but) **take heed to thyself that thou fall not.**" The Syr. has instead of the words in the second clause: "and deliver thyself from double." The "take heed to thyself" (Greek) and "deliver thyself" (Syr.) may well represent the same Hebrew word—probably (as in the Syr.) the word פָּצָה, perhaps with the addition of another verb as in Ps. cxliv. 7, פְּצֵנִי וְהַצִּילֵנִי; perhaps it read פְּצֵה וְהַצֵּיל נַפְשְׁךָ. As to the Syr. rendering "double" for the Greek "that thou fall not," the former may be a paraphrastic reference to the punishment into which such an one might fall, or (as has been suggested) it may depend on a confusion between מִנָּפֵל (the Greek) and מִכָּפֶל (the Syr.).

21. A new stanza. Utmost moderation is recommended, so as to be independent of others.

to cover shame.] Rather, "**which covereth** shame,"—conceals what decency forbids to be in public.

22. *Better is the* **state of** *life.*] Or, **the mode of living,** *βίος.*

in a mean cottage.] Rather, **under a roof of beams,** the opposite of a "ceiled house."

in another man's house.] Rather, "**among strangers.**"

23. The second clause, "that thou hear not," &c. (or rather, **and thou shalt not hear,** &c.), does not occur in the Vat., the Sin., nor the Alex., but is found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: "Whether he (live on) much or little, no one knoweth: and what he doeth within his house man does not see it." The Vet. Lat. has a confused paraphrase.

24. Lit., **A wretched life: from house to house—and where one so-**

B. C. cir. 200. go from house to house: for where thou art a stranger, thou darest not open thy mouth.

25 Thou shalt entertain, and feast, and have no thanks: moreover thou shalt hear bitter words:

26 Come, thou stranger, and furnish a table, and feed me of that thou hast ready.

27 Give place, thou stranger, to an honourable man; my brother cometh to be lodged, and I have need of mine house.

28 These things are grievous to a man of understanding; the upbraiding of houseroom, and reproaching of the lender.

CHAPTER XXX.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *It is good to correct our children, 7 and not to cocker them. 14 Health is better than wealth. 22 Health and life are shortened by grief.*

Of children.

HE [a] that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod, that he may have joy of him in the end.

[a] Prov. 13. 24. & 23. 13.

2 He that chastiseth his son shall [‖] have joy in him, and shall rejoice of him among his [‖] acquaintance.

‖ Or, *good by him.*

‖ Or, *kinsfolk.*

3 He that [b] teacheth his son grieveth the enemy: and before his friends he shall rejoice of him.

[b] Deut. 6. 7.

4 Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead: for he

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journeth [as one not forming part of the household but admitted to it: παροικήσει] **he cannot open the mouth.**

25. Although all the Codd. have, as in the A. V., ξενιεῖς καὶ ποτιεῖς, "thou shalt entertain and feast," it seems absolutely necessary to adopt the emendation of Bretschneider: ξενισθεὶς καὶ ποτισθεὶς: **Thou shalt be entertained as a guest, and be given to drink unto ungraciousness** = with ungraciousness, or else, till at last it is made ungracious — "and **besides** [afterwards?] thou shalt hear bitter **things about them**," viz. about thy entertainment and drink. The Syr.: "thou art a sojourner (= ξενιεῖς?), and thou shalt drink contumely."

26. The verse expresses what is virtually said to such an one: "**Go bye** (along), **sojourner, prepare** a table, **and if there is anything in thy hand** (if thou hast anything) **give me to eat**" (entertain me). It is thy turn now,—"give and take," as men say.

27. Lit.: **Go out, sojourner, from the face** [or presence] **of glory**; probably in the sense of the A. V. Fritzsche explains: "Go away from this glory, which is not meant for thee [this seems strained]—my brother has been received as a guest. (I have) need of the house."

28. Lit.: **upbraiding of a house**—that is, as Fritzsche explains, connected with one's being in a house—"**and reproach** [or disgrace] **of a creditor**." These are the two things which a man of sensibility feels grievous: the one inside the house, when things are cast up to him and he has intimation to leave; the other outside the house, when he is harassed and importuned and put to shame by a creditor. The reference, it need scarcely be said, is to a poor man—but one of intelligence and education.

CHAPTER XXX.

This chapter, which in its present position in the Vat. and other Codd. is misplaced (see the remarks in the sequel), naturally arranges itself under the two headings: "About Children" (*vv.* 1–13) and "About Health" (*vv.* 14–20). Each of these sections begins with the heading just mentioned. But there is a third stanza added (*vv.* 21–25) on joy of the heart, which belongs to the second section, and is connected with *v.* 16 *b*.

1. Lit., "**will continue to him strokes.**"

in the end.] Rather, "**at last.**" Comp. Prov. xiii. 24, xxiii. 13, xxix. 15.

2. *He that chastiseth.*] Perhaps better, **correcteth**, or **disciplineth.**

shall have joy [or advantage]; *and shall rejoice of him.*] Better, **and shall glory in him.** For the construction comp. LXX. Ps. xlviii. (xlix.) 6; Prov. xxv. 14; Rom. v. 2.

3. *grieveth.*] Rather, "**maketh jealous.**" The second clause differs only slightly from *v.* 2 *b*.

4. Lit., "**his father died, and as if he had not died,**" &c. The Syr. has: "and he is companion (associate, fellow = חָבֵר; the expression is = the Heb. אָח לְ, which the Targum renders: חברא לְ) to him that is not dead." The Syr. seems to represent the Hebrew more faithfully than does the Greek. The meaning is: the father is

B. C. cir. 200. hath left one behind him that is like himself.

[c] Ps. 128. 3, 6. 5 While he lived, he [c]saw and rejoiced in him: and when he died, he was not sorrowful.

6 He left behind him an avenger against his enemies, and one that shall requite kindness to his friends.

7 He that maketh too much of his son shall bind up his wounds; and his bowels will be troubled at every cry.

8 An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himself will be wilful. B. C. cir. 200.

9 Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee [‖]afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heaviness. [‖] Or, *astonished.*

10 Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end.

11 [d] Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies. [d] ch. 7. 23.

12 Bow down his neck while he is

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not really dead, for he continues in his son. This and the following verse cast light on one of the great consolations and hopes which the writer entertained in regard to death: continuance in one's children.

5. The words "in him," omitted in the Vat., are found in 248, Co. The Syr. has: "saw him and rejoiced." The Vet. Lat. has: *vidit, et laetatus est in illo.* We may therefore conclude that the pronoun was in the original, although probably in the same order as in the Syr. The omission in the Vat. may have been due to a wish to give the statement a more general form.

6. Compare here the previous remarks in the note on *v.* 4. The Syr. — probably rightly—inverts the clauses.

7. *He that maketh too much of.*] Better, **he that treateth him indulgently** (*molliter et leniter*): περιψύχων—which the Vet. Lat. curiously resolves into two words, *pro animabus* (filii). The Syr. rightly reproduces what probably was in the original: מְפַנֵּק, as in Prov. xxix. 21 (a verse which is differently understood in the LXX.). In Ber. R. 22 (on Gen. iv. 6) we read that he who in his youth indulgently treats (indulgeth) his (evil) inclination (שמפנק את יצרו בנעורותו), his end (will be) that it will rule over him in his old age; referring to Prov. xxix. 21.

From this it would appear that when the LXX. translated Prov. xxix. 21 by ὃς καταπαταλᾷ ἐκ παιδός, "he that liveth wantonly from a child," they only followed an ancient Jewish tradition in their identification of עַבְדּוֹ, "his servant," with יִצְרוֹ, "his inclination," since the same explanation as in Ber. R. 22 also occurs in Sukk. 52 *b*. The other mistranslation in the LXX.: "and in the end shall grieve over himself," for the Hebrew יִהְיֶה מְנוֹן (erroneously rendered both in the A. V. and the R. V., following Jewish commentators: "shall have him become a son") is the same as in the Syr. (which agrees with the LXX. in the whole clause). The Targum has: "he that indulges [his inclination?] from his youth shall become a servant [to it?]." But in later Hebrew the word מְנוֹן was understood as meaning: "to lift oneself up," "to be lord or master." The interest of the subject will excuse this digression.

shall bind up his wounds.] *I.e.* he shall have such wounds to bind up. Hence the Syr. paraphrastically: "his wounds shall increase." The subject is the indulging father (so also in the Syr.) and not the indulged son.

and his bowels.] The Syr. rightly explains, "the heart."

is troubled *at every cry.*] Whether of his son, or more probably, that caused by him. The Syr. has: "shall empty out." Perhaps the Hebrew had נָבְקָה רוּחַ בְּקִרְבּוֹ, as in Is. xix. 3, where the LXX. renders ταραχθήσεται (as in our verse) τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτοῖς.

9. *Cocker thy child.*] Rather, **tend as a nurse** *thy child.* The Syr. has "instruct." Possibly the Hebrew word was אמן, which the LXX. renders by our Greek word in Lament. iv. 5 (comp. Heb. Numb. xi. 12), and which means "to tend," "to bear" (as a child is borne; comp. Is. lx. 4), and also "to train," "educate," "guide" (so repeatedly in the O. T.). The second part of clause 1 the Syr. translates: "lest thou be put to shame," —possibly a paraphrastic rendering dependent upon the translation of the first word. The Greek means that by such dealing on the part of a father the son will come to bring terror and shame upon him. Fritzsche quotes from Solon: *liberis ne arrideas, ut in posterum non fleas.*

11 *b* and 12 *a* are placed in the Vat. after *v.* 13, probably by mistake of a transcriber. They are omitted in the Alex., C., and other Codd. They must be restored from H., 248, Co. They are also in the Syr. and the Vet. Lat. Verse 12 *d* is wholly omitted and restored from H., 106, 248, Co., Vet. Lat.

B. C. cir. 200.

young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart.

13 Chastise thy son, and hold him to labour, lest his lewd behaviour be an offence unto thee.

Of health.

14 Better is the poor, being sound and strong of constitution, than a rich man that is afflicted in his body.

15 Health and good estate of body are above all gold, and a strong body above infinite wealth.

16 There is no riches above a sound body, and no joy above the joy of the heart.

17 Death is better than a bitter life or continual sickness.

18 Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 [e] What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell: so is he that is [‖] persecuted of the Lord.

[e] Bel and Dragon 7.

[‖] Or, *afflicted.*

20 He seeth with his eyes and groaneth, [f] as an eunuch that embraceth a virgin and sigheth.

[f] ch. 20. 4.

21 [g] Give not over thy mind to heaviness, and afflict not thyself in thine own counsel.

[g] Prov. 12. 25. & 15. 13. & 17. 22.

22 The gladness of the heart is the life of man, and the [‖] joyfulness of a man prolongeth his days.

[‖] Or, *exultation.*

23 Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart, remove sorrow far from thee: [h] for sorrow hath

[h] 2 Cor. 7. 10.

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13. *Chastise.*] Better, "**discipline** *thy son;*" "hold him to labour." Gaab and De Wette: "labour with him," "take pains with him;" see xiii. 4.

lewd behaviour.] Rather, **shameful behaviour**: "be an offence to thee," Vat. προσκόψῃ; A., C., and other Codd., προσκόψῃς. The alterations in the Syr. seem of little importance.

14. This verse begins the second stanza, "concerning health." The first clause lit.: "**better one poor, sound and strong of constitution.**"

15. *and good estate of body.*] Rather, **a good constitution.** The Syr. differs slightly—perhaps correctly, perhaps explanatively. In the second clause it has: "and a good spirit above pearls" (viz. "I have loved" —this in the first clause).—The sentiment expressed in this verse is farther developed in 16 *b*, where the Syr., however, has: "a good heart."

17. After "a bitter life," H., the Syr., and Vet. Lat. insert: "and eternal rest then." This was undoubtedly in the original. Possibly the words were omitted for dogmatic reasons. The construction κρείσσων ὑπέρ, which in Ecclus. occurs only in this passage, is found in the LXX., in 3 Kings xix. 4, and in Ps. xxxvi. 16, lxii. 4, lxxxiii. 10. These are the only passages in the Psalms in which the word occurs. In the other twenty-eight passages in the LXX. the construction with κρείσσων is different, as also in the other three passages in Ecclus. in which it occurs = טוֹב מִ. In the N. T. this construction does not occur.

18. For "poured" (better, "**poured out**") the Syr.—which the Vet. Lat. follows —reads "covered." May there have been a confusion between נסכה and נסך? At the same time 248 (which Co. follows) has also κεκλεισμένα.

19. That the second clause of *v.* 18 refers to heathen practices, appears from *v.* 19 *a*, *b*. In clause *c* the marginal rendering, "afflicted" (viz. by sickness), gives the right meaning. The Syr. paraphrases it: "so is he who has wealth and [but] does not use it."

20. At the close of the verse the Syr. adds: "But the Lord shall avenge it with His hand,"—perhaps a marginal gloss. But H., 23, 55, 68, 106, 253, 254 have (perhaps after the Syr.?): οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα, interpolated, not unnaturally, from xx. 3.

21. This verse begins the third stanza, which connects itself with *v.* 16 *b* (if not, according to the Syr., with 15 *b*). From what directly affects the body the writer passes to what influences it through the mind. It is probably to this verse that the Talmud refers when it quotes as from Ben Sira (what we also find—although there probably from Prov. xxvii. 1—in St. Matt. vi. 34): "Sorrow not the sorrow of the morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth; perhaps to-morrow he is no more, and so he shall be found sorrowing over a world which is no longer his" (Sanh. 100 *b*; Yebam. 63 *b*). Similarly we read (Ber. 9 *b*), "Suffice sorrow in its hour" (*i.e.* when it comes); and (Jer. Abh. Z. 39 *b*), "The sorrow of the hour (immediate sorrow) is sorrow."

23. *thine own soul* = thyself. The Talmud quotes here as from Ben Sira: "Let not care

B. C. cir. 200. killed many, and there is no profit therein.

24 Envy and wrath shorten the life, and carefulness bringeth age before the time.

25 ‖A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet. B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *A noble.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1 *Of the desire of riches.* 12 *Of moderation and excess in eating, or drinking wine.*

[anxiety, sorrow] come into thy heart, for care [anxiety, sorrow] hath killed strong men" (in another place, "hath killed many"). (Sanh. 100 *b*.)

24. From sorrow the writer passes to other noxious affections of the mind.

25. The chapter closes with what in all the Greek MSS., except 248, which has it in its right place, stands as xxxiii. 13. In the Syr., which is followed by the Vet. Lat., it is in its right place. Translate: "**A heart noble** [liberal?—probably in contrast to *v.* 24] **and good** [cheerful?] **at** [over: see Winer, pp. 349–351] **meat** [meats] **will give heed to** [attend to—have a care of] **the food.**" As we understand it, a man free from envy and anger and cheerful at table will enjoy his food, and it will do him good. Thus this sentence is not abrupt, but in strict connexion with the preceding context, which treats of health and how to promote it. Fritzsche (whose interpretation alone we will mention) understands it to mean that a liberal heart and one that feels cheerily disposed at meat will have a care for the food—in the sense of seeing to it that there be not any stint—he will not be niggard as regards meat. But this would abruptly introduce what is in no way connected with the preceding context. Fritzsche himself refers to the use of ἐπιμελοῦμαι αὐτοῦ for אֶשְׂימָה עֵינִי עָלָיו in Gen. xliv. 21 [and the expression is not used in the LXX. in that sense in any other place: in Ecclus. it occurs only in our verse]. But this surely means, "I will pay attention to him," and cannot in any wise lead to the interpretation which Fritzsche would give to our verse. The Syr. has: "(he that is of) a good heart has much meat, and all that he eats mounts into body." This phrase represents the Rabbinical עלים על גופו ('Abhoth de R. Nathan,' ed. Schechter, p. 82 *a*). The Vet. Lat. seems to have been ambitious of imitating this, although it omits the second clause of the Syr., which indeed may have been only a gloss. It has: "splendidum cor et bonum in epulis est: *epulae enim illius diligenter fiunt.*" We mark that the Syr. is here not followed by any Greek MS.—not even by 248.[1]

As regards the inversion and wrong order in the Greek MSS., not only of *v.* 25, but in the following chapters, a few remarks may here be in place.

The Greek MSS. (with the exception of 248, the "unus vetustus codex" cited by Nobilius) proceed from ch. xxx. 24 to ch. xxxiii. 16, "as one that gathereth." This is continued till xxxvi. 11, "Gather the tribes of Israel together;" after which follow xxx. 25 to xxxiii. 16, "I awaked up last of all," when the rest of xxxvi. 11 is taken up, slightly altered. It is evident that this must have proceeded from a misplacement of the sheets in the archetype of our Greek MSS. Such an accident was more likely to remain uncorrected in a book like the present, than in any of which the matter was more strictly continuous. Hence it happens that a similar case has occurred in the Greek of the Book of Proverbs; that another transposition is found in many of the MSS. of the Aethiopic version of Ecclesiasticus; and yet another in a British Museum MS. of the same version. On a similar transposition in the 'Mostellaria' of Plautus see Ritschl, 'Parerga Plautina.' There, as here, the copyists endeavour by a slight alteration to conceal the abruptness of the transition. While the transposed order is found in the versions clearly derived from the Greek (Syr. Hexaplaris, Aethiopic, Armenian, and Coptic), with the exception of the Old Slavonic, the Vetus Latina and Peschitto-Syriac exhibit that followed by the A. V., and clearly shewn by internal evidence to be correct. This was also exhibited in the Complutensian edition. Owing doubtless to the authority of the Vulgate (into which the Vetus Latina had been received), it was followed in early editions of the LXX., and in the versions of Castalio and Tremellius. It is a sign of the general neglect into which the book had fallen that Fritzsche (p. 169) can claim to be the first person who, on critical grounds, has adopted this as the right order.

CHAPTER XXXI.

This chapter naturally connects itself with the last stanza of ch. xxx. The somewhat Epicurean tone of the latter is now to a certain extent modified, although rather by the moral which prudence would suggest than by the higher principles which true religion would inspire. The general subject of the chapter is the wise use of wealth and of what it procures or offers. A stanza of seven verses in depreciation of too great a desire for wealth, since most serious dangers are often

[1] In regard to what follows after this, see the note on p. 32 of the General Introduction.

B. C. cir. 200.

WATCHING for [a]riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep.

[a] 1 Tim. 6. 9, 10.

2 Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep.

3 The rich hath great labour in gathering riches together; and when he resteth, he is filled with his delicates.

4 The poor laboureth in his poor estate; and when he leaveth off, he is still needy. B. C. cir. 200.

5 He that loveth gold shall not be justified, and he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof.

6 [b]Gold hath been the ruin of many, and their destruction was present. [b] ch. 8. 2.

7 It is a stumblingblock unto them

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involved in its acquisition (*vv.* 1–7), is followed by another of four verses (*vv.* 8–11) in praise of him who, while in the possession of wealth, has escaped its perils. The temptations of wealth, especially in the pleasures of the table—or else thoughts of the greed after wealth and the other greed to which it so often leads—suggest stanzas 3 and 4, again respectively of seven and four verses (*vv.* 12–18 and 19–22). In the first of these moderation at table is recommended, while in the second the wisdom of such temperance is shewn. Similarly, in a stanza of six verses (25–30), moderation in wine is enjoined. This stanza is prefaced and followed by what together forms a stanza of three verses (*vv.* 23, 24 + *v.* 31), of which the object is not advice as to our own conduct in regard to food and drink, but as to our conduct towards others in these respects (*vv.* 23, 24), and as to liberality in providing banquets, and in *v.* 31 as to our bearing towards others at wine-parties.

1. *Watching for riches.*] Rather, "**the sleeplessness of wealth**" (Arm., Lat.), *i.e.* the sleeplessness which is caused by it. So Anacreon (Stobaeus, 'Flor.' iii. 241) called a talent a "gift which necessitates sleeplessness" (δωρεὰν ἣ ἀναγκάζει ἀγρυπνεῖν). Similarly the Syr., "watching consumeth the flesh of the rich." Apparently עֹשֶׁר and עָשִׁיר were different punctuations.

2. The second clause in the Greek should be rendered: **and sleep waketh up a sore disease**; or (with a few MSS.) "and a sore disease waketh up sleep." The Syr. rendering, "rejecteth," makes it likely that the Heb. here was יקיץ שנה. We believe the reading of the best MSS. to have been original. Probably the whole sentence was a descriptive clause of the ἀγρυπνία πλούτου (or rather πλοῦτος) which forms the subject of the last verse: "it is a watching care which driveth away sleep; a sore disease which refuseth slumber." We thus avoid the tautology of the present rendering of the first clause. The Syriac rendering for ἀγρυπνία, "food," seems difficult to account for, except as a corruption of *māmūn*, "wealth."

3, 4. A contrast between the labours of the poor and rich. The parallelism suggests that ἐν συναγωγῇ χρημάτων is not "to collect wealth" (Syr., Fritzsche), but, "**owing to the accumulation of his property**," he had to pull down his barns to build greater ones (De Wette). Compare Marcus Aurelius, v. 12. The latter half of the verse represents the time when he says to his soul, "Eat, drink, and be merry." On the other hand, the poor labours, "**owing to the decrease of his living**," for the opposite reason; and at the end, "after sparing and labouring leaves not even enough for his burial" (Aristophanes, 'Plutus,' 557). The following verses are quoted from Ben Sira in the Talmud: "All the days of the poor are evil, Ben Sira says, even his nights. His roof is amongst the lowest of the rooves; and his vineyard at the top of the mountains; the rain of other rooves [flows] down upon his; and the soil of his vineyard [falls] down to other vineyards" (Babh. B. 146*a*; Sanh. 100*b*; Kethubh. 110*b*).

5. *he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof.*] For "thereof" (Alex.) the best MS. has "**himself.**" "Corruption" is variously taken to mean "the corruptible" (Luther, Fritzsche), or "that which leads to corruption" (Baduellus, who compares Gal. vi. 8). In both cases the parallelism is lost. The Syriac has: "he that pursueth wealth shall be led astray thereby;" whence Grotius conjectured διάφορον — ὀλισθήσεται. The first of these corrections (which perhaps should rather be ἀδιάφορον) we are inclined to accept. Instead of the second, we think it more probable that ישבע was a false reading for ישנה, of which, perhaps, the last letter was lost in the Greek translator's copy. Αὐτοῦ was perhaps altered variously to αὐτός and αὐτῆς when διαφθοράν was written; compare the Coptic rendering, "he that pursueth it shall be filled with corruption."

6. *Gold hath been the ruin, &c.*] Rather, "**many have been delivered unto ruin for the sake of gold, and their destruction came in their face.**" The verse (as the Syriac shews) means, they perished for all their gold could do; it could

B. C. cir. 200.

that sacrifice unto it, and every fool shall be taken therewith.

[c] Luke 6. 24.

8 [c]Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold.

9 Who is he? and we will call him blessed: for wonderful things hath he done among his people.

10 Who hath been tried thereby, and found perfect? then let him glory. Who might offend, and hath not offended? or done evil, and hath not done it?

11 His good shall be established, and the congregation shall declare his alms.

B. C. cir. 200.

[d] Ps. 141. 4. Prov. 23. 1, 2, 3. ch. 37. 29. ‖ Gr. *open not thy throat upon it.*

12 If thou sit at a bountiful table, [d]‖be not greedy upon it, and say not, There is much meat on it.

13 Remember that [e]a wicked eye is an evil thing: and what is created more wicked than an eye? therefore it weepeth ‖upon every occasion.

[e] Matt. 6. 23. & 20. 15. ‖ Or, *before every thing that is presented.*

14 Stretch not thine hand whithersoever it looketh, and thrust it not with him into the dish.

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not prevent the most direct and obvious evils happening to them. Cp. Prov. xi. 4, 28.

7. *unto them that sacrifice unto it, &c.*] With this expression commentators compare Ephes. v. 5, "nor covetous man who is an idolater." The Syriac gives us an easier figure: "Riches are a stumbling-block to fools, and whosoever strays therein stumbles" (or "is overthrown thereby"). The words representing "them that sacrifice" and "fool" have changed places. It is probable that the Syriac order is right, and that the Hebrew word was עֹבֵר, misread by the Greek עֹבֵד; the literal meaning would then be, "Riches are a stumbling-block in the way of fools, and every [one] that passeth by stumbles thereon." "Servus fit rei cui imperare debet" (Grot.).

8. *hath not gone after gold.*] Has guided it instead of being guided by it.

10. *then let him glory.*] Lit., **let it be for a glory unto him.** In the first clause the Greek seems to be more correct than the Syriac: "who has clung to it and hath peace?" The author probably used the Aramaic verb בדק for "to try," misread by the Syrian דבק, "to cleave;" while the rest may be explained from the various punctuations, יִשְׁלָם and יְשֻׁלָּם.

11. *His good.*] The possession thereof will be secured him.

his alms.] Here more probably **his righteousness.**

12. Third stanza: on moderation at table. The Latin has the heading *de continentia.* The author has in mind Prov. xxiii. Compare the precepts on eating in 'Massekheth Kallāh,' p. 17*b*; 'Derekh Erets' (ed. Tawrogi), p. 29; and Musonius *ap.* Stobaeum, i. 369, 45.

12–18. On *temperance.*

12. *bountiful.*] Rather, **plenteous.** ἐπὶ τραπέζης is a Semiticism; cf. the Syr. here and Wright, 'Arabic Grammar,' ii. p. 179 ("because a person sitting at table rises *above* the level of it").

be not greedy.] Lit., **open not thy throat.** The author seems to be merely interpreting the phrase in Prov. *l. c.* 2, "put a knife at thy throat." The warning is probably not so much against greediness, as against making any remark.

There is much [meat] on it.] The γέ is idiomatic, and represents our "What a lot!" (Kühner, 'Grammar,' ii. 733.) The Syriac, "it is not enough for me," is characteristic. The praising of the food in Oriental countries is done by the host; the mere act of admiration by anyone else would be regarded as dangerous. See Lane, 'Modern Egyptians,' i. 315: "When a person expresses what is considered improper or curious admiration of anything, he is generally reproved by the individual whom he has thus alarmed;" and especially ibid. 183, when any one is invited to partake of a meal, "he must reply if he do not accept the invitation, 'Heneeän' ('may it be productive of enjoyment'), or use some similar expression; else it will be feared that an evil eye has been cast upon the food." Various remedies for the effects of such a phrase as "how pretty!" (καλόν γε) are given in the former passage.

13. *Remember that a wicked eye is an evil thing.*] Syr., "that God hates (יִשְׂנָא אֱלָהִים) an evil eye." The Greek text has perhaps toned down this powerful expression.

therefore it weepeth upon every occasion.] Rather, **of the whole countenance.** The thought is rightly explained by Fritzsche: as a sign of its wickedness, or in punishment of it, it alone of the whole countenance weeps. In Greek and some other languages δακρύω, κλάω are identified with being punished.

14. *whithersoever it looketh.*] "Whatever thou seest," according to one MS. and the Syr.; and this would be a more natural expression than that in the text. It is not unlikely, however, that we should render (with Grotius) "wherever he looketh" [*i.e.* the master of the feast]; and with this agrees

B. C. cir. 200.

15 Judge of thy neighbour by thyself: and be discreet in every point.

16 Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not, lest thou be hated.

17 Leave off first for manners' sake; [f] and be not unsatiable, lest thou offend.

[f] ch. 37. 29.

18 When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all.

19 A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured, [‖] and he fetcheth not his wind short upon his bed.

‖ Or, *and lieth not puffing and blowing.*

20 Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth early, and his wits are with him: but the pain of watching, and choler, and pangs of the belly, are with an unsatiable man.

B. C. cir. 200.

21 And if thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest.

22 My son, hear me, and despise me not, and at the last thou shalt find as I told thee: in all thy works be quick, so shall there no sickness come unto thee.

23 [g] Whoso is liberal of his meat, men shall speak well of him; and

[g] Prov. 22. 9.

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the latter part of the verse: **and press not with him** [*i.e.* come not into conflict with him] **in the dish** (as it should be rendered).

15. *Judge of thy neighbour.*] Lit., **the things of thy neighbour,** *i.e.* his wishes. Compare Tob. iv. 15 (Fritzsche), and the phrase מחוש דעתו של חברו (Kallāh, *l. c.*).

and be discreet in every point.] Rather, **on all occasions.** The clause is omitted by the Syr. and Vet. Lat., but seems half-apologetic for the minuteness and apparent triviality of these precepts.

16. *as it becometh a man.*] Lit., **like a human being;** but the original was probably כאיש, "like a man." Lat. *quasi homo frugi;* rather, a grown man, ἀνήρ (Barhebraeus). Διαμασᾶσθαι (*devour*) must refer to some childish and offensive way. The word is used by the comedian Apollophanes (Kock, 'C. A. F.' p. 798; compare Aristophanes, 'Vespae,' 780) of a prolonged mastication. The opposite vice would be καταπιεῖν. Similar precepts in Kallāh, *l. c.*: "ne comedat cunctis digitis; ne ingerat manum ori suo; ne bibat dum os eius plenum est." The first of these is to avoid the appearance of gluttony; the latter two, to avoid giving offence.

17. *Leave off first for manners' sake.*] A most successful translation.

18. These precepts will be illustrated by Lane, *l. c.*, 183: "The master of the house first begins to eat; the guests, or others immediately follow his example: . . . when only one dish is placed upon the tray at the time, each takes from it a few mouthfuls, and it is quickly removed to give place to another."

19. The gloss *vinum*, which appears in the Vet. Lat. ("a little wine"), apparently at an early period supplanted the text; since Clem. Alex. 'Paed.' 2, 2, quotes the verse with οἶνος only. Comp. Prov. xiii. 24.

20. *Sound sleep.*] Lit., **sleep of health.**

of moderate eating.] Lit., **upon a moderate stomach.** Similar observations in Horace, 'Sat.' ii. 2, 81 (Fritzsche). Syr.: "with a man that is of moderate habits;" and the word "man" seems recommended by the second clause.

21. *arise, go forth, and vomit.*] According to the better reading, **rise up in the middle,** *i.e.* of the banquet; μεσοπορῶν = μεσῶν, "being in the middle of a meal" (so Arm.). Syr., "remove thyself from the midst of the throng;" and so the Vet. Lat., *surge e medio.* Which of these two was the meaning of the original, "Rise from the midst of the party" or "of the meal," is not certain; nor is the difference very great. Compare Lane, *l. c.*, p. 187: "Each person as soon as he has finished says, 'Praise be to God,' and gets up without waiting till the others have done." Fritzsche's paraphrase, "rise up and take a good walk," can scarcely be a serious explanation. The addition "vomit" (248, Co., and Lat.) is a suggestion of the purpose for which any one would rise; a suggestion drawn, we may hope, from Roman rather than from Hebrew customs. Compare the well-known place, Cic. 'ad Att.' xiii. 52, 1, of Caesar: *ἐμετικὸν agebat; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς* ("he intended to take an emetic after dinner," Watson). Yet it may be merely a dittography.

22. *quick.*] Rather, **active.** Syr., "humble;" probably an improvement. Fritzsche connects this *activity* with the supposed advice of the last verse.

23. *liberal of his meat.*] "Qui laute vivit seu largiter dat epula," Schleusner. Syr., "A good eye that is good upon bread is blest," perhaps "contaminating" the text from Prov. xxii. 9.

men shall speak well of him.] Lit., **lips shall bless.** 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 68 *b*:

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the report of his good housekeeping will be believed.

24 But against him that is a niggard of his meat the whole city shall murmur; and the testimonies of his niggardness shall not be doubted of.

[h] Isai. 5. 22. [i] Judith 13. 2, 8.

25 Shew not thy [h]valiantness in wine; [i]for wine hath destroyed many.

26 The furnace proveth the edge by dipping: so doth wine the hearts of the proud by drunkenness.

B. C. cir. 200.

27 [k]Wine is as good as life to a man, if it be drunk moderately: what life is then to a man that is without wine? for it was made to make men glad.

[k] Ps. 104. 15. Prov. 31. 6, 7.

28 Wine measurably drunk and in season bringeth gladness of the heart, and cheerfulness of the mind:

29 But wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of the mind, with brawling and quarrelling.

30 Drunkenness increaseth the rage

"Three things endear a man to the world: an open hand, *a spread table*, and *levitas capitis*."

of his good housekeeping.] Rather, **of his goodness** (lit., "beauty"). Syr., "and a good witness," mistaking טוּבָה for טוֹבָה.

24. Omitted in the Syr., owing to the homoeoteleuton.

him that is niggardly.] Mistaken by the Vet. Lat. *in nequissimo pane*, somewhat naturally. The verse is a reminiscence of Prov. xi. 25. Cp. *sup.* xiv. 10.

25–31. On *wine.*

25. *Shew not thy valiantness.*] From Isa. v. 22.

wine hath destroyed.] Syr., "old wine;" the original therefore varied the word in the clauses (*e.g.* יין and חמר).

26. *The furnace proveth the edge by dipping.*] The interpretation of this verse offers some difficulties. Commentators seem to confuse two processes,—the testing of gold and silver (with which the effect of wine is compared by Theognis, *v.* 499, ed. Bergk), and the dipping of red-hot iron in water to give it temper. As described in 'Encycl. Metropol.' viii. 408 *b*, in the latter process the steel is first heated and immersed to give it *hardness*, and a second time to give it temper. The degree of hardness attained is judged of (in the second process) by the colour which the metal takes in the several stages of the heating (ibid.). The verse might allude to this latter fact, and we might construe, "The furnace tests the hardness by colouring," with which the latter clause, "so doth wine the hearts of the proud by fighting" (*v. infra*), might be brought into agreement. At the same time it is very improbable that any such technicality is alluded to; and we have reason to suspect some mistranslation. The Syriac has: "As the furnace trieth the work of the goldsmith, even so is wine the provoker of sin." The second clause in the Greek is variously read, καρδίαν ὑπερηφάνων (Clem. Alex.); καρδίας ἐν μάχῃ ὑπερηφάνων (Vat.); ἐν καρδίας καὶ ἐν μάχῃ (155); ἐν καρδίᾳ ὑπερηφάνων ἐν μέθῃ (248, Co.). It would appear that καρδίας and ἐν μάχῃ are various translations of בקרב (or מקרב); and that the Syriac as well as the Greek versions go back to an original כן יין קרב זדין, "so doth wine the heart of the proud." As the colour of the steel is brought out by the furnace, so the inherent pride is brought out by wine. In 'Abhoth.' p. 68 *b* (ed. Schechter), wine is mentioned as one of the three things by which men are tested.

Fritzsche interprets the second clause (which he renders "so doth wine the hearts in the strife of the proud"), "according as the person who has drunk keeps cool or otherwise."

27. *as good as life.*] Syr., "like living water." כמו חיים for כמו חיים?

what life is then.] Rather, **is there.** Similarly Panyasis (*ap.* Stob. 'Flor.' i. 364) says, "That man seems not to me to live who, abstaining from wine, drinks another beverage."

These sentiments were perhaps natural at a period when there were practically no drinks known save wine and water; comp. Virg., 'Georg.' i. *ad init.*

28. *bringeth.*] Lit., **is.** The Syriac transposes ἐν καιρῷ into the first clause, rendering it "good times."

29. *bitterness of the mind.*] The Syr. has "pain, poverty, and headache." The verse should rather have been rendered, **Bitterness of soul is wine that is drunk with excess mid brawling.** The meaning of the last word, ἀντιπτώματι ("quarrelling"), is not clear; in xxxii. 30 it can be rendered "stumbling." Arm. (here), "opposition;" Fritzsche, "mutual assaults." In 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 109, wine is reckoned among the seven things of which a little is good, and a large amount harmful. Compare Theognis, *vv.* 509, 10.

30. *Drunkenness increaseth the rage of the fool till he offend.*] Syriac, "Too much wine

B. C. cir. 200. of a fool till he offend: it diminisheth strength, and maketh wounds.

31 Rebuke not thy neighbour at the wine, and despise him not in his mirth: give him no despiteful words, and press not upon him with urging him [to drink.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

1 *Of his duty that is chief or master in a feast.* 14 *Of the fear of God.* 18 *Of counsel.* 20 *Of a ragged and a smooth way.* 23 *Trust not to any but to thyself, and to God.*

B. C. cir. 200. IF thou be made the master [of a feast,] lift not thyself up, but be among them as one of the rest; take diligent care for them, and so sit down.

2 And when thou hast done all thy office, take thy place, that thou mayest be merry with them, and receive a crown for thy well ordering of the feast.

3 Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, but with sound judgment; and hinder not musick.

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maketh a stumbling to the fool." This we accept, supposing the Hebrew of the last words to have been עֶבְדַת לכסיל מכשול, misread by the Greek translator עֶבְרַת כסיל לכ'.

and maketh wounds.] Lit., **and addeth wounds** (יסף), almost "and multiplieth wounds" (Syr.).

31. *at the wine.*] Lit., **at the wine-party.**

with urging him to drink.] Rather, **with a demand for repayment** (Lat., Arm.). Cp. xxix. 28. As, however, the Syriac has "before men," it would seem that we must accept ἀπαντήσει (248, Co.) as the true reading: rendering "and wrangle not with him openly."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The admonitions of ch. xxxi. in regard to feasts naturally lead to others concerning the bearing of those who either preside at a feast —the *hegemon* or *symposiarch*—or at least occupy a prominent position in it (*vv.* 1–6). This again gives rise to admonitions as to the conduct of younger men (in another stanza of six verses: *vv.* 7–12). The more serious tone which the writer has gradually adopted leads, in a third stanza of six verses (*vv.* 13–18), to the admonition to be guided by the fear of the Lord and the counsel of wise and experienced men. Substantially the same is the subject of the last stanza (also of six verses: *vv.* 19–24), although it is presented in a more epigrammatic form. Thus the chapter consists of four stanzas, each of six verses. The transition from the First Part of the chapter (*vv.* 1–12) to the Second Part, which embodies both the more general and the more religious part of these admonitions, is clearly marked (see the note on *v.* 13).

1. *the master* [*of a feast*].] Appointed by lot or election in the companies described by the Classics (*e.g.* Pollux, vi. 11). See Wetstein on St. John ii. 9, who cites from Plutarch's 'Symposiaca' similar precepts. The mention of the office would seem to be rare in the Rabbinic writings.

be among them as one of the rest.] The Syriac adds the precept "sit not down at the head of the rich." Perhaps these words are genuine, the last word being slightly corrupted in the original (עֶרֶשׁ for עָרֵשׁ), and meant "sit not down at the head of the couch."

take diligent care for them.] This, according to Plutarch, *l. c.*, would refer to the nature and quantity of the wine to be given to each.

2. *that thou mayest be merry with them.*] Rather, **through them.** "Ut gaudeas cum videbis illis placere quae ordinasti," Grot.

and receive a crown for thy well-ordering of the feast.] Fritzsche finds a reference to a supposed custom of *crowning* the successful symposiarch,—a custom to which the ancients, perhaps, make no allusion. He seems to us rightly to reject the explanation of the older critics, who thought of the crowns which were worn at drinking-parties by the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps also by the Hebrews (Wisdom ii. 8; Isaiah xxviii. 1–5; Riehm, s. v. *Kranz*). The Syriac has here "that thou mayest receive *honour* at the *table*;" the Vet. Lat., "ut *dignationem* consequaris *corrogationis*." The agreement of these two important witnesses seems to shew that the original had not "crown," but only "honour;" although, if the word פאר was used, it might reasonably have been construed in both senses, though employed only in the latter. It is rather more difficult to arrive at a conclusion about the last word, which the Latin renders so strangely by *corrogationis;* probably = "of the club" (Grotius; see the last edition of Ducange). But the Greek (which is well rendered in the A. V.) gives an excellent meaning.

3. *and hinder not musick.*] It is remarkable that Chrysostom cites this passage (xii. 395, Ben.) with the word "not" expressly omitted: τί ἐστιν καὶ ἐμποδίσεις μουσικά; δείκνυσιν ἐκ

B. C. cir. 200.

4 [a] Pour not out words where there is a musician, and shew not forth wisdom out of time.

[a] Eccles. 3. 7. ch. 20. 7.

5 A concert of musick in a banquet of wine is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold.

6 As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold, so is the melody of musick with pleasant wine.

7 Speak, young man, if there be need of thee: and yet scarcely when thou art twice asked.

B. C. cir. 200.

8 Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words; be as one that knoweth and yet holdeth his tongue.

9 [b] If thou be among great men, make not thyself equal with them; and when ancient men are in place, use not many words.

[b] Job 32. 6.

10 Before the thunder goeth lightning; and before a shamefaced man shall go favour.

11 Rise up betimes, and be not

τούτου ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως αὐλὸς καὶ κιθάρα καὶ σύριγγες ἡδὺ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς πρεσβύτου διδασκαλία . . . διὸ καί φησιν · ἐμποδίσεις μουσικά · τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐάσεις αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι, ἐπισκοτίσεις αὐτοῖς, συσκιάσεις αὐτά ("hence he says thou wilt hinder the music; *i.e.* thou wilt not suffer it to appear, but wilt obscure it, throw it into the shade"). The same reading is found in 248, Co.; and it is not impossible that it is right. The text has in other ways got into some confusion, for *vv.* 3, 7, 8, which deal with the same subject, are all omitted in the Syriac. Clemens Alex. (173 B, ed. Potter) quotes the verse again in a different form, but more like that of Chrysostom than our text.

4. *Pour not out words.*] Rather, "prattle;" late Heb. שיחה.

where there is a musician.] Rather, **an entertainment**; since the word *ἀκρόαμα* includes the performances of jesters, story-tellers, and acrobats, as well as those of musicians, vocal and instrumental, "all of whom were employed to entertain the guests at the end of the banquets." (Casaubon on Athenaeus, bk. xiv., the first half of which contains a lengthy description of these performances). The Latin version, "where there is *no* attention," is characteristic; one Greek MS. has the same mistake; the Arm. also renders "attention," but is otherwise faithful. The Syr. renders "where wine is being drunk."

and shew not forth wisdom out of time [Syr. "at all times;" עת בלא would be less ambiguous than עת בכל.] *I.e.* do not play the sage when others are laughing. Compare Athenaeus, *l. c.*, p. 613 d.

5. *A concert of musick.*] Nearly "a band."

a signet of carbuncle set in gold.] Lit., **upon golden ornament.** Syr., "like a seal upon a purse of gold." On this stone, probably the ruby, see Riehm, 'Hdw.' s. v. *Edelsteine*, i. p. 296 b. The sentiment is very like Od. ix. 7; it is scarcely improved by the transformation of the "concert" into the "praise of God" (Syr.). Comp. Prov. xxv. 11.

6. *As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold.*] Syr. "like a necklace of gold, precious stones, and emeralds;" to which reading we are inclined to give the preference, supposing that the Greek is merely a second rendering of 5 *a*, which had been repeated by error in the translator's copy.

so is the melody of musick.] Syr. "good words."

7, 8. These verses are omitted by Syr.

7. *and yet scarcely when thou art* [rather, **hast been**] *twice asked.*] The verse is similarly rendered in the Vet. Lat. and Arm. Fritzsche translates, "yet scarcely twice even if it be desired" (after Baduellus).

8. *comprehending.*] Literally, *multum in parvo.* Compare Aeschylus, 'Suppl.' 200, *καὶ μὴ πρόλεσχος μηδ' ἐφολκὸς ἐν λόγῳ γένῃ*: and for the effect described in *b*, Hor. 'Sat.' ii. 6, 57, "iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti." Compare generally Riehm, *l. c.*, s. v. *Gastmahl*, and 'Derekh Erets,' p. 10 (ed. Tawrogi).

9. *make not thyself equal with them.*] Syr. "play not the ruler;" Heb., perhaps תמשל, which might be pointed so as to give either sense.

and when ancient men are in place.] The better MSS. read: **when another is speaking.** The reading of the A. V. is that of Co., supported by Syr., Lat., and Copt.; whereas 248 and Arm. represent a middle stage, "where there are speakers." To us it seems evident that the received reading is correct; and a miswriting of the Greek will probably be the simplest account of the variant.

use not many words.] Lit., **prate not much.**

10. *goeth.*] Rather, **hasteneth.** This verse is omitted in the Syr., and was considered by Bretschneider as an interpolation,

B. C. cir. 200.

the last; but get thee home without delay.

12 There take thy pastime, and do what thou wilt: but sin not by proud speech.

13 And for these things bless him that made thee, and hath replenished thee with his good things.

14 Whoso feareth the Lord will receive his discipline; and they that seek him early shall find favour.

15 He that seeketh the law shall be filled therewith: but the hypocrite will be offended thereat.

16 They that fear the Lord shall find judgment, and shall kindle justice as a light.

17 A sinful man will not be reproved, but findeth an excuse according to his will.

18 A man of counsel will be considerate; but a strange and proud

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but on insufficient grounds. The meaning is thus given by Fritzsche (after Grot.): "A modest and graceful manner precedes the speech of a young man, just as regularly as the lightning precedes the thunder." With this we might compare such a description as that in Plato's 'Charmides,' p. 158 c (Jowett's translation, i. p. 14): "Charmides (there the model of a *νεανίσκος σώφρων*) blushed, and the blush heightened his beauty, for modesty is becoming in youth; he then said very ingenuously," &c. We should, however, prefer to regard *χάρις* as the favour which he inspires, nor do we perceive any allusion to his *speech*.

11. *Rise up betimes.*] Compare Philostratus v. Apollon. p. 26, ed. Kayser: *οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύοντες.*

and be not the last.] Lit., **and lead not the rear.** The Vet. Lat. has "at the time of rising hinder not thyself;" pointing בְּעֵת קוּם for בְּעֵת קוּם; and this seems to have been the punctuation of the Syriac, which, however, is slightly corrupt. *Οὐράγει* probably represents the Heb. תְּאַסֵּף, which the Latin (if it had the Hebrew) might have pointed תְּאֻסָּף.

without delay.] Lit., **and be not idle.** Syr. "while there is memory in thee;" Lat. *et illic avocare.*

12. *but sin not by proud speech.*] "But not with sin and proud speech" (Lat., Arm.). Syr. "in the fear of God and not with loss," in the last words of which we recognise the common confusion between חסר and חסד. Drusius and Grotius suppose some bodily exercise or game referred to.

13. *for these things.*] Rather, **after** or **upon these things.**

replenished thee.] Lit., **inebrieateth thee.** Perhaps the Heb. original had מַשְׂבִּיעֲךָ, of which the Greek translation would be a somewhat unfortunate rendering. Drusius cites an observation of Jerome that the Hebrew language puts "*ebrietas* pro *satietate.*"

14. The Syriac connects this paragraph with the last by introducing the words "in the fear of the God" into *v.* 12 *b*.

His discipline.] Omit "His." For the expression compare xviii. 14. Syr. "he that seeketh the service of God will receive instruction; and when he prayeth before Him, He will answer him;" omitting *v.* 15.

15. *He that seeketh the law.*] According to Fritzsche, "endeavours to fulfil it." We incline rather to the older view, according to which it means "seeketh its real meaning."

but the hypocrite will be offended thereat.] The passage reminds us of St. John vii. 17, "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." The difficulties the purport of the Law will only be experienced by those who have no serious desire to put it in practice. See Westcott, *ad l. c.*

16. *shall find judgment.*] They will discover that true purport.

shall kindle justice as a light.] Syr. "shall produce much wisdom from their heart." The Hebrew would seem to have been יְצִיאוּ = يضيئون, which the Syrian translator pointed יָצִיאוּ; a curious vestige of this familiar Arabic verb. ("From their heart" (Syr.) is probably therefore an explanation; compare with the phrase Pindar, 'N.' iv. 8, *ὅτι γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας*, and the Rabbinical מוציאים מלבם, *e.g.* Midr. 'Schochar-Tob,' p. 3 *a*.) Grotius thinks of their good deeds shining forth throughout the world; perhaps having in mind the technical use of מצוה for "alms-giving," &c. But more probably "righteous sentences" are meant (Fritzsche).

17. *will not be reproved.*] Lit., **declines** (or parries) **reproof.**

but findeth an excuse.] The Greek word is the same which was used for "concert" in *v.* 5. It is interpreted in the Arm. version as "models;" *i.e.* cases in which others have acted as he; by Grotius and Fritzsche, as "an interpretation," viz. of the Law. Plainly

B. C. cir. 200.

man is not daunted with fear, even when of himself he hath done without counsel.

19 Do nothing without advice; and when thou hast once done, repent not.

20 Go not in a way wherein thou mayest fall, and stumble not among the stones.

21 Be not confident in a plain way.

22 And beware of thine own children. B. C. cir. 200.

23 In every good work trust thy own soul; for this is the keeping of the commandments.

24 He that believeth in the Lord taketh heed to the commandment; and he that trusteth in him ‖shall fare never the worse. ‖ Or, *shall not be hurt.*

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the "interpretation" of the dream in Dan. ii. 25, where the word is used by the LXX., would be quite different to that implied in the present case. We believe the sense to be rightly expressed by the Syriac, "and shall make his path according to his will." He will find out his own rules and take no guidance.

18. *will be considerate.*] Lit., **will not disregard an idea.** There are many difficulties in this verse.

(*a.*) "A strange and proud man" seems an improper expression. Gaab (followed by Fritzsche) writes ἀλλοτρίον [better ἀλλότριον], and renders "will not disregard the suggestion of a stranger." We believe ἀλλότριος and ὑπερήφανος to be both translations of the same word זָר, which by the first translator was read זֵר; the correction of the reviser, ὑπερήφανος, was introduced as an addition.

(*b.*) "Even when of himself he hath done without counsel" is unsatisfactory as a rendering of μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ βουλῆς, out of which no meaning can easily be obtained. Fritzsche supposes the original to have been עמו לא עצה, and thus evolves the thought: "The proud man pays no attention to the opinion of another; and when he has acted, *has no counsel, i.e.* is completely at a loss." We believe ἄνευ βουλῆς to be a false repetition of the commencement of the next verse; and μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ to be a gloss upon ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι of the second clause of *v.* 19. These conjectures are confirmed by MS. 157 and partly by the Armenian version, which reads as follows: 19. ἄνευ βουλῆς μηθὲν ποιήσῃς . . . μεταμέλου. 18. ἄνευ βουλῆς μὴ παρίδῃς διανόημα. ἀλλότριος καὶ ὑπερήφανος οὐ καταπτήξει φόβον. The version, however, breaks off here. After the ejection of these there remains: "A man of counsel will not overlook an idea, and a proud man will feel no terror." If we compare the Syriac rendering of clause *a*, "leaves not wisdom hidden," it will appear probable that the original had לא יעלים עצה (Job xlii. 3)—"to darken counsel." According to Gesenius, 'Thes.' *s. v.*, עלם means to *censure* it, to endeavour to present it in an unfavourable light. The second clause is satisfactorily *Targumed* by the Syriac: "but the wicked man hath no control over his tongue." Compare Prov. xii. 15.

19. *advice.*] Rather, **counsel**, or **deliberation.**

and when thou hast once done.] "With deliberation," as glossed by the Greek (*v. supra*).

repent not.] *I.e.* thou shalt not repent. Cp. Ewald, 'Lehrb.' p. 602.

20. *and stumble not among the stones.*] Rather, **stony places.** The Syriac renders "lest a second time thou stumble." The warning conveyed, according to Fritzsche, is to avoid courses which may easily lead to difficult situations.

21. *Be not confident in a plain way.*] The meaning of the original is not very clear. The usage of the Greek of this period seems in favour of the rendering in the A. V., which is also that of S. H. The warning will then be not to trust too much to the apparent ease and simplicity of a course. The Syriac, "the path of the wicked," and the Latin *laboriosae*, are probably bold alterations.

22. *And beware of thine own children.*] An illustration, according to Fr., of the last warning: "even children must not be trusted, however natural an object of confidence they might seem. The sentiment, however, seems to us here so unnatural and inappropriate that we incline to the Syriac text, "and be of good heed in thy paths;" supposing the Greek to represent the corruption of ארחותיך into אחריתך, which has occurred already.

23. *trust thy own soul.*] *I.e.* "be self-confident;" or we might render it "believe *with* thy soul:" but in either case the thought would be unsatisfactory; for surely *self-confidence* cannot be said to be a way of keeping the commandments. The Syriac renders: "keep thy soul:" שְׁמֹר נַפְשֶׁךָ = "be cautious" (Prov. xvi. 17, xxii. 5, &c.), which not only gives an intelligible phrase, but also restores the play on the two senses of the word "keep" intended by the author. Πίστευε comes from *v.* 21 or *v.* 24.

24. *He that believeth in the Lord.*] So Lat. and late MSS.; Vat., Alex., **in the law.**

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 *The safety of him that feareth the Lord.* 2 *The wise and the foolish.* 7 *Times and seasons are of God.* 10 *Men are in his hands as clay in the hands of the potter.* 18 *Chiefly regard thyself.* 24 *Of servants.*

B. C. cir. 200.

[a] THERE shall no evil happen unto him that feareth the Lord; [b] but in temptation even again he will deliver him.

[a] Prov. 12 21. 1 Pet. 3. 13.

2 A wise man hateth not the law; [b] 2 Pet. 2. 9.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The structure of this chapter is somewhat difficult. It evidently treats of two different subjects, rather loosely strung together. The first section closes with *v.* 18. Its occasion seems to be taken from the second part of ch. xxxii. (see introductory remarks to it). As we have it in the Greek version, Part I. of ch. xxxiii. contains five stanzas, consisting respectively of three verses in the first and second stanza (*vv.* 1–3, 4–6); then of a third stanza of six verses (*vv.* 7–12), which is followed again by two stanzas, each of three verses (*vv.* 13–15 and 16–18). In this arrangement the central (third) stanza of six verses (*vv.* 7–12) is evidently the most important, and contains the main theme of discussion. This, if we understand it rightly, is kindred to the problem which partly formed the topic of discussion in the Book of Ecclesiastes—viz. the seeming arbitrariness in the dealings of Providence, the chance or else fatality which appears to attach to earthly things. A problem this, which—as we can readily understand—would naturally, almost inevitably, engage later Jewish thinking, not untinged by scepticism, when its ancestral religious teaching was—not without the influence of Grecianism—brought face to face with the moral problems presented in life. This great question, prompted perhaps by the second part of ch. xxxii., the writer seeks to answer. He prepares for it in the, two stanzas (*vv.* 1–3 and 4–6) which precede its statement in the central stanza (*vv.* 7–12); he finds a solution for it in the stanza which follows (*vv.* 13–15), and he gathers up his life-experience with its struggles and its victory in the attainment of that solution, in the stanza with which the section concludes (*vv.* 16–18).

Before proceeding, we mark that the Syr. version omits *vv.* 2–4. To the question whether they really existed in the Hebrew original of the older Siracide and were omitted for dogmatic reasons by the Syriac translator (or his redactor), or whether they must be considered as a Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide, it is not easy to give an answer. On the one hand, the stanza introducing and preparing for the main question in *vv.* 7–12 would give good sense even if we were to omit (as in the Syr.) *vv.* 2–4. In that case *v.* 1 would set forth the general and comforting assurance, in view of the seeming prevalence of mere fate or else accident, that all shall be well with him who feareth the Lord. Verses 2 and 3 would next set forth in warning the influence of this great problem of life on the two classes differing from the pious servant of God: the fool—on whom all has simply a bewildering effect (*v.* 5), and the mocking sceptic who laughs at everything, even as a stallion who neighs under every rider (*v.* 6). Thus far the argument in favour of the omission of *vv.* 2–4 in the Syr. But, on the other hand, there are dogmatic and other reasons which might prompt the Syr. translator to omit these verses from his rendering of the Hebrew original. Thus *v.* 3 might seem a dangerous and rationalistic depreciation of the ancient Mosaic oracle by the *Urim*. And if that verse was to be left out, it would be natural to omit a whole triplet for the sake of symmetry; and in that case it must be *vv.* 2–4, since neither *v.* 1 nor yet *vv.* 5 and 6 could have been omitted.

On the whole, we are inclined to decide in favour of the originality and authenticity of the verses (2–4) omitted in the Syr., and for the following reasons:—(1) They are requisite for the symmetrical structure of the whole section (two stanzas of three verses, one of six verses, and again two of three verses each); (2) they occur in the Vet. Lat.—and there apparently not from the Greek, but either directly from the Hebrew or corrected by it (see the notes); (3) a sentiment such as in *v.* 3 entirely accords with the theological standpoint of the older Siracide, however objectionable it might seem to a later translator, zealous for orthodoxy as he understood it.

No special difficulties attach to the second part of ch. xxxiii. (*vv.* 19–end). It consists of three stanzas, respectively of five, five, and three verses. The subject is so different from that treated in the first part that we might be tempted to regard this part as displaced, if it were not that we call to mind that such sudden, almost capricious, transitions seem in character with the disguised discussion of a problem such as in the previous verses. The first stanza (*vv.* 19–23) bears on the favourite subject of family life; the second stanza (*vv.* 24–28) gives advice on the treatment of slaves; the third (*vv.* 29–31) enjoins the cautions of religion and prudence in the matter.

1. *in temptation.*] Rather, **trial.**

even again he will deliver him.] Heb. (cf.

B. C. cir. 200.

but he that is an hypocrite therein is as a ship in a storm.

3 A man of understanding trusteth in the law; and the law is faithful unto him, ‖ as an oracle.

‖ Or, *as the asking of Urim.*

4 Prepare what to say, and so thou shalt be heard: and bind up instruction, and then make answer.

5 The ‖ heart of the [c] foolish is like a cartwheel; and his thoughts are like a rolling axletree.

‖ Gr. *bowels.*

[c] ch. 21. 14.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 A stallion horse is as a mocking friend, he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.

7 Why doth one day excel another, when as all the light of every day in the year is of the sun?

8 By the knowledge of the Lord

Syr.) ושב ומלט, "He will turn and deliver him;" *i.e.* He will reverse what is apparently His present purpose: the *καί* represents the Hebrew sign of the apodosis. We might supply "even in trials [no evil will happen to him but]."

2–4. These verses are wanting in the Syr. (see introductory remarks).

2. *the law.*] Lat. *mandata et justitias.* On the assumption that *vv.* 2–4 were in the original Hebrew, we would suggest that the term rendered "the law" had been מוּסָר, which should rather have been rendered "chastening." The wise man does not repine at the Divine chastening, but "kisses the rod;" the half-hearted, however, is thrown out of his course by it. For clause *b* the Lat. has "and will not founder like a ship in a storm." The Heb. was probably וכשל, variously interpreted as וְנִכְשָׁל and וְנִכְסִיל. We believe the Latin interpreter to have been right.

3. *as an oracle.*] See margin. For the readings (which do not interfere with the sense), see Fritzsche.

4. *bind up.*] The metaphor is from provisions for a journey that are packed up. Lat. *conservabit.* The imperatives (or imperfects) of צרר and נצר have perhaps been confounded as elsewhere.

then make answer.] "Then" is omitted in the best MSS.

5. *The heart.*] Lit. **bowels.**

like a cartwheel.] Syr. "like a swift wheel." The point of comparison, according to some, is their unsteadiness; according to others, the fact that they move always in the same groove. The latter, which is Fritzsche's suggestion, seems to us very improbable; whereas in support of the former interpretation we might quote Virgil's comparison of the frenzied Amata to a top ('Aen.' vii. 378), and the well-known lines of Tibullus (I. v. 2):

"Namque agor ut per plana citus sola verbere turbo
Quam celer adsueta versat ab arte puer."

and his thoughts are like a rolling axle-tree.] "In waggons of the kind called *plaustra* the axle-tree was not a fixture, but revolved together with the wheels" (Rich, 'Dict. of Antiq.' p. 72). The same author makes *axis versatilis* (Lat. *huius loci*) "a revolving cylinder, such as is worked by a windlass, for drawing up weights." In either case the point of comparison will be the impossibility of fixing it. The Syriac has "a swine:" we can scarcely doubt (with Linde and Bendtsen) that the original had a derivative of the Aramaic verb חזר, "to revolve:" compare חֲשִׁרִים and חֲשִׁקִּים.

6. *A stallion horse.*] Lat. *emissarius*, a low Latin word, on which see Ducange. Syr. "a ready horse;" pointing to an original מזין, as in Jer. v. 8. The *primum* and *secundum comparationis* are inverted.

a mocking friend.] Syr. "the friend of the wicked;" suggesting an original אהב לצון, "one that loveth mockery."

he neigheth under every one that sitteth upon him.] *I.e.* on all occasions, whatever the circumstances (Fritzsche). צהל, "to neigh," is used in the later Hebrew for "to giggle," *e.g.* Midrash on 'Proverbs,' p. 21 *a.* One is tempted to see an allusion to the story of Darius' horse (Herod. iii. 87), which the author may have learned from some other source. The *mockery* spoken of, if it represent the Hebrew word suggested, means "scoffing;" *i.e.* at religion and morality (Prov. ix. 12, &c.). He can never be serious.

7. *Why doth one day excel another.*] *I.e.* as a good day, or else as a holy day.

when as.] "This combination lasted till 1670" ('Old and Middle English,' p. 253). Maetzner, 'English Grammar,' iii. 430, quotes Shakspere, '3 Henry VI.' v. 7, "So Judas kissed his Master and cried, 'All hail,' *when as* he meant 'All harm.'" Marlowe, 'Jew of Malta,' v. 2, "What boots it thee to be the governor *when as* thy life shall be at their command?"

8. The answer is, they were separated by a Divine decree.

he altered.] Rather, **He made divers seasons and feasts.**

B. C. cir. 200.

they were distinguished: and he altered seasons and feasts.

9 Some of them hath he made high days, and hallowed *them*, and some of them hath he ‖made ordinary days.

‖ Or, *ordained for the number of days.*

10 And all men are from the ground, and [d] Adam was created of earth.

[d] Gen. 1. 27. & 2. 7.

11 In much knowledge the Lord hath divided them, and made their ways diverse.

12 Some of them hath he blessed and exalted, and some of them hath he sanctified, and set near himself: but some of them hath he cursed and brought low, and turned out of their ‖places.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *standings.*

13 [e] As the clay is in the potter's hand, to fashion it at his pleasure: so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best.

[e] Isai. 45. 9. & 64. 8. Jer. 18. 6. Wisd. 15. 7, 8. Rom. 9. 20, 21.

14 Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the godly against the sinner, and the sinner against the godly.

15 So look upon all the works of the most High; and [f] there are two and two, one against another.

[f] ch. 42. 24.

16 I awaked up last of all, as one that ‖gathereth after the grapegather-

‖ Or, *gleaneth.*

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9. *Some of them.*] *I.e.* the days.

he made high days.] Syr. "he blessed," ברך.

he made ordinary days.] Lit. **He put into the number of days**; *i.e.* days distinguished by nothing further than their *number* (in the month or year). In this use of the word signifying "number," the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages agree.

10. The Latin translator rendered the second clause, "and from the ground whence Adam was created." Cp. Job xxxi. 18.

11. *In much knowledge.*] *I.e.* by a plan too deep for our comprehension. Naturally, we should have expected that they would all have been equal.

made their ways diverse.] Syr. "and he made the inhabitants of the earth."

12. The verse gives specimens of these diversities rather than a classification of them. The first clause may refer to *worldly* dignities (Fritzsche); the second, to *spiritual* dignities; the third and fourth, to the destitute and ruined.

and set near himself.] ואליו הקריב, according to Fritzsche; with which compare Jer. xxx. 21. The Syr., however, renders "and they came near to him," which reminds us of the far more common phrase וינשו אליו; and since ἐγγίζω is rarely transitive, ἤγγισαν may have been originally in the Greek text.

brought low, and turned out of their places.] Syr. "overturned, and rooted out of their dwellings." The author has in mind Isa. xxii. 19. For ἀνέστρεψεν we must read with Co. ἀνέτρεψεν (cp. Cobet, 'Misc. Crit.' p. 382).

13. *to fashion it at his pleasure.*] The old Greek MSS. have, instead of this, **all his ways are according to his pleasure.** The reading exhibited by the A. V appears only in H. and seems to be a conjecture (πλάσαι αὐτό for πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ). The Syr. Version omits it altogether.

to render to them as liketh him best.] Lit. **according to his judgment.** Syr. "to set him over (?) all his works." The Hebrew was very likely לפקדו, which would bear either meaning.

14. Then follows a list of συστοιχίαι.

so is the godly against the sinner.] Syr. "and against the light was created the darkness." The list of the συστοιχίαι of Pythagoras given by Aristotle, 'Metaphys.' p. 986 (ed. Bekker), contains φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, but not "life and death:" cp., however, Plato, 'Phaedo,' p. 71; and Zeller, 'Philosophie der Griechen,' i. 325, 4th edit.

15. *look upon.*] Syr. "has exhibited." Either can be supported from Eccles. vii. 14.

16. *I awaked up last of all.*] Rather, **I lay awake**, or "lucubrated;" Syr. "I came." We suggest, to account for this curious difference, that the original had בתי, intended for בָּאתִי, but pointed by the Greek translator בָּתִּי, from בות, *pernoctare*, in Chald. and Syr. "In the feeling," says Fritzsche, "that he has uttered something of importance, the author begins to reflect upon his position, and to feel that, though late in time, he has not laboured in vain." Still, this verse strikes us as singularly abrupt, if we compare the somewhat similar thought in xxiv. 30. The great transposition in the Greek MSS. and the versions derived from the Greek occurs in the middle of this verse. Is it possible that some paragraphs have been lost?

as one that gathereth.] Lit. **one that gathereth straws**, מְקוֹשֵׁשׁ, but used more generally in Isa. xxiv. 14, &c.

B. C. cir. 200.

ers: by the blessing of the Lord I profited, and filled my winepress like a gatherer of grapes.

17 [g] Consider that I laboured not for myself only, but for all them that seek learning.

[g] ch. 24. 34.

18 Hear me, O ye great men of the people, and hearken with your ears, ye rulers of the congregation.

19 Give not thy son and wife, thy brother and friend, power over thee while thou livest, and give not thy goods to another: lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for the same again.

20 As long as thou livest and hast breath in thee, ‖ give not thyself over to any.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *sell not.*

21 For better it is that thy children should seek to thee, than that thou shouldest ‖ stand to their courtesy.

‖ Or, *look to their hands.*

22 In all thy works keep to thyself the preeminence; leave not a stain in thine honour.

23 At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life, distribute thine inheritance.

24 Fodder, a wand, and burdens, *are* for the ass; and bread, correction, and work, for a servant.

Of servants.

I profited.] Lit. **I got ahead**; Syr. "I rose;" Lat. "I hoped" (קִמְתִּי and קִדַּמְתִּי? The Lat. is perhaps an error for *properavi*). The thought that he had got before *others* (Fritzsche) is scarcely hinted.

like a gatherer of grapes.] The whole verse implies that Ben Sira had predecessors in the class of literature to which this book belongs, and that he made use of or incorporated a number of their sayings (comp. Gen. Introd. p. 19).

17. This verse is omitted in the Syr. Version.

18, 19. The Syriac transposes 19 *b* after 20. This gives a more natural order, unless indeed 19 and 18 are parallel sentiments.

19. *power over thee.*] Rather, **authority over thee**,—become not their dependant.

and thou intreat for the same again.] Compare Lysias, p. 638 (ed. Reiske): *βούλονται γὰρ πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνων δεῖσθαι ἀπορούντες.* The rendering in the A. V. follows the Syriac more nearly than the Greek, which has: **lest it repent thee, and thou intreat for them.** The Hebrew may have had לְשׁוּב. The meaning "repent" for this word and its derivatives is late; and the original may have meant no more than "lest afterwards thou be compelled to beg of them."

20. *give not thyself over to any.*] The literal meaning may be, either "barter not thyself with any body" (Arm., Fritzsche), so that the other person assume thy place, or else "sell not thyself to any body." The Heb. (Fritzsche) was תמר אל, which the Syrian may have interpreted from the Aram. מר, a "lord" or "master," rendering "make no flesh lord over thee."

21. *stand to their courtesy.*] Lit. **look to the hands of thy sons**: cp. Ps. cxxiii. 2. The Arm. omits *σοῦ*, giving the meaning "that thy children should be in want." The same version (with Syr.) substitutes "their hands" for "the hands of thy sons." The author may have intended to emphasise the difference between "children" in clause *a*, and "sons" in clause *b*. But this is one of the cases in which ancient scribes allowed themselves considerable liberty in dealing with authors' texts. For the phrase compare Aristophanes, 'Vespae,' 613 (of an old man in these circumstances): *καὶ μή με δεήσει ἐς σὲ (τὸν υἱόν) βλέψαι καὶ τὸν ταμίαν ὁπόσ' ἄριστον παραθήσει*, and 'Abhoth de R. N.,' p. 90 *a*: "If a man eat of the property of his father or of his mother or of his children, his mind is not established; much more when he eateth of the property of others."

22. *keep to thyself the preeminence.*] We prefer the reading of C. and Arm., *ὑπεράνω*, "have the upper hand;" למעלה.

leave not.] Rather, **set not**.

23. The substance of this verse is quoted in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira' in the following form:—"Hide, my son, thy wealth in thy life, and conceal it; and give it not to thy heirs to the day of thy death."

At the time when thou shalt end thy days, and finish thy life.] Lit. **on the day of the completion of the days** [om. Arm.] **of thy life, and at the time of the end.** Syr. "at the time when the number of thy days shall be completed, on the day of thy death, bequeath thy goods to thy son." Arab. "at the end of thy life bequeath thy goods to thy son;" assuredly all that is required to express the thought.

ON SLAVES.

24. *a wand.*] Lit. **a rod.** Some have regarded this verse as a quotation (L. D.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 If thou set thy servant to labour, thou shalt find rest: but if thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty.

26 A yoke and a collar do bow the neck: so are tortures and torments for an evil servant.

27 Send him to labour, that he be not idle; for idleness teacheth much evil.

28 Set him to work, as is fit for him: if he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters. B. C. cir. 200.

29 But be not excessive toward any; and without discretion do nothing.

30 [h] If thou have a servant, let him be unto thee as thyself, because thou hast bought him [‖] with a price. [h] ch. 7. 20. [‖] Gr. *in blood.*

31 If thou have a servant, intreat him as a brother: for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul: if

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Cramer, 'Moral der Apocryphen,' 201). Fritzsche finds in the proverbial form of the sentence the excuse for its coarseness.

correction.] Probably a euphemism for "the lash," as the Arm. renders it. Compare Prov. xxvii. 3, which in Gesner's 'Stobaeus,' p. 604, is quoted with *virga servo insipienti.*

25. The Syr. is here different: "Thou shalt give him no rest; and if thou raise his head, he desireth liberty." The Latin version has also a very interesting rendering: *operatur in disciplina et quaerit requiescere: laxa manus illi et quaerit libertatem.* The variations in the second clause will be explained if we suppose the original to have been לו הרף, otherwise read לו הרם; the "hands" and "head" are the supplements (doubtless correct ones) of the translators. The Greek and Latin of clause 1 may imply an original עבד בעבד ובקש מנוחה, of which the Greek translator rightly understood the first two words, while the Latin translation might be explained by pointing וּבְקֵשׁ rather than וּבַקֵּשׁ: "make a slave work, and he will seek rest; relax his discipline, and he will seek liberty." The Syriac Version perhaps represents a guess at the general meaning of the passage rather than an accurate rendering.

26. *a collar.*] Rather, **strap**; referring to the reins. The Syriac omits this verse; and as the Hebrew language apparently possesses no words for the "rack" and the "torture," any more than it possesses one for the "cross," we may hope that it is an interpolation.

27. *be not idle.*] Syr. "that he may not rebel." We believe the Greek to be right.

28. *Set him to work.*] Syriac, "give him authority in thy house," apparently deriving מלאכה from מלך, and thinking of the history of Joseph. The point is only worthy of notice orthographically.

put on more heavy fetters.] Lit. **make heavy**; with which comp. Lament. iii. 7.

29. *But be not excessive toward any.*] Lit. **be not excessive in any flesh**; explained to mean, punish not too severely. The verb is used by the LXX. to represent the Heb. הותיר, so that אל תותר may be restored with considerable certainty for the first words. The Syriac has: "but not so upon any man." The verse is apparently a warning against excessive ill-treatment, μηδὲν ἀνίατον ποιεῖν. (Aeth. reads πιστεύσῃς.) On the condition of slaves among the Israelites, see the interesting Art. in Riehm, 'Hdw.'

without discretion do nothing.] Rather, "without judgment." The Vet. Lat. rightly glosses, *nihil facias grave.*

30, 31. The Syriac transposes 30 *b* and 31 *b*; while the Lat. omits 31 entirely. The Syr. makes the sense much clearer by adding *one:* "if thou have one servant." Compare Prov. xii. 9.

with a price.] Greek, **in blood.** The A. V. follows Drusius (who is followed by Böttcher and Fritzsche) in giving the assumed original the sense of the Aram. דמין, "price." It is, however, by no means certain that this is right; for the minor premise of the argument involved would not necessarily be true; while the major can scarcely be imagined. The fact, too, that the Syriac and Latin agree in rendering *in sanguine animae tuae* makes it highly probable that the original was בדם נפשך. The Syr. renders the whole clause: "and fight not with the blood of thy soul [*i.e.* thine own blood; compare Hofmann, 'Julian der Abtrünnige,' 169, 3]; because, if thou afflict him, he will go away and perish: and with what spirit [Lag.: but "by what way," Pol.] shalt thou find him." The thought is here intelligible, though the language is somewhat strange. The Arabic translator glosses, "thine own blood;" *i.e.* "thy goods."

as a brother.] So Alex. C., Arm., Lat., Syr.

for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul.] The Greek should mean, **for thou shalt need him as thine own soul** (needeth him). Fritzsche would correct the

B. C. cir. 200.

thou intreat him evil, and he run from thee, which way wilt thou go to seek him?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 *Of dreams.* 13 *The praise and blessing of them that fear the Lord.* 18 *The offering of the ungodly, and prayer of the poor innocent.*

B. C. cir. 200. Of dreams.

THE hopes of a man void of understanding are vain and false: and dreams lift up fools.

2 Whoso ‖ regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind.

‖ Or, *hath his mind upon.*

3 The vision of dreams is the resemblance of one thing to another,

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Greek ἐπιδήσεις αὐτόν, "thou shalt bind him to thee" (a conjecture apparently confirmed by the Copt.). But the text is sufficiently supported by the Syr.: "because as thou art thyself, so is thy want."

The Syriac is evidently right in the transposition noticed above, because by its order it offers some *personal* reason for treating a [single] slave as oneself, and some reason based upon *ties of blood* for treating him as a brother. To find out what these are we must attempt, at least conjecturally, to restore the Hebrew, as in the following two paragraphs:—

"If thou have one servant, let him be as thyself—כי כמוך במחסוריך, for like thyself so is thy need of him." Perhaps we should correct במחסוריך, "in thy poverty," "he is like thee in thy poverty;" *i.e.* he is but little poorer than thou art; he is dependent on thee entirely, and thou no less upon him.

"If thou have one servant, regard him as thy brother—אל תקנא בדם נפשך, be not jealous against thine own blood." תקנא was perhaps read תקנה by the Greek translator, as in Prov. iii. 31, and the word "not" omitted arbitrarily. The reason why he is compared to a brother is that once lost he cannot be replaced; whereas other relations (*e.g.* husbands, sons) may be. This conceit is familiar to us in the story of Intaphernes (Herodotus, iii. 119), but it is also employed by Sophocles ('Antigone,' v. 905) and in Flügel's 'Gefährte des Einsamen.'

and he run from thee.] We should render: **and he start to run away.** Arm. "he take umbrage and flee."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The religious problems referred to in the central part of the previous chapter are, as it seems to us, here once more taken up. Our author had travelled (*v.* 11), and his mind was greatly enlarged by what he observed and learned in foreign countries. In the first stanza of the present chapter (*vv.* 1–8) he now expresses his view of the manner in which heathenism attempted to solve the question how earthly affairs are determined or may be influenced. Although the Siracide speaks of heathenism in a liberal manner—as it were, from a philosophical standpoint,—he discards its views and practices without hesitation or reserve. Alike his conclusions and his liberality, he hastens to inform us—not without righteous self-consciousness — had been the result of his travels. The reference to this forms the introduction (*vv.* 9–13) to his own solution of these great problems (*vv.* 14–17). This constitutes the subject of the second stanza in the chapter. Lastly, in a third stanza, consisting, like stanza 2, of nine verses (*vv.* 18–26), the writer turns to another aspect of the subject. He had in the first stanza been repudiating heathenism, and in the second expressed the assured conviction of his own religion. The perversion and the misunderstanding of that religion form the subject of the third stanza (*vv.* 18–26). As before he had censured heathenism, so now a spurious Judaism—a Pharisaism before the Pharisees, a legal literalism and zeal for outward observances, combined with impenitence and sin. The glimpse which the chapter affords into the religious condition of the period is as important, as, on the other hand, it is interesting to hear the views of a travelled, enlightened, liberal Jew who discourses on the heathen and the Jewish world.

1. *The hopes of a man, &c.*] Rather, **a man without understanding hath vain and lying hopes.** Syr. "He that looks for vanity shall find delusion."

and dreams lift up fools.] Rather, **elate.** Syr. (Lag.) "and a dream is a vain delight."

2. *followeth after the wind.*] Cp. Hos. xii. 2. Syr. "who scareth a bird." Both correspond to Greek proverbs, ἀνέμους θηρᾶν ἐν δικτύοις, and διώκειν ποτανὸν ὄρνιν, doubtless, however, common to most nations. The Syriac, however, seems to be an interpolation from xxvii. 18; cp. Prov. ix. 12 (LXX.).

3. *the resemblance of one thing to another, &c.*] Lit. **this against this; the resemblance of a face opposite a face.** The reading in the text is not quite certain: for τοῦτο κατὰ τούτου some MSS. have τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦτο, which the Lat. represents. The Syr. and Arm. omit the first τοῦτο, wh ch may be a correction of τούτου, inserted in a wrong place. Accepting the reading of the Syr.,

B. C. cir. 200.

even as the [a] likeness of a face to a face.

4 [b] Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed? and from that thing which is false what truth can come?

5 Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams, are vain: and the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail.

6 If they be not sent from the most High in thy visitation, ‖ set not thy heart upon them.

7 For dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them.

8 The law shall be found perfect without lies: and wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.

9 A man that hath travelled knoweth many things; and he that

[a] Prov. 27. 19.
[b] Job 14. 4.
‖ Or, *regard them not.*

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we obtain "even so is the vision of dreams;" which is more intelligible than that of the Lat., which would mean, "dreams are each exactly like the other."

the **resemblance** *of a face* **opposite** *a face.*] The phrase seems to be taken from Prov. xxvii. 19, a very obscure passage. Baduellus interprets our passage as an account of the origin of dreams; signifying that the "fancy" reproduces images to the "intellect" in the same way as a mirror. Grotius, on the other hand (followed by Fritzsche), finds the point of comparison in the unreality of the image: *ut imago in spectro visa nihil post se relinquit, ita nec somnia.* This is more probably right. Compare 'Julian der Abtrünnige,' 177, 15: "while thine eyes are on them they are gone."

4. *Of an unclean thing what can be cleansed?*] The Syriac Version seems at first sight very different: "and over the head of his people he will gain the victory." This, however, means only that the Syrian divided the words before him wrongly, reading for מרשע מה יצדק, מֵרֹשׁ עַמֹּה יצדק. The Arab. gives the following version of the Syriac: "he that gives them the lie and relies not on them winneth the victory more than the greatest of his people." The Syriac Version seems to imply that the words "unclean" and "cleansed" should rather have been rendered "evil" and "righteous." Just as righteousness does not spring out of evil ("Do men gather grapes of thorns?"), so the truth does not come out of the false and unsubstantial. The Greek text would have referred to the unclean thing rendering everything else unclean,—a striking comparison, though not a very appropriate one.

5. *Divinations, &c.*] In this opinion the author is far in advance of the later Rabbinical schools.

and the heart fancieth, as a woman's heart in travail.] Syriac, "he that believeth them, there is his heart." Lat. *et somnia malefacientium vanitas est.* The Greek seems evidently correct. The physical phenomenon alluded to is sometimes mentioned by the ancients.

6. *in thy visitation.*] Rather, **as a visitation**; the Vet. Lat. and Armen.: "unless a visitation be sent." Apparently we have not here the genuine words of the author. The Syriac has: "even though it be ordained of God that men go astray with the fancies of the night." Combining the Syr. and Greek, we obtain a text like אם מאת יה תפקד, "even though thou be visited from God;" and it is almost clear that the next verse requires some such saying. So many have been led astray by dreams that it is best to distrust them all, even at the risk of some one being really inspired. The verse well illustrates the methods of the two translators.

7. *and they have failed, &c.*] Rather, **and** [many] **have failed.**

8. *The law shall be found perfect without lies.*] Rather (Fritzsche), **is perfected or realised without the help of false things** (such as dreams). Syr. "Where there is no sin, God is pleased;" Lat. *consummabitur verbum.*

The second clause is difficult: "Wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth." Syr. "the wisdom of the wicked is believed in the night." Evidently there was a word in the original read by the one כליל, by the other בליל. "The wicked" of the Syriac need not be considered. Probably the original meant "wisdom is perfected in a faithful mouth;" *i.e.* wisdom when combined with sincerity is perfect.

Arguing back from this, we may interpret the first clause: "By not lying, the law is accomplished;" *i.e.* the telling of the truth is so important that by keeping this rule a man observes the whole law. The Syriac translator apparently was offended by this sentiment and diluted it. The author was led up to these remarks on *truth* by the falsehood of dreams.

9. *A man that hath travelled knoweth many things.*] So a few MSS., S. H. and Arm. The best Greek MSS., however, have πεπαιδευμένος, "*a man that* **is educated**, &c." The Syriac is here very different: "A wise man examines much." This seems to shew that the late Hebrew word, בָּקִיא, *exercitatus*, was

B. C. cir. 200.

hath much experience will declare wisdom.

10 He that hath no experience knoweth little: but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.

11 When I travelled, I saw many things; and I understand more than I can express.

12 I was ofttimes in danger of death: yet I was delivered because of these things.

13 The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live; for their hope is in him that saveth them.

14 Whoso feareth the Lord shall not fear nor be afraid; for he is his hope.

15 Blessed is the soul of him that feareth the Lord: to whom doth he look? and who is his strength?

16 For [c]the eyes of the Lord are upon them that love him, [d]he is their mighty protection and strong stay, a defence from heat, and a cover from the sun at noon, a preservation from stumbling, and an help from falling.

17 He raiseth up the soul, and lighteneth the eyes: he giveth health, life, and blessing.

[c] Ps. 33. 18. & 34. 15.
[d] Ps. 61. 2, 3, 4. & 91. 1, 2, 3, 4.

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used here; the Syriac inverted the order of the words and read בֹּקֵא.

he that hath much experience will declare wisdom.] Syr. (as rendered by Dr. Payne Smith, col. 1147): *qui prosperat omnia examinat* (perhaps, however, we should correct ܟܣܝܪ for ܟܣܝܪ, obtaining some later Hebrew word like רָגִיל). The verse, according to the most probable readings, refers merely to practice in the arts or sciences.

10. *but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.*] Syriac again, "he that hath had experience;" perhaps misreading נִסָּה for נָסַע, with which the author may have intended a jingle. Lat. *qui in multis factus* [qu. *iactus* or *iactatus*?] *est.*

11. *When I travelled, I saw many things.*] An interesting notice of the author's personal experience: cp. chap. li. 13. It is much to be regretted that he does not enter into fuller details concerning his journeys.

and I understand more than I can express.] Syr. "and many things have passed over me;" Lat. *et plurimas verborum consuetudines.* The Hebrew to which these three renderings seem to lead up is ורבים דברים עלוני; the Greek represents a slightly different division of the first words, ורב מדברי; while the last seems almost to have been interpreted from the Arab. معلوم, confirming Hitzig's conjecture about chap. vi. 22. The true reading may possibly be represented by the Syriac, "and many things have passed over me;" which would fitly prepare for the next verse. Attempts to obtain a satisfactory meaning from the Greek will be found in Fritzsche.

12. *yet I was delivered because of these things.*] Syr. "on account of them." This phrase is obscure. The Greek might conceivably mean "for all that." Aeth. "and withal God saved me;" but this the Syriac seems to forbid. The same difficulty applies to Fritzsche's explanation, "on account of the *following* things;" which is also not in the manner of our author. We must therefore follow Bretschneider in making the "things" his prudence and skill; unless we might suppose a mistranslation of the Hebrew, *e.g.* בעברם (read בַּעֲבָרָם), by which the author had intended "when they passed over [me];" sc. the "things" mentioned in the previous verse.

13. *The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall live.*] Cp. Isa. xxxviii. 16: "the life of my spirit." Syr. "The Lord doeth the business of them that fear him;" perhaps רעות יראי י״י תהיה for רוח יראי י״י תחיה.

for their hope is **towards their Saviour.**] Syr. "for great is his hope and he saves."

14. This verse is omitted in Syr. It may be a reminiscence of such passages as Ps. lvi. 12.

15. *to whom doth he look?*] A question employed for the purpose of introducing the reason of the beatitude: like those at the end of the Twenty-fourth Psalm.

strength.] Rather, **support** or **stay.** Heb. משען.

16. The highly poetical metaphors of this verse are all diluted in the Syriac Version.

17. Raising up *the soul, and* **lightening** *the eyes.*] Syr. "the joy of the soul." Heb. probably מְשַׂמֵּחַ: which the Greek translator would seem to have interpreted from the Arabic مشمخ.

he giveth health, life, and blessing.] Syriac, "medicine of life and blessings." Perhaps in the original "health, life, and blessing"

B. C. cir. 200.

18 [e]He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous; and [1]the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.

19 [f]The most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked; neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.

20 Whoso bringeth an offering of the goods of the poor doeth as one that killeth the son before his father's eyes.

21 The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

22 He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him; and he that [g]defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodshedder.

23 When one buildeth, and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?

24 When one prayeth, and another curseth, whose voice will the Lord hear?

25 [h]He that washeth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing?

26 [i]So is it with a man that fast-

B. C. cir. 200.

[e] Prov. 21. 27.
[1] Or, *the mockeries.*
[f] Prov. 15. 8.
[g] Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14, 15. ch. 7. 20.
[h] Num. 19. 11, 12.
[i] 2 Pet. 2. 20, &c.

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were used as epithets, the word "giveth" being a gloss.

18. See introductory remarks. The long passage which follows contains interesting suggestions, but displays that want of continuous thinking, which prevented the Jewish Chokhmah ever developing into a system of philosophy. The author vacillates between different points of view, but follows neither to its legitimate consequences.

He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous.] Fritzsche's suggestion that זֹבֵחַ, "a sacrifice," has been wrongfully read זֹבֵחַ, is confirmed by Syr. For "ridiculous" Alex., with some other MSS., has "culpable" or "contaminated;" so, too, Lat. and Cyrill. Alexandr. vi. 311, who quotes this passage with Job viii. 20 and the end of Isaiah. We believe this (last) reading to be right, and (comparing it with the Syriac) suppose that the author must have intended some play on the words עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה.

the gifts of unjust men are not accepted.] So 248, Co., Syr., Arm. The best Greek MSS. (and Lat.) have "**mockeries.**" We venture to suggest that the author here has another play on a word: for זבח, "sacrifice," he substitutes בזח ("scorn," "mockery," a Syriac word), בזחי רשעים for זבחי רשעים. This sort of witticism has always had peculiar attractions for the Jewish mind. So in the Qaraite-Arabic writings Mohammad is called *Pāsûl* ("unclean") for *Rasûl* ("Apostle"), Mekka *Makkōth* ("plagues"), &c. The substitution of *Bosheth* ("shame") for *Baal* ("lord") in the biblical text affords an early example of this. The Syriac, which has here "offerings," may have simply "corrected" the text. Comp. Prov. xv. 7; xxi. 27.

20. *that killeth.*] Lit. **that slaughtereth.** The point of comparison lies in the impossibility of conciliating the father with such a sacrifice. The words remind the reader of Virgil's Priam, "qui nati coram me cernere letum fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus."

21. *The bread of the needy is their life.*] Rather, **is the life of the poor;** by no means a lucid sentiment. Syr. "the bread of mercy," לֶחֶם חֶסֶד, misread by the Greek, לֵ חֶסֶד. "The bread of mercy," *i.e.* "the bread of charity;" the abuse referred to being the diversion of means intended for charitable purposes, or more properly to be spent in charitable objects, for more ostentatious employment in sacrifice.

22. *He that taketh away, &c.*] The original apparently was יִרַּשׁ, "takes violently away." The Syr. misunderstood this, and rendered "inherits;" the Arabic translator improves this into "makes him the heir of his goods." Συμβίωσις is a very unusual expression for *victus*, "substance." Either the Aeth. rendering, "who separates a man from his wife," or Grot. "takes away social intercourse," would be more literal than the A. V. But in favour of the A. V. we have the obvious sense of the passage, as well as Arm. and S. H. The Lat. *in sudore panem* is remarkable, and seems to be an allusion to Gen. iii. 19.

23. The order of thought is satisfactorily explained by Fritzsche. In the case of such a sacrifice as that described, while one prays (*i.e.* the sacrificer), the other (the poor man whom he has robbed) curses; how then can such a sacrifice profit any more than the operation described in this verse?

25, 26. Those, too, who approach God must do so seriously; He cannot be trifled with. It is not exactly said that the outward observance of fasts can only be of meaning or

B. C. cir. 200. eth for his sins, and goeth again, and doeth the same: who will hear his prayer? or what doth his humbling profit him?

CHAPTER XXXV.

1 *Sacrifices pleasing to God.* 14 *The prayer of the fatherless, of the widow, and of the humble in spirit.* 20 *Acceptable mercy.*

B. C. cir. 200.

HE [a]that keepeth the law bringeth offerings enough: he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.

[a] 1 Sam. 15. 22. Jer. 7. 3, 5, 6, 7. Hos. 6. 6. Mic. 6. 6, 7, 8.

2 He that requiteth a good turn Mark 12. 33.

value in so far as it is symbolic of an inward process, but that a fast for sin and prayer for its forgiveness can only attain the object sought, if combined with the abandonment of sin—just as a bath of purification cannot avail if a dead body is immediately touched again. The sentiment seems almost to have become proverbial in Jewish theology. Thus we read (Taan. 16 *a*, line 10 from bottom) that a man who is guilty of a sin and confesses, but does not turn from it, is like one who holds an unclean reptile in his hand, who, even if he immersed in all the waters of the world, his immersion (bath of purification) would not profit him; but if he casts it from him, when he immerses in forty Seah (the bare legal measure of water for such a bath), immediately his immersion profiteth (obtains the object of purification)—the references in proof being to Prov. xxviii. 13 and Lam. iii. 41 (comp. also Yalkūt on the passage in Prov. and the Midr. R. on that in Lam.). In 'Abhoth,' *ut sup.* p. 116, constant repentance with constant sinning is reckoned among the five unpardonable offences.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The reference in chap. xxxiv. to heathenism and to Judaism, whether pure or corrupt, leads to a farther and, in many respects, most interesting discussion. The main subject is that of sacrifices, on which the writer propounds his own more liberal views, insinuating rather than stating them, artfully slipping them in between other sayings irreprehensible to Jewish orthodoxy—thus finding a place for what he might scarcely have dared openly and broadly to teach. Equally interesting is it to notice how the Syriac translator modifies and alters in a Christian sense. Not only does he eliminate all references to sacrificing in the strict sense, substituting expressions which a Christian writer might employ, but his references to the words used by our Lord are so evident as at once to be obvious to every reader (comp. the notes on *vv.* 2–9). Thus the chapter may be regarded as adding important evidence on the Christian authorship of the Syr. Version. On the other hand, it does not seem likely that the Greek translation contains important Hellenistic alterations by the younger Siracide. Of such we should probably have had more distinct expression than the Greek text contains. Indeed, the reference to sacrifices is exactly in the spirit which, as we have all along observed, is characteristic of the elder Siracide. It is the Grecianism of Palestine rather than of Alexandria—a mild Sadduceeism, before there were either Pharisees or Sadducees: the influence of Greek thinking and life upon the more liberal spirits of Judæa, the effect upon them of contact with the great world without.

It is difficult to arrange the chapter into other than two sections, of which the one treats of sacrifices in their real import and value (*vv.* 1–11), the other of sacrifices unrighteous and unacceptable (*vv.* 12–15). The mention of the cry of distress addressed to the Lord (*v.* 15) leads to a more detailed reference to all such appeals, which assuredly will bring their answer in the Divine interposition, whether for deliverance or for judgment. But the greatest wrong was that which heathen persecution inflicted on the people of God; and the loudest cry for Divine judgment, that for vengeance on them and for smiting into fragments the sceptres of the unrighteous (*v.* 18). Thus the appeal for answer to prayer and for Divine interposition merges into a strong anti-heathen passage, while for Israel a season of refreshing mercy is asked in the interval before the judgment on their oppressors. We infer that the elder Siracide must have written in a time of anticipated persecution and suffering (see General Introduction).

1. *bringeth offerings enough.*] Syr. "If thou doest what is written in the Law, thou hast multiplied service." If the Greek Version may be regarded as expressing the views of a Jew who attached not any absolute value to the ritual observances of the Law, the Syr. translator seems purposely to have omitted all reference to sacrifices and to occupy a totally different (Christian) standpoint.

he that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace offering.] Syr. "blessed be his spirit,"—alteration of text in the same spirit as in the first clause.

2. *He that* **giveth** *a good turn.*] *I.e.* "requiteth a benefit." The Syriac of this verse is rendered by Dr. Payne Smith, col. 1179, "qui donum obfert id facit quod optimam retributionem s. *usuram* sibi refert." The

B. C. cir. 200.

offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise.

[b] Dan. 4. 27.

3 [b]To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.

[c] Exod. 23. 15. Deut. 16. 16.

4 [c]Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.

5 For all these things [are to be done] because of the commandment.

6 The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof *is* before the most High.

7 The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable, and the memorial thereof shall never be forgotten.

B. C. cir. 200.

[d] Prov. 3. 9.

8 [d]Give the Lord his honour with a good eye, and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.

[e] 2 Cor. 9. 7.

9 [e]In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and ‖dedicate thy tithes with gladness.

‖ Or, *set apart.*

[f] Tobit 4. 8.

10 [f]Give unto the most High according as he hath enriched thee; and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.

[g] Prov. 19. 17. 2 Cor. 9. 8.

11 [g]For the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much.

‖ Or, *Diminish nothing of thy offerings.*

12 ‖Do not think to corrupt with

Hebrew was probably גְּמֻל. The Syriac alteration here involves a meaning almost the opposite of that conveyed by the Greek. The translator seems to have wished to convey some of the N. T. directions and promises about the gracious retribution to those who give.

sacrificeth praise.] זבח תודה. Syr. "keepeth the law." Had he read תורה for תודה?

3. *is a propitiation.*] The Syr. once more alters in the same spirit as before: "and restrain thy strength that thou do what is abominable." If the Greek represented repentance as real propitiation, the Syr. omits all reference to it, and so avoids what might sound either Jewish or Judaising.

4–11. Nevertheless, though the best sacrifice is good conduct, still for the sake of the commandment, actual sacrifices must be offered also. This deserves special attention as expressive of views afterwards more fully developed in Hellenism.

4. *before the Lord.*] Syr. "before Him." For the phrase (or rather quotation), see references in marg.

5. *For all these things are to be done.*] Apparently not of absolute and internal necessity, but simply because ordered in the Law, and therefore to be observed. The Syriac translator once more alters the statement into "every one that doeth well keepeth the commandment."

6. *maketh the altar fat.*] Perhaps מרשן, which should have been rendered "is thought fat," *i.e.* rich, savoury, "the altar" being a gloss. The Syr.: "is the prayer of their mouth,"—a very significant alteration.

and the sweet savour thereof.] Syr. "and their works cleave open the heavens."

7. *the memorial.*] Fritzsche suggests that this may have meant the אזכרה or memorial-sacrifice of Lev. ii. 2, 9, &c. But this seems not likely. The Syr. seems to shew that the word is used in our ordinary English sense.

8. *Give the Lord his honour.*] Lit. **glorify the Lord.** Syr. "give to the poor," &c.

and diminish not the firstfruits of thine hands.] Syr. "and vacillate not in thy gifts." He may have read תמעד for תמעט: but the alteration of "firstfruits" into "gifts" can only have been intentional. On the "firstfruits," see 'The Temple, its Ministry and Services,' ch. xix.

9. *and dedicate thy tithes.*] Syr. "lend to him that will not pay thee." The alteration here is not only bold, but the reference to St. Luke vi. 34, 35 is so clear that we can scarcely doubt the Syr. intended to put the words of Christ into the mouth of the Siracide. Very significantly the Syr. next reverses the order of the verses that follow, placing *v.* 11 of the Greek in immediate juxtaposition to *v.* 9 and *v.* 10 after our Greek *v.* 11. The entire elimination of allusion to sacrifices and the reference to the words of our Lord seem to establish the Christian authorship of the Syriac Version.

10. *and as thou hast gotten, give with a cheerful eye.*] Lit. **according to the finding of thy hand,** כמצא ידך; Syr. "with an ample hand" (מלא for מצא?).

11. *seven times as much.*] Syr. "ten thousand times." The addition in the Syr., "he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, and who shall recompense but He Himself?" is an interpolation from Prov. xix. 17.

12. *Do not think to corrupt with gifts.*] Rather, **Think not to bribe.** For this the Syriac has a most interesting variant, putting simply "hesitate not," without further

gifts; [h] for such he will not receive: and trust not to unrighteous sacrifices; for the Lord is judge, and with him is [i] no respect of persons.

13 He will not accept any person against a poor man, but [k] will hear the prayer of the oppressed.

14 He will not despise the supplication of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she poureth out her complaint.

15 Do not the tears run down the widow's cheeks? and is not her cry against him that causeth them to fall?

16 He that serveth the Lord shall be accepted with favour, and his prayer shall reach unto the clouds.

17 The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds: and till it come nigh, he will not be comforted; and will not depart, till the most High shall behold to judge righteously, and execute judgment.

18 [l] For the Lord will not be slack, neither will the Mighty be patient toward them, till he have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful, and repayed vengeance to the heathen; till he have taken away the multitude of the ‖ proud, and broken the sceptre of the unrighteous;

19 Till he have [m] rendered to every man according to his deeds, and to the works of men according to their devices; till he have judged the cause of his people, and made them to rejoice in his mercy.

20 Mercy is ‖ seasonable in the time of affliction, as clouds of rain in the time of drought.

B. C. cir. 200.

h Lev. 22. 20, 21, 22. Deut. 15. 21. Mal. 1. 8, 13, 14.

i Deut. 10. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 7. Job 34. 19. Wisd. 6. 7. Acts 10. 34. Rom. 2. 11. Gal. 2. 6. Eph. 6. 9. Coloss. 3. 25. 1 Pet. 1. 17.

k Exod. 22. 23, 27.

B. C. cir. 200.

l 2 Pet. 3. 9.

‖ Or, *cruel oppressors.*

m Rom. 2. 6.

‖ Gr. *fair.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 *A prayer for the church against the enemies thereof.* 18 *A good heart and a froward.* 21 *Of a good wife.*

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addition. This suits the train of alterations in the Syr. But possibly שוחד has been misread שוחר. Whether the corruption here is in the Syriac or Hebrew, it is not easy to determine, though the former seems more likely. We are inclined to think, however, that the Hebrew had some denominative of שוחד. The Greek word δωροκοπεῖν also occurs in 3 Macc. iv. 19: δωροκοπία is more common. The Lat. renders *offerre munera prava.* Arm. "bring not as a bribe;" and so Aeth. Syr. Hex. "labour not with offering."

13. *He will not accept any person.*] Rather, **respect any person**, according to the well-known Hebraism. The Syr. has characteristically: "the prayer of the poor comes before him." This can scarcely be regarded as a paraphrase; still less as the true reading. The "accepting of persons" comes in from the end of the previous verse.

14. *when she poureth out her complaint.*] Lit. "**prattle;**" a contemptuous word, of which the original was doubtless purposely employed. *Gemitus*, which the Lat. adds at the end of the verse, seems to be a vestige of an old reading (which would correspond with the Syriac) at the commencement of the verse, afterwards altered to *preces*, to correspond with ἱκετεία of the Greek.

15. The verse is omitted by the Syr. translator, but probably genuine.

17. *till it come nigh.*] Syr. "till he examine it."

18. The writer rapidly passes to an anticipation of judgment upon those tyrannical heathen rulers whose sway rested upon Israel with such terrible weight of persecution (see introductory remarks). The Syriac does not offer any variety of importance in this verse, though it renders none of the six clauses exactly as the Greek. Perhaps we may find a vestige of the old word מְחֹקֵק, "a sceptre," in σκῆπτρα, for which the Syr. offers "rulers." The Lat., too, in *v.* 19 has preserved a vestige of the Hebrew in its rendering "according to the works of Adam."

20. **His** *mercy is seasonable.*] Syr. "the hater will be ashamed."

of drought.] בצרת, which the Syrian interpreted from his own language.

The verse indicates an apprehension of national suffering, when those under the yoke of the foreign rulers would long for some seasonable relief in the present, and earnestly look for the final deliverance assured to them in the righteous judgment of the God to whom they appealed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The same abrupt transition as in ch. xxxiii. (*v.* 19), from a subject, sublime and of deepest interest, to another trivial if not almost repulsive, appears again in this chapter at *v.* 18. Once more we might be tempted to think of a misplacement in the text; but of this there is not any ex-

B. C. cir. 200.

HAVE mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and behold us:

2 And send thy fear upon all the nations that seek not after thee.

[a] Jer. 10. 25. ‖ Or, *upon.*

3 [a] Lift up thy hand ‖ against the strange nations, and let them see thy power.

[b] Ezek. 20. 41. & 28. 25. & 36. 23. & 39. 27.

4 As thou wast [b] sanctified in us before them: so be thou magnified among them before us.

[c] 1 Kings 8. 43, 60.

5 And [c] let them know thee, as we have known thee, that there is no God but only thou, O God.

B. C. cir. 200.

6 Shew new signs, and make other strange wonders: glorify thy hand and thy right arm, that they may set forth thy wondrous works.

[d] Ps. 79. 6.

7 Raise up indignation, and [d] pour out wrath: take away the adversary, and destroy the enemy.

8 Make the time short, remember the ‖ covenant, and let them declare thy wonderful works. ‖ Gr. *oath.*

9 Let him that escapeth be consumed by the rage of the fire; and let them perish that oppress the people.

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ternal evidence. The first part of the chapter (*vv.* 1–17) connects itself with the concluding part of ch. xxxv.—both as regards Israel and the Gentile world. It is a prayer, at times sublime, for the deliverance of Israel, the fulfilment of the prophetic promises, and the advent of the Messianic kingdom, even although there is not any mention of a personal Messiah. As points of subsidiary interest we note, on the one hand, the tone of sadness as regards the condition of Israel at the time the chapter was written, pointing back to a period of persecution and suffering; and, on the other hand, the variations introduced in the Syriac translation, which, although sometimes seemingly slight, are of great significance as regards the religious views of the translator.

Of the second part of the chapter (*vv.* 18–26) it is neither easy nor pleasant to speak, especially when following on such sentiments as in Part I. The connexion between the verses is not very obvious, although the whole may perhaps be summed up under the general heading "Discernment." Possibly also *v.* 21 may mark the beginning of a sub-section on the relation of the sexes. We can only add that the part as a whole descends from antithetic sayings, neither very wise nor very elevated, to what may be euphemistic allusions to the dangers threatening married life from the presence of unmarried acquaintances (*vv.* 25, 26).

1. *Have mercy upon us, &c.*] Syr. "Redeem us, O God, all of us."

behold [us].] Lat. *respicere.*

2. *send thy fear upon all the nations* that seek not after thee.] The last words must be omitted as not found in the original MSS. of the Greek, but only given by the Vet. Lat. and Syr. The addition may be an interpolation from Jer. x. 25 or Ps. xxxix. 6. The Vet. Lat. and Syr. also omit "all."

3. *the strange nations.*] Syr. (perhaps corruptly) in the singular.

4. *As thou wast sanctified.*] נקדשת, Ezek. xxviii. 22, &c. God is *sanctified* either by rewarding the well-doer or punishing the evil-doer: here the latter is indicated.

6. *Shew new signs.*] The reference seems to the former miraculous deliverances, especially to that from Egypt.

and make other strange wonders.] This should be rendered: **and do fresh wonders,** שנה (Grot., Fritzsche). This is confirmed by the Syriac.

glorify.] Perhaps "strengthen" (Syr.), חזק, was intended.

8. *the covenant.*] ὁρκισμοῦ; Sin. ὁρισμοῦ, confirmed by Syr. Lat. *finis;* Arm. and S. H., "term." We should therefore substitute **the end.** "Bring near" (Syr.) seems a more suitable verb than "remember."

and let them declare thy wonderful works.] Syriac, "because there is none that sayeth unto thee, What doest thou?" Whoever was the author of this phrase, it is very remarkable. It is intended to excuse the prayer "hasten on the time." The writer is represented as pleading that, if the Divine term were brought somewhat nearer, no one could find fault with such a change.

9. *Let him that escapeth.*] Syr. "In wrath and fire destroy the hater." We are not likely to find any easier reconciliation of this with the Greek than הנושע and השונא. The expression is like 1 Kings xix. 17.

and let them perish that oppress **thy** *people.*] Lit. **find destruction.** Syr. "and all the lords and princes of the people." Probably the וכל of the original meant "and destroy" (וְכַלֵּה), misread by both translators. The violence of the sentiment may have led the Greek to substitute for it the milder prayer in the text. A literal translation might have been dangerous to the Jewish community in Alexandria.

B. C. cir. 200.

10 Smite in sunder the heads of the rulers of the heathen, that say, There is none other but we.

[e] Jer. 31. 10.

11 [e] Gather all the tribes of Jacob together, and inherit thou them, as from the beginning.

[f] Dan. 9. 18, 19. [g] Exod. 4. 22. [h] 2 Chron. 6. 41. Ps. 132. 14.

12 O Lord, [f] have mercy upon the people that is called by thy name, and upon Israel, [g] whom thou hast named thy firstborn.

13 O be merciful unto Jerusalem, thy holy city, [h] the place of thy rest.

14 Fill Sion ‖ with thine unspeakable oracles, and thy people with thy glory.

‖ Or, *that it may magnify thine oracles.*

B. C. cir. 200.

15 Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed from the beginning, and raise up ‖ prophets that have been in thy name.

‖ Or, *prophecies.*

16 Reward them that wait for thee, and let thy prophets be found faithful.

17 O Lord, hear the prayer of thy ‖ servants, according to the [i] blessing of Aaron over thy people, [k] that all they which dwell upon the earth may know that thou art the Lord, the eternal God.

‖ Or, *supplicants.* [i] Numb. 6. 23. [k] 1 Kings 8. 60.

18 The belly devoureth all meats, yet is one meat better than another.

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10. *the heads.*] Cp. Ps. cx. 6. Syr. "the crown," perhaps softening the expression. The verse contains a further appeal against the tyrannical oppressors of the people of God—those heathen rulers referred to in ch. xxxv. 18.

of the heathen.] The better reading is **of the enemy** (best Greek MSS., Syr., Lat.).

11. *and inherit thou them.*] Probably meaning "give them their inheritance." The Greek MSS. have "and I inherited," to adapt the syntax to that of xxxiii. 16 (*v. supra*). Lat. *et hereditabis eos*, following the Hebrew idiom והנחלתם.

as from the beginning.] Syr. "and let them inherit, as thou saidst from the beginning."

12. *the people that is called by thy name.*] ἐπ' ὀνόματί σου. Better Greek would perhaps be ἐπ' ὀνόματος. They were the "people of Jahveh."

whom thou hast named.] Best Greek MSS. **which thou hast likened to.** The other reading is supported by the Syr., and is probably correct, the reference being to Ex. iv. 22.

13. *the place of thy rest.*] The expression is strictly biblical (Ps. cxxxii. 14), and here very significantly used to point to the final fulfilment of the good promises of God concerning Israel and Jerusalem.

14. *Fill Sion with thine unspeakable oracles.*] Rather, **with the talk of thy deeds.** The passage has been admirably restored by Tischendorf from the Vat. ἀρεταλογίας. The former editions had ἄραι τὰ λόγιά σου, which Fritzsche endeavours to construe. The Latin *in enarrabilibus verbis*, translated in A. V., stands for ἀρρητολογίας, which S. H. also represents. The Syriac seems to point to a Hebrew גדולותיך. This is apparently the only place in Greek literature in which a derivative of ἀρεταλόγος is used with its original meaning. Ordinarily it means a "buffoon" or "jester." See Mayor on Juvenal xv. 16. The ἀρεταί (in Pindar especially, "great deeds") will in this case be real and not exaggerated.

and thy people.] Emend from the Syriac, **and thy temple** (ναόν).

15. *Give testimony unto those that thou hast possessed.*] Rather, **to thy creations,** *i.e.* "works from the beginning." Prove the truth of the record of them by doing others like them. But the Syr., which renders "confirm the testimony of thy *servants*," is far simpler: and indeed עֲבָדֶיךָ (cf. Eccles. ix. 1, ἐργασίαι) may mean either, but more naturally: "thy servants." Perhaps the phrase "which were of old" led the translator astray.

and raise up prophets.] Rather, **and raise up the prophecies uttered in thy name.** "Raise them up" in the sense of waking them out of their sleep—fulfil them. Syr. "let them come." Similarly κινεῖν is used of waking up an obsolete story.

16. The fulfilment of God's promises is described as the reward of the patience and faith of those who now suffer, and the confirmation of the truth of prophecy.

17. *according to the blessing of Aaron.*] Syr. "according to the will of thy people." The blessing of Aaron is recorded Numb. vi. 23. With the Syriac cp. Ps. cvi. 4 (with Peshitto). It seems to us clear that the Greek is a gloss, and a remarkable one.

the eternal God.] Syr. "that thou alone art God for ever."

18–20. The general subject is that of "discernment"—in matters relating to the senses, as regards the speech, and, lastly, the deeds of men.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 [l] As the palate tasteth divers kinds of venison: so doth an heart of understanding false speeches.

[l] Job 34. 3.

20 A froward heart causeth heaviness: but a man of experience will recompense him.

21 A woman will receive every man, yet is one daughter better than another.

22 The beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance, and a man loveth nothing better.

23 If there be kindness, meekness, and comfort, in her tongue, then is not her husband like ‖ other men.

‖ Or, *common.*

24 He that getteth a wife beginneth ‖ a possession, [m] a help like unto himself, and a pillar of rest.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 Where no hedge is, there the possession is spoiled: and he that hath no wife will wander up and down mourning.

‖ Or, *to thrive.*

[m] Gen. 2. 18.

26 Who will trust a thief well appointed, that skippeth from city to city? so [who will believe] a man that hath no house, and lodgeth wheresoever the night taketh him?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 *How to know friends and counsellors.* 12 *The discretion and wisdom of a godly man blesseth him.* 27 *Learn to refrain thine appetite.*

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18. *The belly.*] Syr. "the soul" or "appetite;" and "sweeter" for "better."

19. *tasteth [divers kinds of] venison.*] Omit the words within brackets. The English rendering follows a different interpretation from that of Fritzsche, which is that the palate distinguishes venison from other kinds of flesh. The Hebrew expression (which it is hard to recover) may have signified "high" meat. It is this which the palate can distinguish, whereas in *v.* 18 the difference is discovered during digestion.

20. *A froward heart causeth heaviness.*] Syr. "a hidden heart — great is the care thereof."

but a man of experience will recompense him.] Syr. "understands these things.'

The difference between the two translations proves the original to have been obscure. The sentiment intended was very likely that of Prov. xx. 5.

21. Omitted by the Syriac.

22. *the countenance.*] "Her husband's" (Vet. Lat.); cp. xxvi. 2. The Syriac has "praiseth," reading מְשַׁבֵּחַ for מְשַׂמֵּחַ, and makes the countenance the woman's. The idea is that of love being kindled by the *eyes*, often dwelt on by the Greek poets.

a man loveth nothing better.] Lit. **it surpasseth all human desire.** Syr. "every desire of the eyes;" possibly an intentional sobering down of the expression.

23. *and comfort.*] Omit these words (found in Vet. Lat., Co., 248; = ומרפא according to Fritzsche).

is not . . . like other men.] His lot far surpasses theirs. οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπους is a very common Greek phrase, always used in the sense of "better" or "higher than man." The verse is wanting in the Syriac.

24. *getteth.*] Fritzsche, "by purchase or otherwise."

beginneth a possession.] Commences possessing. But there is little doubt that we should read (following the guidance of the Syriac): "As the beginning of thy possessions, obtain a wife," — ראשית קנין קְנֵה אשה, a verse modelled on Prov. iv. 7, ראשית חכמה קנה חכמה. The Greek translator here pointed קֹנֶה for קְנֵה; but ἐνάρχεται is very likely an error of the transcribers for ἐν ἀρχῇ. Hesiod in the well-known lines makes a wife the second possession.

a help like unto himself.] See margin.

and a pillar of rest.] Compare the Latin phrase *acquiescere in aliquo.*

25. *the possession.*] Rather, **the vineyard.** Cp. Syr. here, and note on xxviii. 24.

will wander up and down mourning.] "Is taken captive and dispersed," Syr. The original may have been obscure; the A. V., however, suits the context sufficiently. S. Ephraem ('Opp. Gr.' i. 92 *d*) quotes this verse, substituting however ὑπομονή, "patience," for γυνή.

26. *well appointed.*] Syr. "like an antelope."

that skippeth.] The better reading (Lat. *exilicus*). The Vat. has "that tumbleth."

hath no **nest.**] Syr. "wife," interpreting.

and lodgeth.] Syr. "and dieth;" but we should perhaps emend ܢܒܘܬ for ܢܒܘܬ.

wheresoever the night taketh him.] Lit. **wheresoever he happens to be at eventide.** The verb represented is one of a class of Semitic verbs signifying "to be somewhere at a certain time." Fritzsche suggests הערב (1 Sam. xvii. 16).

B. C. cir. 200.

EVERY friend saith, I am his friend also: but there is a friend, which is only a friend in name.

2 Is it not a grief unto death, when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy?

3 O wicked imagination, whence camest thou in to cover the earth with deceit?

4 [a] There is a companion, which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend, but in the time of trouble will be against him.

[a] ch. 6. 10.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The three main divisions of the chapter are well marked. Advice in regard to *friends* (substantially the same as that given in c. vi.), whether untrustworthy or otherwise (*vv.* 1–6), is followed by directions with reference to *counsel* (*vv.* 7–15)—when and with what limitations it should be sought and taken. This naturally leads to general remarks on the need of *reflection* and the character of *real wisdom* (*vv.* 16–26). The stanza is very artistically arranged. Three classes of wise men who are not really such (*vv.* 19, 20, 22) are contrasted with three who are really wise (*vv.* 23, 24, 26). In each case an explanatory verse is added after mention of the second class (*v.* 21, and again *v.* 25). The concluding stanza (*vv.* 27–31)—if here in its right place—once more diverges, as in previous chapters, to a subject not worthy of treatment. The "counsel," "reflection," and "wisdom" are to discretion in the choice of food and moderation in it. The only link of connexion between this chapter and the first seventeen verses of the preceding is in *v.* 25. Most probably the last stanza forms part of the following chapter.

1. *Every friend saith.*] We can here observe that the Syriac has lost a letter at the beginning of the line; for ܘܠܪܚܡܗ we should perhaps read ܟܠ ܪܚܡܐ.

I am his friend also.] אהבתיו or אהבתי, meaning "I love him;" cf. Böttcher, 'Lehrb.' § 948; Driver, 'Hebrew Tenses,' § 11. For the expression compare Prov. xx. 9; and for the sentiment, ibid. 6.

but there is a friend which is only a friend in name.] Syr. "whose name is friend." Comparing Prov. xxi. 24, it would seem that the Greek interpretation of this is wrong; the author meaning "there is a friend who deserves the name," *i.e.* out of the whole number of self-styled friends there are a few who really belong to that class.

2. *Is it not a grief unto death.*] The Syriac (continuing the last verse), "who cometh not unto death." Heb. הֲלֹא עַד מָוֶת נֹגֵעַ, "Cometh it not nigh unto death?" The Syrian therefore wrongly pointed הַלֹּא for הֲלֹא, whereas the Greek read נֶגַע for נֹגֵעַ; but the latter, by punctuating correctly, came nearer the sense of the original. Compare with the phrase Euripides, 'Heracl.' 247, καὶ τάδ' ἀγχονῆς πέλας, &c. The omission of the word "nigh" caused the insertion of the glosses "is therein" (ἔνι) and "remains" (μένει) in different recensions.

when a companion and friend is turned to an enemy.] Lit. (according to the better reading) **to enmity.** Syr. "a true friend should be to thee as thyself." The original would seem to have contained the word נהיה, and also the word צדק, curiously interpreted in one of its Arabic meanings (الصديق) by the Greek, and in another (الصدق) by the Syrian.

3. The expression is so bitter that we might fancy the author to be speaking from his own experience. "O wicked imagination:" possibly we should take this phrase generally, comparing Gen. vi. 9. But it may be (as Fritzsche thinks) an apostrophe of the horrible *idea* of the friend becoming unfaithful.

whence camest thou in.] Lit. **whence wast thou rolled in,**—like an unexpected figure on a stage by a machine; compare F. V. Fritzsche's note on 'Thesmophoriazusae,' p. 97, where phrases like ἀπορά γ' ἡμῖν πράγματα δαίμων τις εἰσκεκύκληκεν are collected and explained. As the Syriac and Latin both render "wast thou created," we think the translator responsible for the Grecism. The *rolling* of water, however, may have been also in the translator's mind.

4. *There is a companion which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend.*] (Cp. vi. 8–12.) The Greek, as Fritzsche observes, admits of three constructions: of which he prefers that by which ἑταῖρος φίλου are combined, "a companion of the friend." But this seems a very unnatural expression, especially if we consider the fondness of the ancient languages for repetition of the same word in such cases. The Syriac has: "Evil is the friend who approacheth the table." Evidently we have the same confusion between רֵעַ and רָע which was noticed in xiv. 9; whereas the last words in both versions are apparently translations of בשׂמחה קָרֵב, שמחה in the later Hebrew meaning "a feast." The criticism of this verse is very closely con-

B. C. cir. 200.

5 There is a companion, which helpeth his friend for the belly, and taketh up the buckler ‖ against the enemy.

‖ Or, *in presence of the enemy.*

6 Forget not thy friend in thy mind, and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.

7 Every counsellor extolleth counsel; but there is some that counselleth for himself.

8 Beware of a counsellor, and know before ‖ what need he hath; for he will counsel for himself; lest he cast the lot upon thee,

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *what use there is of him.*

9 And say unto thee, Thy way is good: and afterward he stand on the other side, to see what shall befal thee.

10 Consult not with one that sus-

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nected with that of the next, which commences with the same words in the Greek, but with "good is the friend" in the Syriac. The probability seems to us in favour of the latter being right, the Hebrew text before the Greek translator having been corrupted in a very common manner. Probably, however, רע אוהב and טוב אוהב should have been rendered "an evil friend" and "a good friend." The rule for the postposition of the adjective may be broken in the case of רע (Prov. xxix. 6; Ewald, 'Lehrb.' p. 751; compare Nöldeke, 'Syr. Gramm' p. 150). The translation of the first clause should then have been "an evil friend approacheth in prosperity." It is remarkable that the Aethiop. retains "approacheth."

will be against him.] Heb. מִתְנַגֵּד (cp. Syr.), meaning rather, "will stand aloof."

5. *There is a companion which helpeth his friend for the belly.*] (Cp. vi. 10.) *I.e.* "out of sordid motives" (Fritzsche). If we adopt the corrections of the Syriac Version (see last note), it will be evident that the friend described in this verse must be the opposite of the former, and that the parasite cannot be referred to. The Syr. renders: "Good is the friend who fights against the enemy and takes a shield." It would seem that this represents the sense of the original. The parallelism, however, makes it probable that some words had been omitted, which the Greek *χάριν γαστρός* represent. We suggest that the Hebrew was טוב אוהב נלחם בעד רחם, "a good friend fighteth on behalf of a friend," the word רחם (by a rather violent Aramaism) being used for "a friend," for the sake of the assonance with נלחם. The Greek wrongly pointed this word רֶחֶם, "the belly" (cp. Ps. cix. 4), while the homoeoteleuton caused the omission of the words in the Syrian's copy.

taketh up the buckler.] Cp. Ps. xxxv. 2.

6. *Forget not thy friend in thy mind.*] Syr. "praise not (אל תִּשְׁבַּח for אל תִּשָּׁכַח) thy friend lightly" ("at the beginning of the friendship," Barhebraeus).

and be not unmindful of him in thy riches.] Syr. "make him not ruler over thy house;" perhaps אל תשאהו, read variously with שׁ and שׂ. Though the Hebrew text may be restored with some certainty, it is by no means easy to detect the original purport of the clauses. As, however, the tone of most of these precepts is that of warning rather than of exhortation, it is probable that the Syriac is nearer the truth than the Greek. We venture to suggest (assuming מ twice corrupted to ב) that the author *meant*, "praise not thy friend above a kinsman, and exalt him not over thy household;" and, if so, as a corrective to a misapplication of Prov. xxvii. 10. The Aeth. translator conjectures (?) *τύχῃ* for *ψυχῇ*, "forget not thy friend in thy wealth,"—an attractive suggestion, which, however, would be certainly misleading.

7. *Every counsellor extolleth counsel.*] (Cp. vi. 6.) Lat. *prodit*; "considers his own counsel best," Schleussner. Fritzsche regards the text as corrupt. Our simplest course will be to read *ἐξερεῖ* for *ἐξαίρει*, though so obvious a suggestion can scarcely have been left to us to make. The verse will then apparently be modelled on *v.* 1 (*πᾶς φίλος ἐρεῖ Ἐφιλίασα αὐτῷ κἀγώ*), and the original meaning have been "every counsellor will say: Counsel," *i.e.* will call the course he suggests *counsel*, and therefore properly for the benefit of the person to whom it is given; whereas in some cases the counsellor himself is the person intended to profit thereby. The Syriac, "Behold every counsellor; yet there is counsel that is well made," seems to be a loose paraphrase rather than a translation. Compare 'Derekh Erets,' p. 38: "beware of him that counselleth according to his own way (for his own interest)."

8. *what need he hath.*] *I.e.* what is his real purpose or design.

lest he cast the lot upon thee.] It is useless inquiring what this can mean, since the Syr., by its rendering "an evil plot," seems to have interpreted חֶבֶל rightly as "a net:" "lest he entangle thee in his net." Fritzsche finds this meaning in *ne forte mittat sudem in terram* of the Lat.

10. Examples of the persons whose advice

B. C. cir. 200.

pecteth thee: and hide thy counsel from such as envy thee.

11 Neither consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; neither with a coward in matters of war; nor with a merchant concerning exchange; nor with a buyer of selling; nor with an envious man of thankfulness; nor with an unmerciful man touching kindness; nor with the slothful for any work; nor with an hireling for a year of finishing work; nor with an idle servant of much business: hearken not unto these in any matter of counsel.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 But be continually with a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord, whose mind is according to thy mind, and will sorrow with thee, if thou shalt miscarry.

13 And let the counsel of thine

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should not be taken. First, *one that suspecteth thee;* rather, **one that looketh upon thee with ill-favour:** cp. L. and S. *s. v.* ὑποβλέπω. The Syriac Version paraphrases this "thy enemy;" but the Lat. in some MSS. retains a remarkable variant, "thy father-in-law," which has indeed no value in itself, but points to an original חמיך, rightly derived by Syr. and Greek from the Aramaic verb חמא, "to see," which apparently was used with the same specialization as the Hebrew עין and Lat. *invideo.* This verse comes in the Vet. Lat. between 5 and 6; see on *v.* 11.

11. *Neither consult.*] Necessary to the sense, but omitted in the Vet. Lat. and Syr. The Lat. commences with the words, "With an irreligious man treat about holiness, and with an unjust man about justice;" probably interpolated, when, owing to the transposition of *v.* 10, the sentence was left without a natural commencement.

with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous.] ἀντίζηλος. Lagarde, 'Mittheilungen' (Göttingen, 1884), 133, says: "The thing to be ascertained by further investigation is the signification of ἀντίζηλος. We can only guess that it is *fellow-wife*, we do not know it; from Steph. 'Thes.' i. 2, 908, it cannot be proved." Syr. "lest thou commit adultery with her;" probably through some misunderstanding, though even in the Greek the subject of deliberation here is not strictly parallel to the rest. Compare 'Derekh Erets,' p. 19.

neither with a coward in matters of war.] Syr. "with an enemy lest thou fight."

with a merchant concerning exchange.] *I.e.* about goods, and more particularly about *his* goods (Syr.). His advice should not be asked on such matters as the article to be taken. In all these cases the reader is warned not to ask counsel of any person directly interested in the result of the deliberation.

with a buyer of selling.] *I.e.* about the price, as Syr. "his price,"—the price which he ought to pay. In the East it would seem that these precepts are by no means unnecessary.

Then follows a class of counsellors who, from their character, are incapable of being judges of the matter to be discussed.

with an envious man of thankfulness.] Rather, **with an ill-natured man** (cf. Syr.; Lat. *viro livido*).

with the slothful for any work.] The habitually timid and shrinking must not be consulted about taking any important step.

with an hireling for a year of finishing work.] Lit. **with a domestic servant.** The readings, however, vary; and Alex. has "for a yearly servant," which is supported by Lat. Syr. "with an evil hireling bind not up [*i.e.* confide not] a secret." A man hired by the time would be a bad counsellor concerning the point at which the work was finished; since it would be to his interest to protract the period as long as possible (Bretschneider). Since no similar disqualification can be urged against the "domestic servant," we prefer the reading ἐπετείου.

with an idle servant of much business.] Rather, "**work.**" Syr. "with a servant who seeks to harm his master," in which we recognize ברב, but scarcely anything more. The opinion of a lazy servant must not be asked on the question whether there is much work to be done. (Cp. Prov. xviii. 9.)

12. The attributes of the good counsellor follow.

a godly man, whom thou knowest to keep the commandments of the Lord.] Whose advice will therefore be uniformly on the side of right.

whose mind is according to thy mind.] Whose advice will therefore be disinterested. The first qualification is wanting in the second class of counsellors mentioned above; the second in the first.

and if thou stumblest, will grieve with thee.] For this the Syr. has: "and who, when thou art hurt, is hurt himself, and with whom it goes well when it goes well with thee." Both are explanations of the previous clause.

13. Yet self-reliance is, after all, better.

And let the counsel of thine own heart

B. C. cir. 200.

own heart stand: for there is no man more faithful unto thee than it.

14 For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen, that sit above in an high tower.

15 And above all this pray to the most High, that he will direct thy way in truth.

16 Let reason go before every enterprize, and counsel before every action.

17 The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.

18 Four manner of things appear: good and evil, life and death: but the tongue ruleth over them continually.

19 There is one that is wise and teacheth many, and yet is unprofitable to himself.

20 There is one that sheweth wisdom in words, and is hated: he shall be destitute of all ‖ food.

‖ Or, *wisdom.*

21 For grace is not given him from the Lord; because he is deprived of all wisdom.

22 Another is wise to himself; and the fruits of understanding are commendable in his mouth.

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stand.] Rather, **And call the council of thine own heart;** a figure curiously like that of Plautus, 'Mostell.' 688, "huc concessero dum mihi senatum consili in cor convoco." The Syrian probably had a mutilated original before him.

14. And men's instinct ordinarily tells them what to do. A similar sentiment to that in the text occurs in the so-called 'First Alphabet of Ben Sira:' "Let there be to thee sixty counsellors; yet desert not thine own soul." Syr. "the heart of a man rejoices in his way." Perhaps the renderings represent יגיד כדרכו and יגיל בד' respectively; and the original meant "tells him concerning his way."

than seven watchmen that sit above in an high tower.] Syr. "than the useless wealth of the world."

15. And after self-reliance, prayer is of primary importance. The counsellors are given in the inverse order of importance,—one's friends, oneself, God.

16. Third stanza (see introd. remarks).

Let reason go before every enterprize.] Rather, perhaps, **a word is the beginning of every act.** The Syriac here follows a mutilated original: "before all men and before everything," ולפני כל . . . לפני כל . . . דבר.

17. *The countenance is a sign of changing of the heart.*] The words "the countenance is" are a gloss from 155, 248, and Co., and must be omitted. The words remaining, "a sign of changing of the heart," are in apposition with μέρη, according to Fritzsche, "four things come to light as the signs of the changing of the heart;" a sense which seems obviously inappropriate. Lat. *verbum nequam immutavit cor.* The Syriac omits the words. We believe them to be inexplicable in their present condition; and suggest that they are part of xiii. 21, 22, written by some one on the margin.

18. *Four manner of things appear.*] Lit. **four parts.** One may compare Deut. xxx. 19, "I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse." The Syriac has: "the Lord created all things."

but the tongue ruleth over them continually.] Compare Prov. xviii. 21. Syr. "and he that ruleth over his tongue shall be saved from evil." This reminds us very temptingly of the Arabic يفرح (Wright, ii. p. 113, Rem. b.).

19. The commentators quote from Menander, μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός. The passage cannot have been understood by the Syr.

20. *he shall be destitute of all food.*] Syr. "depriveth himself of all honour;" Lat. "of everything." The original, however, may have contained some vigorous phrase.

21. This verse is omitted by Syr., and may be an explanation of the fact mentioned in *v.* 20.

22. *the fruits of* [add *his*] *understanding are commendable in his mouth.*] "Commendable" is an emendation of 248, Co., Lat., for "faithful," which, as Bretschneider and Fritzsche have seen, is an interpolation from the end of the next verse. The Syriac order is somewhat confused here. It would seem, however, that the clause corresponding to this is 23 *b*, "and the fruits of his works are from the appearance of his face." The combination of these two renderings suggests an original like ופרי ערמתו מקבל פיו, "and his own mouth receives the fruit of his understanding." The Syrian and the first Greek translator both took מקבל as a preposition, whereas ἐπαινετοί,

B. C. cir. 200.

23 A wise man instructeth his people; and the fruits of his understanding fail not.

24 A wise man shall be filled with blessing; and all they that see him shall count him happy.

25 The days of the life of man may be numbered: but the days of Israel are innumerable.

[b] Prov. 3. 35. [‖] Or, *credit.*

26 [b] A wise man shall inherit [‖] glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.

27 My son, prove thy soul in thy life, and see what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.

28 For all things are not profitable for all men, neither hath every soul pleasure in every thing. B. C. cir. 200.

29 [c] Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing, nor too greedy upon meats: [c] ch. 31. 12, 17.

30 For [‖] excess of meats bringeth sickness, and surfeiting will turn into choler. [‖] Or, *variety of meats.*

31 By surfeiting have many perished; but he that taketh heed prolongeth his life.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 *Honour due to the physician, and why.*
16 *How to weep and mourn for the dead.*
24 *The wisdom of the learned man, and of the labourer and artificer: with the use of them both.*

"praiseworthy," represents a view which made it a passive participle.

23. *A wise man instructeth his people.*] These words remind us of x. 1. The Syr. has: "there is a wise man that is wise at all times," *i.e.* reading לעלם for לעם (= לעמו), and יש for איש. If we consider (1) the parallelism, (2) the frequent omission of letters, we shall perhaps decide in favour of the Syriac reading. The division implied in these verses is into (1) the wise to others but not to themselves; (2) neither to themselves nor others; (3) to themselves and not to others; (4) to both. The Syr. has misunderstood the second clause. Comp. 'Abhoth de R. Nathan,' p. 87.

25. And that reputation will last, in spite of the wise man's death. This verse is omitted by Syr. On the second clause, see the introductory remarks.

26. *shall inherit glory.*] So 248, Co., Lat., Syr. The better Greek MSS. have "**faith.**" The original probably meant "shall have a perpetual inheritance."

27. People should find out their particular weaknesses, and avoid yielding to them.

28. *all things are not profitable for all men.*] Syr. "all food is not good." There has been a confusion between לכל and אכל. We believe the Greek text to be right.

neither hath every soul pleasure in everything.] "Pleasure in a little," Syr. This seems clearly corrupt; ܡܠܝܐ for ܟܠ. The Arabic translator makes of this: "and a little sufficeth for the soul."

29. *Be not unsatiable in any dainty thing.*] The Syriac has again אֹכֶל for כל.

nor too greedy upon meats.] Lit. **be not poured out,** a very elegant Grecism: compare Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 1469. The Syr. should be rendered "let not thine eye be evil over," *i.e.* be not envious of. This points to a Hebrew אל תרע, a transposition of אל תער of the Hebrew (cf. Is. xxxii. 15).

30. *will turn into choler.*] Lit. **will approach near to.** Cp. xxxi. 20 for the sentiment, and *v.* 2 (with note) for the expression.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The concluding stanza of ch. xxxvii. naturally leads to what forms the subject of the first twenty-three verses of this chapter. But when taken in connexion with the second part of the chapter (*vv.* 24–end), it seems as if the first part formed a portion of a larger train of thought. The subject of the second part is sufficiently set forth, or at least introduced in *v.* 24. It is the pre-eminence of Wisdom—to which Alexandrians and Palestinians would attach different ideas—as that which alone was worthy of a man's life, but to which a man's whole life must be devoted if it was to be attained. As regards this general proposition, both Alexandrians and Palestinians would agree. But when the Son of Sirach proceeds to compare with such pursuits all other occupations as not only inferior to, but incompatible with the pursuit of wisdom, the Palestinians would have agreed with him in regard to agriculture, *vv.* 25, 26, but not as to handicrafts, the praise of which is very frequent in Talmudic writings. Indeed, it was a principle (Qidd. iv. 14; comp. 29 *a*), although not universally admitted (see in Qidd. iv. 14, the views of Simeon b. Elazar, but especially those of R. Nehorai), that every parent should teach his son some trade or craft. In accordance rather with Hellenic than Palestinian ideas, the writer declares all

B. C. cir. 200. HONOUR a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him: [a] for the Lord hath created him. B. C. cir. 200.

[a] ver. 12.

such occupations needful indeed for ordinary life, *vv.* 31, 32, but excluding a man from those higher distinctions and that higher work which are sketched in truly Palestinian fashion.

With this train of reasoning the subject of the first part of the chapter may be in this wise connected that it excludes the occupation of a physician from the general disparagement of all other pursuits than study. For the physician has a direct appointment from God; his medicaments are directly from God; and the exercise and success of his profession are directly dependent upon God. When we enter into further details, the various topics in the first part (*vv.* 1–23) appear well connected, although their connexion is rather that of succession of thinking than strictly logical, when one thought springs from the other. This, indeed, is the case throughout Ecclesiasticus—we had almost said in much of Jewish Wisdom-literature, though certainly not in the canonical Ecclesiastes. The fundamental position of the writer is indicated in the two opening verses of the chapter. It is twofold: the physician is to be honoured—the physician is from God. In the first stanza (*vv.* 1–8) it is emphasised that the physician and his medicaments are from God; in the second (*vv.* 9–15), that healing is from God, and that it implies repentance and good works on our part. Throughout the writer does not seem quite clear how to combine the skill of the physician with absolute help from God. A very curious instance of rationalistic interpretation of the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 23–25 occurs in *v.* 5, which seems to imply that the healing was in the wood. (Comp. the same view in Philo, 'de vita Moys.' i. 33; and another rationalistic explanation of the miracle in Jos. 'Antiq.' iii. 1, 2.) The apparent depreciation of the physician in *v.* 15 is not inconsistent with the honour previously ascribed to him. It only presents another aspect of the subject, and the reference in *v.* 15 is not so much to the physician as to the sick who require his aid—dangerous illness being regarded, according to Jewish ideas, as the judgment of the Lord.

From such reference to dangerous sickness the transition in the third stanza (*vv.* 16–23) to death and mourning is easy and natural. The writer enjoins the duties towards the dead, and the usual practice of mourning, but tempers the latter with the caution that while too little of it would give offence, too much is unadvisable, as alike hurtful unto oneself and foolish. We have here that mixture of selfishness and Eastern world-wisdom with religion which forms one of the characteristics of the book (see General Introduction). Alike its philosophy and its theology are far from elevated—a kind of fatalism not unmixed with a constant regard for self underlying all. Yet even here what may be designated as the "ground-tone" in the previous two stanzas is not changed. The two ideas are still present to the writer: on the one hand, what men will think of us; and, on the other, that all is from God.

We feel tempted to note a few Rabbinic parallels to this chapter. In regard to the honour due to the physician (see note on *v.* 1) we have the exact parallel in Aramaic in Jer. Taan. 66 *d* and in pure Hebrew (though with different application) in Shem. R. 21 (see our note on Ecclus. xviii. 19). On the other hand, we read also: "The best of physicians deserves Gehenna" (Qidd. iv. 14). The dependence of healing upon God, and the need of humiliation, prayer, and good works in such cases, were generally acknowledged Rabbinic principles. In connexion with *v.* 12 we might quote this: "He that suffers pain goes to the physician" (Babh. Q. 46 *b*) —although the proverb has a wider and general application in the Talmud. In regard to *v.* 15 we read this as "a proverb": "The door that is not open to charity (the poor) shall be open to the physician" (Bemid. R. 9, and Midr. on Cant. vi. 11). The duties in reference to the dead are often insisted upon by the Rabbis. As regards excessive sorrow, referred to in *v.* 18, we read: "Every one who mourns over the dead beyond measure weeps over another dead" (viz. he will himself die), Moed Q. 27 *b*. On the subject of trades and occupations, we have already given parallels. But as regards the infinite superiority of the student to all others, referred to in *vv.* 31–end, we recall the contemptuous answer of Jochanan b. Zakkai to the workman who claimed equality with the Rabbi, since both laboured for the public good, and to whom the Rabbi would apply Eccles. iv. 17 (see the Midrash on the passage). And although (Ber. 17 *a*) the Rabbis are said to have placed on the same level the work of the labourer in the field and that of the student in the city, provided only his heart be directed towards God —by which, however, we are to understand that he engaged in study of the Law according to his ability—yet the immense superiority of the professed student of the Law to all other classes of men is too well known to require illustration. Lastly, as regards the miracle recorded in Ex. xv. 25, it may be interesting to know that the rationalistic explanation

B.C. cir. 200.

2 For of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive ‖ honour of the king.

‖ Or, *a gift.*

3 The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.

4 The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them.

5 [b] Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?

B.C. cir. 200.

[b] Exod. 15. 25.

6 And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works.

7 With such doth he heal [men,] and taketh away their pains.

8 Of such doth the apothecary

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given by the Son of Sirach (in *v.* 5) occurs also in the Targum Onkelos. (For the views of Philo and Josephus, see above.)

1. *which ye may have of him.*] These words must be omitted, as not in the Greek. Syr. "Honour a physician before thou needest him;" with which the quotation in the Talmud and Midrash, אוקיר לאסייך עד דלא תצטרך ליה, exactly agrees (Jer. Taan. 66 *d*; Shem. R. 21). We learn, therefore, that in the Greek text (1) we must emend *πρὸ τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦ* for *πρὸς τὰς χρείας*; and (2) we must omit *τιμαῖς*. This last may be merely a copyist's error; or it may have been inserted by some one who desired a more natural connexion between clauses *a* and *b*, and imagined the word *τιμαῖς* ("his natural" or "proper honours") would give this. We do not think "honour" is here used in the sense of "pay," in spite of the interesting Latinism *ut medico honos haberetur*, cited by Baduellus. The subject of ill-health probably suggested to the author the remarkable character of the medical art, which even those who are not afflicted with illness ought, he thinks, to appreciate. The sentiment, therefore, is wholly different from that of xviii. 19, but does not imply "either that people were in the habit of employing medical aid too seldom, nor that the medical profession was insufficiently respected" (Fritzsche).

for the Lord hath created him.] Syr. (and perhaps Greek): "for him, too, the Lord hath created." Like the poet, *nascitur, non fit.* Even the vast advances in the science made since the author's time do not prevent this observation still holding good. Yet the meaning may be simply that God hath appointed the healing art, "which is as necessary to the human body as cultivation to plants" (Midrash on Samuel, p. 28 *b*).

2. *For of the most High cometh healing, &c.*] Syr. "for by God is a physician taught." It is probable that both translators are wrong in supplying a verb in the first clause. The original (probably כי מי"י רפאות וממלך יקח תפארת) may have meant: "For from a king one can receive honour; but from God only the art of healing;" the phrases being (as sometimes in the Proverbs) inverted probably to call attention to the play on the roots פאר and רפא; with which compare Isa. lxi. 3. The author is not alluding to the custom of maintaining state-physicians (which is well attested), but to the nature of his distinction, which, coming from a higher source, entitles its recipient to higher respect than any title bestowed by kings. If the reading "gift" of the best authorities (for "honour") be correct, this note will have to be modified only in respect of the play on words suggested.

3. *The skill of a physician shall lift up his head.*] The author means that this eminence of the medical profession is as a matter of fact generally recognised, and that there is no position of honour to which a physician of unusual skill may not aspire. The case in Gen. l. 2 (cited by Delitzsch, s. v. *Arzneikunst*, in Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch') is perhaps to be explained by the special ideas of the Egyptians.

and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.] Syr. "he shall be brought." The latter seems a more likely expression than the Greek rendering.

4. And no suspicion should attach to the instruments of the art. A paraphrase of the original is here preserved: אלוה העלה סמים מן הארץ. The word for "medicines" is adopted by the Syr. and S. H.

will not abhor them.] Perhaps some sects then, as in our times, disliked the employment of natural agency in the healing of the sick. (See Midrash, *l. c.*)

5. A scriptural argument in proof of the last assertion.

that the **power** *thereof might be known.*] Syr. "the power of God," perhaps a religious emendation on the part of the Syrian translator. Fritzsche (after Bretschneider), thinking that it is the virtue of the simples which is here being insisted on, prefers the reference to the wood; and this seems the correct view (see the introd. to the chapter).

7. *With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains.*] Syr. "doth the physician relieve;" similarly Lat., *in his curans mitigabit*

B. C. cir. 200.

make a confection; and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.

9 My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but [c] pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.

[c] Isai. 38. 2.

10 Leave off from sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness.

11 Give a sweet savour, and a memorial of fine flour; and make a fat offering, [l] as not being.

[l] Or, *as a dead man.*

12 Then give place to the physician, [d] for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him.

[d] ver. 1.

13 There is a time when in their hands there is good success.

14 For they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and [l] remedy to prolong life.

[l] Or, *curing.*

15 He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hand of the physician.

16 My son, [e] let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm

[e] ch. 22. 11. 1 Thess. 4. 13.

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dolorem; and Ben Sira, בהם הרפא מרפא את המכה. The Qal participle having become a substantive, that of Piel is employed instead. The Greek original must have been corrupted.

8. *Of such doth the apothecary make a confection.*] Rather, **the perfumer.** Heb. preserved as above in Ber. R. 10, בהם הרקח מרקח את המרקחת.

and of his works there is no end; and from him is peace over all the earth.] This means, according to Drus., Grot., Fritzsche, that before the drug is made, the patient is already healed--a hyperbolical description of the excellence and rapidity of the effects of these simples. Syr. "that work may not fail, nor wisdom from the face of the earth;" representing the same text with the single alteration of "wisdom" for "peace." In spite of the ingenuity of the explanation quoted, we believe the Syr. rendering to be right; for the perfumer's concoction can have no such effect, nor were the trades of physician and chemist distinct in those days. Though all these artists are inspired by God, yet they are made to employ certain simple means. The reason for which, the philosopher thinks, is a Divine design to encourage science; which otherwise would vanish, being useless. "Miraculous" healing would never have suggested a study of botany or mineralogy. "Peace" in the Greek text is probably a false repetition of שלם (συντελέσῃ) from the foregoing clause.

9–15. Second stanza. See introductory remarks.

9. *be not negligent.*] The word παράβλεπε is difficult. Lat. *non despicias te ipsum.* Fritzsche, with many others (as A. V.), "Neglect not to pray;" but it is doubtful whether the word can bear the meaning. The Syr. omits it. May it be a marginal variant from the last verse representing ܠܐ ܢܒܛܠ of Syr. there?

but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole.] Syriac, "because he is the healer;" and either this, or "that he may heal thee," must have been the meaning of the original.

10. *Leave off from sin, and order thy hands aright.*] Lit. **straighten thy hands.** Bretschneider compares such phrases as "pure hands" (Job xvii. 9, &c.). Fritzsche thinks guilt is symbolized by crooked hands (compare with this Propertius, iii. 7, 60). The expression is in any case a strange one. The Syriac omits it. Bretschneider remarks on the Jewish theory that bodily pain was a punishment for sin.

11. *as not being.*] "He who regards himself as lost will assuredly give the best thing in his possession to God" (Fritzsche). The whole verse is omitted in the Syr., and the last clause of it in the Vet. Lat.

12. *for the Lord hath created him . . . go from thee.*] These words are omitted in the Syr., and may contain an interpolation from *v.* 1.

14. *that he would prosper that, which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life.*] Rather, **for the sake of life;** *i.e.* to make a living (Fritzsche). Syr. "and by his hand there may come healing and life."

15. The Armenian Version here recommences. The Syr. renders: "because he that sinneth . . . is given . . . ," which would transform what might seem an attack on physicians generally into a reason why prayer should be employed. The sentiment in the Greek form would seem at first sight unlike what we have had in the previous verses; but see the remarks on the subject in the introduction to this chapter. On the other hand, the Syriac gives an unnatural expression. For the language, comp. Prov. xxii. 14 *b.*

16. *let tears fall down.*] Cp. Jer. ix. 17.

begin to lament.] Probably שא קינה.

as if thou hadst suffered great harm.] The Hebrew (*e.g.* וירע לך) probably meant "feel

B.C. cir. 200.

thyself; and then cover his body according to the custom, and neglect not his burial.

17 Weep bitterly, and make great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness.

f ch. 30. 23. 2 Cor. 7. 10.

18 *f* For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the *g* heart breaketh strength.

g Prov. 15. 13. & 17. 22.

19 In affliction also sorrow remaineth: and the life of the poor is the curse of the heart.

20 Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and remember the last end.

21 Forget it not, for there is no turning again: thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself.

‖ Or, *the sentence upon him.*

22 Remember ‖ my judgment: for thine also shall be so; yesterday for me, and to day for thee.

h 2 Sam. 12. 20.

23 *h* When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest; and be comforted for him, when his spirit is departed from him.

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24 The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath *little* business shall become wise.

25 How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is ‖ of bullocks?

‖ Gr. *of the breed of bullocks?*

26 He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

27 So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work:

28 The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his

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that thou hast suffered," and the Greek implies the same.

according to the custom.] Rather, **according to his due.** כמשפטו — perhaps, in graveclothes suited to his station; compare Herodotus, ii. 139.

neglect not his burial.] This may refer to some abuse of the time, but more probably is only a solemn injunction of what was regarded as a religious duty.

17. *Weep bitterly, and make great moan.*] The Syr. has a very different sentiment: "Wine and refreshment for mourners;" alluding to the customary funeral-feast mentioned by Jer. xvi. 7, Tobit iv. 18 (Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch'). Yet such an allusion should have been made later on in the chapter.

24–end. Part II. (see the introd.).

24. *The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure.*] Rather, **of a scribe.** The Syriac, "shall increase his wisdom," seems to be a wilful alteration. As the Atticists tell us that εὐκαιρία is late Greek for σχολή, perhaps one of these words should be omitted.

and he that hath little business.] And therefore can enjoy the leisure necessary for study. Drusius quotes from Hillel, "qui multum negotiatur non evadet sapiens;" and from R. Meir, "minue occupationes et vaca legi." (The former is a quotation from Abh. ii. 5; the latter from Abh. iv. 10.)

26. *to make furrows.*] The expression is a rare one. The Coptic seems to have read εὐθῦναι or ἐκτεῖναι, "to straighten." On the Syriac here, see Payne Smith, 'Thes.' p. 1891.

to give the kine fodder.] Syr. "to finish his work." Heb. perhaps לספות, derived by Syr. from ספה instead of ספא. This mistake may have led to the other.

27. *So.*] *I.e.* cannot become wise.

that laboureth, &c.] Rather, **that spends the night as the day.**

and are diligent to make great variety.] *I.e.* to invent fresh and fanciful patterns.

to counterfeit imagery.] *I.e.* to make the image resemble the thing counterfeited.

28. *considering the iron work.*] So the inferior MSS., Sin., and Alex., Lat., Arm., S. H., Aeth., but Vat. ἀργῷ σιδήρῳ, a difficult phrase. Fritzsche's conjecture that this means unwrought iron, and that ירע was a false reading for יגע, does not seem supported by the Syr., "considering vessels of weight."

wasteth.] Syr. "splitteth." The Vat. reading is "**stiffeneth.**" The Heb. יבקע would correspond with the Syr., and is rendered "waste" by the LXX. of Micah i. 4. Both τήξει and πήξει might be used for the

B. C. cir. 200.

flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly:

29 So doth the potter sitting at his work, and [i] turning the wheel about with his feet, who is alway carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number;

[i] Jer. 18. 3.

30 He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and [‖] boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace:

[‖] Or, *tempereth it with his feet.*

31 All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work.

32 Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down:

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effects of fire; see Sext. Empir. p. 329, 14 (ed. Bekker).

and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace.] A remarkable phrase. Syr. "he burneth" or "is burnt with." The original was probably יתחרה, which is almost exclusively employed of mental warmth, and was probably intended by the author to refer to the excitement produced by the heat.

is ever in his ears.] Lit. **renews his ears**, explained by Grotius as "pleases with its freshness;" an idea which the context assuredly does not confirm. Arm. "excites" (κινεῖ?); S. H. "empties" (κενοῖ?); Aeth. "annoys" = κναίει (conjectured also by Grabe), or rather ἀποκναίει, which may be right; ἀποκναίειν τὰ ὦτα, "to wear away the ears," is a Greek phrase, of which Philo in particular is fond, applied to persons who are for ever harping on the same string. No less ingenious, however, is the conjecture of Fritzsche that "renews" is a translation of יְחַדֵּשׁ, itself a misreading of יְחָרֵשׁ, "deafens," a word formed like יְעַוֵּר. The Syriac has "towards the conception he inclines his hand;" a remarkable rendering, the discussion of which would lead to conjectures not suitable for this place, but which suggests the correction φωνῇ σφύρης κλινεῖ τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ.

of the thing that he maketh.] Lit. **of a vessel.**

The last clause, "he setteth his mind . . . perfectly," is omitted in the Syr.

29. On the process described in this and the following verse, see Riehm, 'Handwörterbuch,' s. v. *Töpferei.*

who is alway carefully set at his work.] Omitted in the Syr.

and maketh all his work by number.] *I.e.* makes it to order in definite numbers.

30. *He fashioneth the clay with his arm.*] Heb. יצר; the Syr. seems to have read ירץ, "he breaketh."

and boweth down his strength before his feet.] The clay is prepared by stamping: cp. Isa. xli. 25. The Syriac version, "before his death he is bowed and bent," suggests that they took "before his feet" as a euphemism (compare the Latin *rigidas calces extendere*), scarcely to be found elsewhere.

he applieth himself to lead it over.] "Lead" must here mean to "glaze," white lead being employed in certain glazes. On the materials employed by the ancients in making glazes, see 'Dict. of Antiq.' s. v. *Fictile.* The Hebrew was probably משחה (cp. Payne Smith, 'Thes. Syr.' p. 2240, *s. v.* ܡܫܚܐ ܩܘܢܝܐ). The Syrian, who renders "his work," may have either confused this with מעשה, or made a mere guess at the meaning, as the Aeth., who also translates "work," seems to have done.

and he is diligent [lit. **and his sleeplessness is**] *to make clean the furnace.*] So that no improper materials may spoil the pottery. Syr. "to build" (perhaps corrupt; cp. Arab.). Perhaps the phrase in Hos. vii. 4 may suggest that the Siracide had intended לְבַעֵר, "to heat," miswritten לְבָרֵר.

31. *All these trust to their hands.*] Not, like the wise man, to their minds. Syr. "all these for the sake of their profit;" reading, perhaps, בידי כשרו for בידו שברו. (Lat. *speraverunt.*) Yet there may have been a play on the words אָמֵן and אָמָן.

and every one is wise.] They have then a wisdom, which is confined to the narrow groove of their respective arts; unlike that described in xxxix. 1. Both the Greek and Heb. (יתחכם) mean rather "**plays the wise man**" than "is wise."

32. These are all essential elements of a civilised community.

they shall not dwell where they will.] *I.e.* men shall not establish any kind of community (Bad., Drus., Fri.). But the interpretation of Grotius, "they shall not sojourn," *i.e.* these artisans will easily find employment

B. C. cir. 200.

33 They shall not be sought for in publick counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

34 But they will maintain the state of the world, and [all] their desire is in the work of their craft. B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 *A description of him that is truly wise.*
12 *An exhortation to praise God for his works; which are good to the good, and evil to them that are evil.*

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in their native country, seems more natural. The Syriac renders: "and wherever they dwell they shall not hunger." This suggests that for *οὐ* in the Greek we should read *οὗ*; while "they shall not walk about" (Gr.) and "they shall not hunger" (Syr.) probably represent different readings, יעברו and ירעבו, of which we should prefer the latter.

33. *They shall not be sought for in publick counsel.*] This clause is not found in any Greek MSS. except 248 and the second hand of Sin.; into the former of which it might seem to have been introduced from the Syriac. On the other hand, MS. 248 helps us to correct the Syriac text (ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܕܥܡܐ, in which ܢܬܒܥ, "they shall not be wanted," is clearly required for "they shall not sit"), and also preserves apparently a trace of independence in the preposition *ἐν* (Sin. *εἰς*). The true form of the clause would seem to have been, "they shall not be inquired of (their opinion shall not be asked) for public counsel." That the clause forms a genuine and necessary part of the text is shewn by the context and the parallelism so forcibly, that even Fritzsche, ordinarily no friend of either Syr. or 248, admits it.

nor sit high in the congregation.] Lit. "**overleap.**" Commentators here think either of "septa intra quae habetur senatus" (Grotius) or of "their coming forward into the front benches" (Arm., Bretschn., Fri.). Syr. (followed by S. H.): "they shall not be exalted," perhaps representing a variant יגדלו for ידלגו, the latter of which, as the more difficult, should be preferred; compare also the uses of ܙܠܓ in Syriac (Payne Smith, 'Thes.' p. 945), "gradatim ascendit ad honores, ad thronum regni promovit."

they shall not sit on the judges' seat.] Cp. Riehm, s. v. *Gerichtswesen;* Job xxix. 7.

nor understand the sentence of judgment.] Lit. **the covenant of judgment**; representing, according to Fritzsche, ברית כמשפט, a phrase which he supposes to mean "the law covenant," *i.e.* the principles of justice. No doubt the moral and civil codes were not separated in those days. Syr.: "covenants and judgments."

declare.] This requires the alteration of *ἐκφανῶσι* to *ἐκφάνωσι* (Fritzsche).

justice.] Most authorities: "**discipline.**"

they shall not be found where parables are spoken.] Lit. **they shall not be found in parables**; which Grotius interprets of their not being found quoted among authors of parables. The Syrian seems to have pointed ימצאו actively, "they shall not find;" *i.e.* "they shall not attain to any portion of," which he paraphrastically renders they shall not "understand." This is probably the better interpretation. The suggestion that מְשָׁלִים, "parables," is a mistake for מֹשְׁלִים, "rulers" (Gaab), deserves mention.

34. *But they will maintain the state of the world.*] Grotius quotes the Hebrew phrase שיש בהן ישוב של עולם, "people by whom the world is rendered habitable," applied to artisans, &c. Our author's words, however, would seem to have been כי אם ברית עולם יכינו (Syr. יבינו). The following clause (in which their "desire" seems to represent a word meaning "business," רנה, Syriace) would appear to give a slight probability to the Syriac reading "they understand."

and their desire.] The original (probably) "their meditation:" *v. supra.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This is, perhaps, one of the most interesting chapters in the book. It gives insight into the views and philosophy of the author, and into one of the main objects of his work. Perhaps more clearly than any other it connects itself with the general drift of our canonical Ecclesiastes in discussing the great problems of life and the connexion between the (moral) government of God and the events and incidents of this world. It sets forth, from the standpoint of the writer and presumably of the *Chokhmah* or religious philosophy of that period, how the Jewish sage—the philosophic believer—solved the great problems of religious thinking. He is no longer narrow, exclusively Judaic, ignoring other men and other thought, bigoted

B. C. cir. 200. BUT he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all B. C. cir. 200.

and prejudiced. He has learned abroad; he has made personal experience of what is foreign. But, above all, he has been nourished at the fount of his ancestral religion (*v.* 1). And from a wider consideration of men and things he returns a firm believer in the God of Revelation, the God of Israel (*vv.* 8, 14*d*, 15). Alike the main object and the main result of his thinking and of his investigations was that which also formed the topic of *Chokhmah*-literature — presented in Proverbs and Parables (*vv.* 2, 3, 6, 7). This was the outcome of a proper understanding of the deeper meaning of the Law, with which we must here combine the history of Israel, as the practical application of the fundamental principles contained in the Law (*v.* 8), and of which the full bearing appeared in prophecy (*vv.* 1, 22, 23). The great problem of *Chokhmah* was to vindicate the ways of God with man. The *thesis* itself (or the final conclusion) is propounded in *v.* 16*a*, and the manner of its demonstration as well as its limits are indicated in *v.* 16*b*. Nature, the history of the world, and the experience of each individual force upon us—in view of what seems sometimes unmitigated evil, at other times like mere accident, or else as if it were fate—such questions as these: "What means all this? wherefore is it?" (*v.* 17)—that is, if there be a God, such as Revelation has set Him forth. The Book of Ecclesiastes had in part treated the same questions, though chiefly from the subjective standpoint (as it were of the laughing philosopher). And it had answered them by pointing from self, and seeming accidentalness or fate—in short, away from moral indifferentism—through eternal, absolute right and truth, to personal moral responsibility as the final solution (Eccles. xi. 9; xii. 13, 14). But our writer answers them rather from the objective standpoint. The progression of thought may be thus marked. We accept the position that all these seemingly incongruous things, so full of difficulty when viewed separately, are of and from the Lord. And we maintain that all His works are exceeding good—nay, we regard them as His commands (*v.* 16): for God reigneth. But we err and go astray when we view them separately: we must view them in their *nexus*—as integral parts of God's government—each "in its season," *v.* 16*b*; each "for their use," *v.* 21. And so we reach the conclusions expressed in *vv.* 33, 34. This, in our view, will help us to understand alike the structure and the contents of this chapter, on which (as so often) the variations in the Syr. throw additional light.

The praise of the sage in the previous chapter leads our author to describe the ideal representative of Hebrew *Chokhmah* (Wisdom) in *v.* 1. In two stanzas, each of three verses (*vv.* 2–4; 5–7), his intellectual and then his spiritual qualifications are described. [We omit as spurious the first clause in *v.* 6. The pious gloss—omitted in the Syr.—is worthy of the Greek translator.] In a third stanza of three verses (*vv.* 8–10) the activity and final success of this sage are detailed, the whole appropriately closing with an encomium in *v.* 11 which may well be fitted on to *v.* 1. We infer that in the view of the writer the main object and topic of Revelation was *Chokhmah* or Wisdom. This Wisdom was alike based upon and the outcome of the Law, as properly understood; and it was also fully indicated and vindicated in prophecy, *v.* 1. Thus Ben Sira had evidently passed beyond the merely external and literal view of the Law, and occupied the standpoint of the Old Testament *Chokhmah*-literature. He continues and further developes that direction; but he also imports into it not indeed Hellenistic ideas, but the results on his own mind of the influence of foreign, Grecian, thinking and intercourse. Similarly, he connects prophecy with the problems of *Chokhmah*. In his view it points to the full vindication of the results of *Chokhmah*. The future kingdom of God, as set forth in prophecy, would be anti-heathen; but chiefly he regarded it as the vindication of the moral government of God, the restoration of moral equilibrium in the world (*vv.* 22–25).

The second part of the chapter (beginning with *v.* 12) is intended fully to set forth the great topic which engages the thinking and teaching of the Hebrew sage — in other words, the object and the results of true *Chokhmah*. This is introduced in stanza iv. (*vv.* 10–15; six verses) by a solemn appeal, of which the outcome is that true *Chokhmah* will lead to the worshipful acknowledgment of God. Then follows in the fifth stanza, also of six verses (*vv.* 16–21), the statement of the theme itself (as previously described). Next we have an analysis of the *thesis* of *Chokhmah*. In stanza vi. of four verses (*vv.* 22–25) the subject is: the ways of God. These are described in a threefold antithesis: *vv.* 22 and 23, *v.* 24*a* and *b*, and *v.* 25*a* and *b*. The seventh stanza, consisting of eight verses (*vv.* 26–33), deals with the problem of the order and phenomena of Nature as affecting man, and shews that what from one aspect is good (*vv.* 26, 27) may from another aspect prove evil. Yet all cometh from God, exhibits His wise purposes, and

B. C. cir. 200. the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.

2 He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

3 He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.

4 He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

5 He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

6 When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences, and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer. B. C. cir. 200.

7 He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate.

8 He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord.

9 Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation.

10 [a] Nations shall shew forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise. [a] ch. 44. 15.

11 If he die, he shall leave a

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executes His behest. The whole concludes with two verses (*vv.* 34, 35), of which the first returns to the original theme (*vv.* 16, 17), while the second reiterates the acknowledgment and praise of God in all things on the part of true *Chokhmah* (comp. *vv.* 14 *d*, 15 *a*, *b*, *c*).

1. *But he that giveth.*] The Greek means lit. "except him that giveth." There can, however, be no doubt that the A. V. rendering is what the author intended.

of all the ancient.] Independent literary effort would seem to have ceased for some time. At the same time the writer is desirous of connecting the thinking of his ideal sage with the results of the previous development, of which it forms only another and further link.

and be occupied in prophecies.] Cp. Eccles. i. 13.

2. *He will keep the sayings.*] Treasure them up. Syr. "learn."

and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.] The phrase in the Greek (or in the Hebrew) is taken from Prov. i. 3. The Syriac has: "and he will reflect on whatever is deep." We suppose that this represents an original מעמקים, corrupted in the copy of the Greek to מעקמים, derived from עקם (Chald. and Syr.), "perverse," "crooked." For στροφή in this sense, a rich collection of parallels is given by Schleussner, *s. v.*

3. *the secrets of grave sentences.*] *I.e.* the deeper meaning of wise sayings, which is secret; that is, hidden from superficial view.

4. Further ways in which he qualifies himself.

He shall serve among great men.] Syr. "he shall go."

and appear before princes.] Vat. "a prince." Syr. this time: "he shall serve among kings and rulers." The Greek is preferable.

Also he must travel.

he hath tried.] Doubtless the original meant "he must try," or "is sure to try." The opening lines of the Odyssey will occur to every reader.

5. He will look for still higher guidance.

6. And when all these conditions are fulfilled, a special grace is required to produce the result. But the words ἐὰν . . . θελήσῃ are omitted by Syr.

he shall pour out wise sentences **as showers.**] Syr. "parables twofold;" corrected, however, in the Arab.

and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer.] The Syriac renders it: "people will praise him for his thoughts." Probably the original was ambiguous.

7. *He shall direct his counsel.*] Lit. "**he himself.**"

8. *that which he hath learned.*] Rather, **wise doctrine.**

9. *Many shall commend.*] Syr. "many shall learn from;" perhaps יורו and יורו. The latter in the active could give no satisfactory sense.

11. *If he die.*] The Greek MSS. seem all to have the opposite order: **If he persist,**

greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall ‖ increase it.

12 Yet have I more to say, which I have thought upon; for I am filled as the moon at the full.

13 Hearken unto me, ye holy children, and bud forth as a rose growing by the ‖ brook of the field:

14 And give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily, send forth a smell, and sing a song of praise, bless the Lord in all his works.

15 Magnify his name, and shew forth his praise with the songs of your lips, and with harps, and in praising him ye shall say after this manner:

16 [b] All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and [c] whatsoever he commandeth shall be *accomplished* in due season.

17 [d] And none may say, What is this? wherefore is that? for at time convenient they shall all be sought out: [e] at his commandment the waters stood as an heap, and at the words of his mouth the receptacles of waters.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *gain unto it.*

‖ Or, *rivers of water.*

[b] Gen. 1. 31. ver. 33. Mark 7. 37. 1 Tim. 4. 4.

[c] Numb. 23. 19.

[d] Rom. 9. 20.

[e] Ps. 33. 6, 7. & 147. 15, 18.

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he shall leave a greater name than a thousand; and if he cease, he increases it. The inversion is found very early, although it does not appear on what authority. Evidently it was introduced by some one who hoped thereby to render this extremely difficult verse easier. The Syriac renders: "If he will, he shall be praised among a thousand: and if he be silent, among a small people." Clearly we have to deal with a text that has been either corrupted or misunderstood, for the restoration of which we venture the following suggestions:—(1) The verbs עמד and חמד might easily be confused, owing to the indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals in some parts of Palestine. Between אם יעמד, "if he stand," and אם יחמד, "if he desire," the preference seems to be for יעמד, on account of "if he cease" in the second clause. (2) The phrases "he shall leave a name" and "he shall be praised" perhaps represent יִשָּׁאֵר and יִאָּשֵׁר; doubtless of the two the latter is the more appropriate. (3) The phrases ἐμποιεῖ αὐτῷ and "in a small people" offer no obvious original which would account for them both; we suggest, however, that the original contained words signifying "without number" (*e.g.* לא מספר or בלי מספר, read by the Greek לוֹ מִסְפָּר). The whole verse then, we suppose, may have meant: "If he remain alive, he will be praised by (or 'more than') a thousand; and if he die, by people without number." *Omnia post obitum fingit majora vetustas.*

12. *I am filled as the moon at the full.*] Syr. "as the moon on the twelfth day;" Heb. בָּמָא of Prov. vii. 20. The Latin Version has *quasi furore*, perhaps having the σεληνιαζόμενοι in mind.

13. The verses refer, according to Fritzsche, to the spiritual blooming and blossoming which will proceed from hearing his hymn.

bud forth as a rose.] The Syriac, "lilies and cedars," seems to represent different attempts at rendering וְרָד.

by the brook of the field.] Better, **the water-brook**, as A, C, S, Lat., Arm., S. H.

14. *send forth a smell.*] Syr. "lift up your voices."

and sing a song of praise.] Lit. **praise a song**; compare Ps. lv. 11. As the translator is maintaining the *schema etymologicum* of the original, he would seem to have derived ᾄσμα from αἰνέω.

15. *Magnify his name.*] הבו גדל.

17. *And none may say . . . that.*] These words are omitted in the T. R., but found in the Greek MSS. (cf. Nestle, p. 127). Their omission would necessitate the throwing out of the second clause; and, as a matter of fact, both are omitted in the Latin, which substitutes the second clause here for the second clause of *v.* 21. The Syriac, on the other hand, while omitting *v.* 21, has our verse in an enlarged form. Plainly the verse cannot be original in both places; the question is only for which place the author is more likely to have intended it. Now such a sentiment seems more natural at the commencement of the following enumeration than in the middle of it. We believe, therefore, that the true text is preserved by the Syriac.

at time convenient they shall all be sought out.] The Syriac (*v. supra*) renders: "No one can say, Wherefore is this and wherefore that? for all are created appropriately; nor can he say this is good and that evil; for all shew themselves men at their time." The Syriac expression is peculiar, but probably represents the Heb. יִפָּקְדוּ (cp. Symm. 1 Sam. xx. 18), which might well mean "will appear on the muster-roll."

at his commandment the waters stood as an heap.] *I.e.* at the Creation, before the separation of the waters into their receptacles; so

B. C. cir. 200.

18 [f] At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him; and none can hinder, when he will save.

[f] Ps. 135. 6.

19 [g] The works of all flesh are before him, and nothing can be hid from his eyes.

[g] Hebr. 4. 13.

20 He seeth from everlasting to everlasting; and there is nothing wonderful before him.

21 A man need not to say, What is this? wherefore is that? for he hath made all things for their uses.

22 His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood.

23 As he hath turned the waters into saltness: so shall the heathen inherit his wrath.

[h] Hos. 14. 9.

24 [h] As his ways are plain unto the holy; so are they stumblingblocks unto the wicked.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 For the good are good things created from the beginning: [i] so evil things for sinners.

[i] ch. 40. 10.

26 [k] The principal things for the whole use of man's life are water, fire, iron, and salt, flour of wheat, honey, milk, and [l] the blood of the grape, and oil, and clothing.

[k] ch. 29. 21.

[l] Gen. 49. 11. Deut. 32. 14. ch. 40. 20. & 50. 15.

27 [m] All these things are for good to the godly: so to the sinners they are turned into evil.

[m] Rom. 8. 28. 1 Tim. 4. 4.

28 There be spirits that are created for vengeance, which in their fury lay on sore strokes; in the time of destruction they pour out their force, and appease the wrath of him that made them.

29 [n] Fire, and hail, and famine,

[n] ch. 40. 9.

Gutmann, Fritzsche. The older interpreters thought of the Red Sea or the Jordan. The Syr. has a different verse.

18. *At his commandment is done whatsoever pleaseth him.*] The Greek means literally, **in his commandment is all pleasure.** The Syriac renders: "with joy is his will performed."

and none can hinder, when he will save.] Syr. "and none retards his command." Here a question of some interest arises, which, owing to the Aramaising character of our author's Hebrew, is hard to solve. It is quite clear that the words פִּקָּדוֹן, "command," and פֶּרֶק, "salvation," have been confused, but it is not clear whether that confusion took place in the Hebrew of the Siracide, or in the Syriac of the translator. "His command" seems to us a more natural word in this verse than "his salvation;" on the other hand, we have some hesitation in crediting the Siracide with so decided an Aramaism as the first hypothesis requires.

20. The Syriac has a different verse: see also on *v.* 16.

22. *covered the dry land.*] "The dry land" occurs in the second clause in the Greek. Lat. *inundavit;* Syr. "riseth;" perhaps we should read ἐπέκλυσεν for ἐπεκάλυψεν.

23. *As he hath turned the waters into saltness: so, &c.*] Probably Bretschn. and others are right in referring "so" to the previous verse, with the meaning "similarly," "on the contrary," or "as powerfully." The Syriac has: "so doth his wrath judge the nations." Clearly the author meant "his wrath" to be the subject of the sentence, in antithesis to *his blessing*, which is the subject of the previous verse. The Hebrew then was probably כֵּן רִנְזוֹ יוֹרִישׁ גּוֹיִם, "so doth his wrath drive out (exterminate) nations;" and "his wrath" will also be the subject of the second clause, which perhaps contains a reference to the Cities of the Plain. Cp. Ps. cvii. 33.

24. A favourite sentiment with our author.

25. *so evil things for sinners.*] Lat. "good and evil;" Syr. "for sinners also whether for good or evil." The agreement of these two versions might seem a strong argument in favour of this having been the original text. But the Greek rendering suits the context far better, and the Syr. and Latin reading may only represent a later Christian emendation.

26. The place of *iron* in this list is certainly remarkable. The Syriac list adds "fat" and "raiment."

28. The question whether these "spirits" are angels or winds is discussed by Fritzsche, who decides for the latter; yet *vv.* 29, 30 seem to contain a list of these "spirits." Unless, therefore, it is a poetical phrase for "forces," we must regard it as embodying the same idea as in later Rabbinism, which personified as Angels certain natural phenomena and eventualities.

lay on sore strokes.] Syr. "uproot mountains." The expression עִקֵּר הָרִים was in common Rabbinic usage to denote the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible or incredible (see the passages in 'The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' vol. ii. pp. 109, 376, notes).

B. C. cir. 200.

and death, all these were created for vengeance;

30 [o] Teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions, [p] ‖ serpents, and the sword, punishing the wicked to destruction.

31 [q] They shall rejoice in his commandment, and they shall be ready upon earth, when need is; and when their time is come, they shall not transgress his word.

32 Therefore from the beginning I was resolved, and thought upon these things, and have left them in writing.

33 [r] All the works of the Lord are good: and he will give every needful thing in due season.

34 So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved.

35 And therefore praise ye the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bless the name of the Lord.

[o] Deut. 32. 24.
[p] Wisd. 16. 5.
‖ Or, *vipers*.
[q] Job 38, 35. Ps. 148. 8.
[r] Gen. 1. 31. ver. 16.

CHAPTER XL.

1 *Many miseries in a man's life.* 12 *The reward of unrighteousness, and the fruit of true dealing.* 17 *A virtuous wife and an honest friend rejoice the heart, but the fear of the Lord is above all.* 28 *A beggar's life is hateful.*

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29. *famine and death.*] Syr. "and deadly stones." Here a somewhat similar difficulty occurs to that noticed at *v.* 18; for clearly we have a confusion between כֵּפִין, "stones," and כָּפָן, "hunger," and the confusion may have been either in the Hebrew or the Syriac. Fewest difficulties will be offered by the supposition that the Greek translation is correct.

30. *Teeth of wild beasts.*] Syr. "beasts of teeth," *i.e.* wild beasts, a very common Syriac phrase; and this the order of the Greek words makes it probable that the Siracide himself employed.

32. *Therefore from the beginning I was resolved.*] "Against temptations which might shake his faith in God's providence" (Grotius). In that case, for "I thought" we should probably substitute "I perceived" the true state of the case. The verse makes the author cite his words above (16, 17), which the intervening verses have proved. The Syrian, not seeing this reference, has a rendering which is very plainly wrong.

33. *he will give.*] Rather, **supply** or "furnish."

34. *in time they shall all be well approved.*] On the occasion for which they were created. The Syriac adds, "for they are all stored up in his treasuries."

CHAPTER XL.

The connexion of this with the preceding chapter is both external and internal. As regards the former, the mention of the evils which afflict us in the world leads to the discussion of human sorrow and of its causes. This forms the first part of the chapter, ending with *v.* 17; while in the second part, by way of contrast, the happiness that is in the world is described, and its real source indicated as in the fear of the Lord. The internal connexion with the previous chapter lies in this, that here the object is once more to shew that the good as well as the evil that befals men is from the Lord, and thus again to vindicate the ways of God.

The discussion is introduced by a prefatory verse, of which the burden is that somehow sorrow seems the lot of all men. Some of these sorrows are caused by the conditions of our existence, by the evil that comes to us through care, or lastly by our own needless or foolish apprehensions. This is the theme of the first stanza of six verses (*vv.* 2–7). But if this be the common lot of humanity, it falls sevenfold on the wicked, and theirs are also real evils—and these come to them from God in punishment of their sins. This is the subject of the second stanza (comprising four verses: *vv.* 8–11). A more detailed exposition of this follows in the third stanza (*vv.* 12–17). The first and the last verse in it are antithetic, and may be regarded as introductory and concluding, while the intermediate four verses form two couplets: the first (*vv.* 13, 14) shewing what becomes of their ill-gotten goods, the second what becomes of their children (*vv.* 15, 16); these two—property and children—being the chief objects of desire. And the stanza appropriately closes with the antithesis of *v.* 17.

With *v.* 18 begins the second part of the chapter. If there be sorrow in the world—and real sorrow is the consequence of sin—there is also much real good and joy, and the truest and best is the result of fear of the Lord. This is beautifully set forth in a stanza of ten verses (*vv.* 18–27), in eight of which the second clause always forms a counter-climax to the first, while the ninth verse leads up to the final conclusion, fully expressed in the concluding verse (*v.* 27), which sets forth the blessedness resulting from fear of the Lord.

The concluding stanza of three verses

B. C. cir. 200.

GREAT [a] travail is created for every man, and an heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things.

[a] Gen. 3. 19. Eccles. 1. 3.

2 Their imagination of things to come, and the day of death, [trouble] their thoughts, and [cause] fear of heart;

3 From him that sitteth on a throne of glory, unto him that is humbled in earth and ashes;

4 From him that weareth purple and a crown, ‖ unto *him that is clothed with a linen* frock.

‖ Or, *to the porter.*

5 Wrath, and envy, trouble, and unquietness, fear of death, and anger, and strife, and in the time of rest upon his bed his night sleep, do change his knowledge.

6 A little or nothing is his rest, and afterward he is in his sleep, as in a day of keeping watch, troubled in the vision of his heart, as if he were escaped out of a battle.

7 When all is safe, he awaketh, and marvelleth that the fear was nothing.

8 [Such things happen] unto all flesh, both man and beast, and that is sevenfold more upon sinners.

(*vv.* 28–30) is somewhat loosely connected with the subject-matter of the chapter, being apparently a practical application in the nature of advice how to avoid an unhappy life by industry, frugality, and piety.

1. *till the day that they return.*] The Greek of the best MSS. here is difficult, and indeed unconstruable. Even if we render "till the day of their being buried into the mother of all things" (Lat., Aeth.), we obtain an unnatural expression. We should expect the word אִסָּף or הֵאָסֵף, "their being gathered in," and some word meaning this we believe the Greek to have had originally; *e.g.* ἐπιστροφῆς of MS. 157 (rendered in the A. V.). The Syriac Version has: "and so long as they grasp the land of the living."

2. *Their imagination, &c.*] The text starts with a remarkable accusative, which the Lat., S. H., and Arm. versions, *beneficio linguarum*, faithfully represent. To Bretschn. is due the suggestion that the original had אֵת, "with," which the translator mistook for the sign of the accusative. However, the Syriac translation makes the words contained in this verse the subject of which the substantives in *v.* 5 are the predicate, verses 3 and 4 forming a parenthesis, which construction seems obviously right. The translation should be emended as below.

their thoughts.] Syr. "their glory."

and the fear of their heart.] Syr. "and the occupation of their heart."

the imagination of expectation.] Syr. "and the end of their words."

the day of death.] Syr. "till the day of their death."

4. *a linen frock.*] Syr. "the garment of poverty."

5. According to the punctuation as altered in agreement with the Syr. (see *v.* 2), a stop should be placed at "strife," and "do" altered to "doth." The objects of his thought enumerated are seven: perhaps the last two seem to be nearly the same as the first; the first is rather passion, the sixth rankling hatred (Lat. *furor* and *iracundia perseverans*; similarly Arm.).

change his knowledge.] Alter his state of mind.

6. *as in a day of keeping watch.*] Rather, **of watch, or of watching.** Just as the watcher, says Fritzsche, is alarmed by everything which he sees, so is the dreamer. But "a day of watching" seems a very unintelligible expression. It is unfortunate that the Syriac deserts us here. The Armenian Version gives two very satisfactory emendations, ἐννυπνίοις and κοπιᾷ, **and after that he toils with dreams as in the day.** The period during which he really rests is short, scarcely lasting a moment; during the rest of the time he is as hard at work as in the daytime. Had the Armenian translator been less faithful, it would not have been so easy for us to see what he read.

the vision of his heart.] Syr. "of the night," the more ordinary expression.

7. *When all is safe, he awaketh.*] So Grotius. Bretschneider renders: "at the moment when he is rescued from this troubled dream." Fritzsche, "at the moment of his supposed rescue;" *i.e.* at the critical moment in the vision, when he fancies himself out of reach, he wakes up. The expression, however, is sufficiently strange to indicate either corruption or mistranslation. The Syr. renders: "according to the desire in his heart." It is not easy to suggest any words which would have given rise to both interpretations. Perhaps the verse began with words signi-

B. C. cir. 200.

9 [b] Death, and bloodshed, strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge;

10 These things are created for the wicked, and for their sakes came the [c] flood.

11 [d] All things that are of the earth shall turn to the earth again: and that which is of the [e] waters doth return into the sea.

12 All [‖] bribery and injustice shall be blotted out: but true dealing shall endure for ever.

13 The goods of the unjust shall be dried up like a river, and shall vanish with noise, like a great thunder in rain.

B. C. cir. 200.

14 While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice: so shall transgressors come to nought.

15 The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth many branches: but are as unclean roots upon a hard rock.

16 [f] The weed growing upon every water and [g] bank of a river shall be pulled up before all grass.

17 Bountifulness is as [‖] a most fruitful garden, and mercifulness endureth for ever.

18 To labour, and [h] to be content with that a man hath, is a sweet life: but he that findeth a treasure is above them both.

[b] ch. 39. 25, 29, 30.
[c] Gen. 6. 13. & 7. 11.
[d] Gen. 3. 19. ch. 41. 10.
[e] Eccles. 1. 7.
[‖] Gr. *bribes.*
[f] Job 8. 11. & 18. 16.
[g] Gen. 41. 3.
[‖] Or, *a garden that is blessed:* as ver. 27.
[h] Phil. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 6.

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fying "he wakes up with . . . and a cry" (וישועה, misread by Greek וישועה). The phrase *καιρῷ σωτηρίας* occurred in iv. 22.

8. [*Such things*].] As those about to be described.

[*happen*] *unto all flesh.*] Rather, **are with all flesh.** The verse would seem to have been corrupted at an early period. The Syriac omits *vv.* 9, 10.

9. Fritzsche would omit as a gloss the word "tribulation(s)," partly with the view of gaining a group of seven, partly because the word is too general, as he thinks, to occur in the middle of such a list. The same difficulties may have been felt by those copyists who put all the words following *ἐπαγωγαί* in the genitive, and make them depend on it; compare also Schleussner *s. v.* In rhetorical enumerations of this sort, however, we must not be too critical.

11. *that which is of the waters doth return into the sea.*] Syr. "that which is from the height to the height," reading מרום for מים. Between these variants there cannot be any difficulty in choosing. For the sentiment of the Greek not only occurs in Eccles. i. 7, but forms a very appropriate conclusion of the stanza (see introd. remarks); while that of the Syriac would scarcely be biblical.

12. *All bribery and injustice.*] Syr. "every sinner and ungodly man," perhaps paraphrasing. For the general reasoning see the introductory remarks.

13. *shall be dried up like a river.*] Like an אבוב or stream which fails in the summer.

and shall vanish with noise.] Rather, **shall roar themselves out,** *i.e.* exhaust their power, like the thunder in summer; a remarkable comparison. Fritzsche thinks of the noise of the thunder being overpowered by that of the rain.

14. *While he openeth his hand he shall rejoice.*] Rather, **In the opening of his hands one shall rejoice** (Bissell)—probably in the sense of: when such an one is made to restore his ill-gotten gains, or is emptied of his riches, there is general joy.

15. *The children of the ungodly shall not bring forth, &c.*] They will therefore be unable to fully enjoy their possessions.

but are as.] Lit. "**and**" (*i.e.* nor). Syriac: "the root of sinners is like an ear which springs up on a rocky crag;" which, because it hath no depth of earth, must soon wither away. It seems as if the Syrian were thinking of the familiar parable in St. Matt. xiii.

16. *The weed.*] The Hebrew אחו is transliterated as in other places of the LXX. It seems to us that *v.* 14 *b* should be transferred hither. Cp. Job viii. 11, 12.

17. *is as a most fruitful garden.*] Lit. **a garden in blessings.** The Syriac has: "the works of the just shall be blest *in time.*" It is difficult to tell whether the Hebrew כְּעֵדֶן, "like Eden," was mistaken for בְּעֵדֶן, or whether the error is no older than the Syriac Version itself.

18. Here begins the second part of this chapter (see introductory remarks). The Syriac Version adds at the end of *v.* 17, "and he that approacheth unto them is like one that findeth a treasure;" while for this verse it gives "majesty and honour establish the name; yet better than both is he that findeth wisdom." The first of these clauses seems identical with the second in the Greek, with a

B. C. cir. 200.

19 Children and the building of a city continue a man's name: but a blameless wife is counted above them both.

20 Wine and musick rejoice the heart: but the love of wisdom is above them both.

21 The pipe and the psaltery make sweet melody: but a pleasant tongue is above them both.

22 Thine eye desireth favour and beauty: but more than both corn while it is green.

23 A friend and companion never meet amiss: but above both is a wife with her husband.

24 Brethren and help are against time of trouble: but alms shall deliver more than them both.

B. C. cir. 200.

25 Gold and silver make the foot stand sure: but counsel is esteemed above them both.

26 Riches and strength lift up the heart: but the fear of the Lord is above them both: there is no want in the fear of the Lord, and *it* needeth not to seek help.

27 The fear of the Lord is [i]‖a fruitful garden, and [k] covereth him above all glory.

28 My son, lead not a beggar's life; for better it is to die than to beg.

[i] ver. 17.
‖ Or, *a garden that is blessed.*
[k] Isai. 4. 5.

slight corruption of משניהם to some derivative of נגש; while the remaining two bear most of the traces of interpolation. The Latin Version substitutes *in ea* for *ὑπὲρ ἀμφότερα*.

19. *Children and the building of a city.*] Syr. "building and planting." The word בנין might be pointed so as to mean either "building" or "children." The second word "building" represents more than once in the LXX. the Hebrew בנות, which might also mean "daughters." A comparison with the Syriac shews us that *πόλεως* is a gloss. The true text may therefore have been, "Sons and daughters continue a man's name; but nevertheless a blameless wife surpasses them." We suppose the Aramaising form suggested to have given rise to the error of the translators. The S. H. Version has here a marginal note to prevent the misunderstanding in the case of the first word.

20. *Wine and musick.*] Syr. "old wine."

the love of wisdom.] If this be correct, the words must represent the Greek *φιλοσοφία*, and correspond with similar makeshift renderings of that word in Syriac and other languages. For that which rejoices the heart must be something acting on it objectively, not subjectively, corresponding therefore with "philosophy," but not with the "love of wisdom." Syr. "the love of a friend."

22. *favour.*] Old English for "grace." Cp. "young though thou art, thine eye hath staid upon some *favour* that it loves" (Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night,' ii. 4).

corn while it is green.] Lit. **the green of the sown-land.** Compare M. Aurelius, x. 35: "The healthy eye must not say *τὰ χλωρὰ θέλω*, I want only green;" *Viridia enim oculis grata sunt visumque reficiunt* (Gataker). Among the "ingenious sayings" of Mohammad (Freytag, 'Proverbia Arabum,' iii. 1, 608) is this: "Aspectus rerum viridium videndi facultatem auget."

23. *never meet amiss.*] It might be suggested from a comparison with the Syriac that the Hebrew was here מְבֹרָכִים, meaning "greet" rather than "meet." "Greetings" or good wishes from friends come never amiss; and yet more timely are those paid by a wife to her husband (אֵת אִישָׁהּ; אֵת being falsely interpreted as "with." This, in accordance with a later Rabbinic exegetical rule. Comp. Jer. Ber. 14*b*, Ber. R. 1, and other passages). The Arm. and Aeth. agree with Syr. in substituting "a good wife" for the last words.

24. *Brethren and help are against time of trouble.*] The Heb. עֵזֶר, probably employed in the original, should have been pointed (with Syr.) עֵזֵר and rendered "ally:" "A brother and an ally [save] in time of trouble." The sentiment of the verse is common in our author and elsewhere (*e.g.* Prov. xvii. 17).

25. *make the foot stand sure.*] Cp. Ps. xxxi. 9.

counsel.] Sagacity.

26. *it needeth not.*] Rather, **one needeth not in it:** *i.e.* armed with it, a man requires no other help.

27. *a fruitful garden.*] See *v.* 17. The Syriac renders similarly in both places.

and covereth him above all glory.] The authorities vary between the sing. and plur. for "covereth." Fritzsche decides for the singular, on the ground that the subject must be "God," who covers his *fear* [with glory] more than all greatness. The original must have been difficult, for the Syrian hesitates between "is raised" and "is praised."

28–30. Begging. Cp. xxix. 21 *sqq.*

28. *lead not a beggar's life.*] The Syriac

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29 The life of him that dependeth on another man's table is not to be counted for a life; for he polluteth himself with other men's meat: but a wise man well nurtured will beware thereof.

30 Begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless: but in his belly there shall burn a fire.

CHAPTER XLI.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *The remembrance of death.* 3 *Death is not to be feared.* 5 *The ungodly shall be accursed.* 11 *Of an evil and a good name.* 14 *Wisdom is to be uttered.* 16 *Of what things we should be ashamed.*

O DEATH, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions, unto the man that hath nothing to

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entirely perverts this very simple sentiment: "refuse not him that asketh thee; be not good to kill, but be good to preserve alive."

29. *that dependeth.*] Lit. **that looketh to.** The phrase corresponds with the Rabbinical המצפה לשלחן חברו; "Three lives are no lives: he that looketh to the table of another," &c. (Bets. 32 *b*; Abh. de R. N. 25).

for he polluteth himself.] Rather, **who polluteth himself.** Fritzsche takes this literally, on the ground that the meat given him might very well be unclean; we prefer to take it figuratively.

but a wise man well nurtured.] *I.e.* well educated.

30. Fritzsche would understand this of the contrast between his sweet manner and his internal feeling of degradation. The "begging" is more frequently interpreted of the morsel which he receives, while Grotius makes the "fire" that of hunger. The author is apparently thinking of Job xx. 12.

CHAPTER XLI.

The chapter consists of two parts (the first ending with *v.* 13), which are connected by succession in thinking rather than by a logical *nexus*. The first part of the chapter, however, is closely bound to the argument in the previous chapter. There the writer had treated of the evils that afflict man, among which "fear of death" was the most real and common to all (xl. 1–5). Besides, this was an evil the source of which must be traced to the Creator Himself. But in the first part of ch. xli. the writer endeavours to prove even in this respect his previous thesis by shewing in the first stanza (*vv.* 1–4) that death is not such an evil as men represent or imagine it; and, in the second stanza (*vv.* 5–13), that it only becomes a real evil to the ungodly (comp. also xl. 8). Throughout we notice in the treatment of this subject a melancholy absence of the hope of another and better life. In the first stanza consolations are offered derived from the welcome release which death brings under certain circumstances, and from its general incidence, so that after all it was ultimately of little consequence how many years a man might have to live, while, on the other hand, it was right to submit to the will of God. Such being the case, the second stanza (*vv.* 5–13) shews that death had real terrors for the sinner. The three things upon which a man set value and which would remain, as reward or otherwise, after his death, are described in an ascending climax as property, children, reputation. In all these three would the sinner suffer after his decease. Of these three the most precious and most enduring was a good name, after which we should chiefly strive.

This latter statement naturally leads in the second part to an enumeration of the things which were shameful, and should therefore be avoided. The three introductory verses (*vv.* 14–16) bear particular reference to this, that to be proud or else ashamed of a thing it must appear outwardly and publicly: in other words, that the reputation of which we are to have such care depends upon this. Nineteen things are then enumerated of which we should be ashamed. These apply to the various circumstances of life, and they are arranged in a certain order and connexion. We mark that, in accordance with the purpose of the writer, only such offences are mentioned as may permanently injure a man's reputation. Some difficulty may be felt as regards the offence mentioned in *v.* 19 *c*. We have little doubt that (as Fritzsche suggests) the expression was proverbial. Nor can we doubt that it referred to an unwillingness to give to the poor from the abundance of one's table (comp. St. Luke xvi. 20, 21). And here, indeed, we have a parallel Rabbinic saying (Sanh. 92 *a*): "He that does not leave a piece of bread (פת) upon his table shall never see a sign of blessing" (סימן ברכה = no good shall ever come to him). [In Jer. Teram. 45 *d* it is interdicted to put bread under one's arm. Levy ('Neuhebr. Wörterb.' iv. 154 *a*) regards this as directed against superstition, but the context shews that it was forbidden because perspiration, except from the face, was regarded as poisonous.]

1. Drusius compares Seneca's words: "O vita misero longa, felici brevis."

the remembrance of thee.] Probably the original had "art thou" (cf. Syr.).

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vex him, and that hath prosperity in all things: yea, unto him that is yet able to receive meat!

2 O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and ‖ is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth, and hath lost patience!

‖ Or, *to whom every thing is troublesome.*

3 Fear not the sentence of death, remember them that have been before thee, and that come after; for this is the sentence of the Lord over all flesh.

4 And why art thou against the pleasure of the most High? there is no inquisition in the grave, whether thou have lived ten, or an hundred, or a thousand years.

5 The children of sinners are abominable children, and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.

6 The inheritance of sinners' children shall perish, and their posterity shall have a perpetual reproach.

7 The children will complain of an ungodly father, because they shall be reproached for his sake.

8 Woe be unto you, ungodly men, which have forsaken the law of the most high God! for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction:

9 And if ye be born, ye shall be

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liveth at rest in his possessions.] Compare Dan. iv. 4, with which the expression in the text may agree.

that hath nothing to vex him.] The word in the text is condemned by the Atticists as late Greek. Perhaps it represents שאנן (Job xii. 5).

to receive meat.] Compare the opening verses of Eccles. xii. The words perhaps meant rather to "enjoy the taste (of food);" the Heb. טעם being interpreted by the Greek after the Arab. طعام.

2. *thy sentence.*] Also apparently a paraphrase for "thou." MS. 155 further adds "and thy remembrance."

that is now in the last age.] Fritzsche's proposed alteration of ἐσχατογήρῳ to ἐσχατόγηρῳ would introduce an impossible accentuation; see Kühner, 'Ausf. Gr.' i. 249, 2nd edit.

is vexed with all things.] There is no reason for preferring the marginal variant.

that despaireth.] Rather, **is disbelieving**, אין אמון. Syr. (Lag.), "without money," perhaps אין ממון.

3. *Fear not the sentence of death.*] In the sense that it is the law and common lot of humanity. Grotius compares a fragment of Aristophanes, τὸ γὰρ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον λῆρος πολύς· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν. The Syr. makes it probable that "the sentence of" is an insertion by the Greek translator.

remember them that have been before thee, and that come after.] Comp. Eccles. i. 10, לראשנים וגם לאחרנים. "Remember that they are in the same case with thee" (Syr.).

4. *And why art thou against.*] Lit. **why dost thou decline?** Evidently this clause belongs to the preceding verse.

there is no inquisition in the grave.] That question is not asked there; it makes no difference, as regards our condition when we are dead, whether our life has been short or long.

5. *and they that are conversant in the dwelling of the ungodly.*] "The reason why they are abominable" (Fritzsche). But this explanation does not seem satisfactory. Syr. "and a race of misery (lit. woe to it!) is the generation of the wicked." Compare Aeth. "and their houses shall be overturned." Ἀναστρέφομαι is employed in Ezek. iii. 15 to represent משמים. It might be suggested that the original had here וּמְשֹׁמֵם מושב רשעים, "and the dwelling-place of the wicked is loathsome."

6. *inheritance.*] Syr. "sovereignty;" Heb. (perhaps) רשת, which might be pointed so as to mean either רֶשֶׁת or רָשׁוּת. The latter would indeed be a Chaldaism, but not out of place in our author; while the former could scarcely be used in this way. We believe, therefore, that the Syr. version is here correct.

7. *will complain of.*] *I.e.* will have cause to do so. Syr. "shall curse;" if this be right, the Hebrew probably contained a jingle יקללו and יקלו.

8. *which have forsaken the law of the most high God.*] Syr. "to whom misery clings till the day of their death."

for if ye increase, it shall be to your destruction.] This clause must be omitted, as only found in 248, Co., and probably a correction or interpretation of the next clause, "and if ye be born."

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born to a curse: and if ye die, a curse shall be your portion.

[a] ch. 40. 11.

10 [a] All that are of the earth shall turn to earth again: so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.

11 The mourning of men is about their bodies: but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.

[b] Prov. 22. 1.

12 Have regard to thy name; for [b] that shall continue with thee above a thousand great treasures of gold.

13 A good life hath but few days: but a good name endureth for ever.

[c] ch. 20. 30.

14 My children, keep discipline in peace: for [c] wisdom that is hid, and a treasure that is not seen, what profit is in them both?

[d] ch. 20. 31.

15 [d] A man that hideth his foolishness is better than a man that hideth his wisdom.

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16 Therefore be shamefaced according to my word: for it is not good to retain all shamefacedness; neither is it altogether approved in every thing.

17 Be ashamed of whoredom before father and mother: and of a lie before a prince and a mighty man;

18 Of an offence before a judge and ruler; of iniquity before a congregation and people; of unjust dealing before thy partner and friend;

19 And of theft in regard of the place where thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God and his

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9. Your birth and death will both be misfortunes.

a curse shall be your portion.] תֵּחֶלְקוּ.

10. The first clause occurred above (xl. 11); and as the Syriac omits it, there is grave reason for doubting its genuineness here. See below.

so the ungodly shall go from a curse to destruction.] In the event of the first clause being genuine, the application will be found in the sequence from that with which they began to that in which they end.

11. *The mourning of men is about their bodies.*] *I.e.* the main object of sorrow with most men is that their bodies die, but there is a worse fate than this, which does not excite their apprehension—the loss of their name. In the case of the sinner that name will perish.

but an ill name of sinners shall be blotted out.] The second hand of S has here ὄνομα δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐξαλειφθήσεται, "but a good name shall not be blotted out." This is supported by the Arm. Very similar is the reading of the Syr. "and the name of them that do good," and of the Copt. "and the name of good men." This last, ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν, is the reading of MSS. 155, 308; ἁμαρτωλῶν (which appears exclusively in Aeth. and Lat.) is perhaps a false interpretation of ανων. From the agreement of the Syr. and the Greek, it seems probable that "the name of good men" was clearly expressed in the original.

12. *above.*] Rather, **longer than.** From Prov. xxii. 1. The Midrash on that passage substitutes "a thousand Dinārs of gold" for the "silver and gold" of the text.

Verses 13–xlii. 8 are omitted by the Syriac, which substitutes for them a short and curious sentiment. Some of the verses before us look like centos or quotations from previous chapters in the book.

13. *A good life hath but few days.*] Lit. **a number of days**, to which the Arm. boldly adds "hath not."

14. *in peace.*] Proleptically, "and enjoy peace therefrom."

The second half of this verse occurred word for word in xx. 30, while *v.* 15 occurred in xx. 31.

16. *Therefore be shamefaced according to my word.*] So Fritzsche and others; it may, however, mean only "be heedful of my word."

it is not good to retain all shamefacedness.] Rather, **to observe.**

neither is it altogether approved in every thing.] This implies the reading οὐ παντάπασιν ἐν παντὶ (for ἐν πίστει), recorded by Hoeschel, and supported by the Copt.; and this we believe to be correct. The best Greek MSS., however, offer οὐ πάντα πᾶσιν ἐν πίστει, a difficult expression variously interpreted ("nor is everything appreciated truly by all," Fritzsche). The Arm. renders "nor at all to please every one by faith." A more intelligible explanation would be "nor is the rule 'everything to every one in confidence' approved."

17. The list of cases of shame now given amounts rather to an enumeration of the persons on whom one should reflect when tempted to commit any crime, being those whom the crime most deeply hurts.

before father and mother.] "And mother" is omitted by the Arm., perhaps accidentally.

19. *of theft in regard of the place where*

B. C. cir. 200. covenant; and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat; and of scorning to give and take;

20 And of silence before them that salute thee; and to look upon an harlot;

21 And to turn away thy face from thy kinsman; or to take away a portion or a gift; or [e] to gaze upon another man's wife;

[e] Matt. 5. 28.

22 Or to be overbusy with his maid, and come not near her bed; or of upbraiding speeches before friends; and [f] after thou hast given, upbraid not;

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23 Or of [g] iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard; and of revealing of secrets.

[f] ch. 20. 15.

[g] ch. 19. 7.

24 So shalt thou be truly shamefaced, and find favour before all men.

CHAPTER XLII.

1 Whereof we should not be ashamed. 9 Be careful of thy daughter. 12 Beware of a woman. 15 The works and greatness of God.

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thou sojournest, and in regard of the truth of God, and his covenant.] It seems evident that a word has here dropped out, since the rhythm of the sentence is otherwise lost. Various attempts have been made to correct the sentence, among which we may mention Bretschneider's supplement "of disbelief," and Fritzsche's conjecture that "of the truth" was a translation of a false reading for "of the curse." Strangely, the true reading is here supplied by the Armenian Version, which gives "of lying in regard of the truth of God and His covenant," omitting the words "of a lie before a prince and a mighty man" in the second clause of *v.* 17. We believe that the Armenian translator cannot be conjecturing, but must have found this reading in his text. Besides settling the difficulty to which we have referred, it is recommended as doing away with the tautology of *κριτοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος* following upon *ἡγουμένοι καὶ δυνάσται*. For any difference between them would be difficult to substantiate. Lastly, this reading arranges the crimes in a natural order, ranging from the most deadly to the lightest. The history of the interpolation of *v.* 17 in the Greek would be an important contribution to our knowledge of the vicissitudes through which the text of this book has passed.

and to lean with thine elbow upon the meat.] Lit. **to fix the elbow**: according to the commentators, holding it tight, allowing no one else to obtain a portion of it. (See the introd. to the chapter.) The Arm. adds *ἀλλοτρίους*, "the bread of others;" and the Aeth. has "to approach to eat the strangers' bread."

of scorning to give and take.] Rather, **of railing over giving and taking.** Another reading is *σκορπισμοῦ*, "scattering," which the marginal annotator of S. H. explains of adulteration. "From robbing the goods of thy neighbour entrusted to thee" (Aeth.). "Taking and giving," משא ומתן, is a common Rabbinical expression for "commerce."

20. *of silence before them that salute thee.*] The Syriac, which, as we have noticed, omits the whole of the preceding passage, dwells on this point at some length.

21. *to turn away thy face from.*] Rather, **the face of.** Heb. חשיב פנים (1 Kings ii. 16, &c.), the opposite of *ὄρασις* of the last verse.

take away a portion or a gift.] Rightly referred by Fritzsche to the distribution of goods between kinsmen. For the last word, מַתָּן, it seems probable that מָנָת, "a share," should have been read; the corruption perhaps occurs elsewhere in this book.

22. *overbusy.*] These "maids" in the Greek romances and elsewhere are the ordinary go-betweens. The readings, however, vary.

23, 24. These verses are attached to the following chapter in the Greek editions.

23. *of iterating and speaking again that which thou hast heard.*] This is apparently the only way in which the T. R. can be translated; we should, however, read with S, *ἀπὸ δευτερώσεως λόγου ἀκοῆς*, **of repeating a word which thou hast heard.** The caution is against circulating idle rumours.

24. Cp. xxxii. 10.

CHAPTER XLII.

Having in the previous chapter indicated what a man should be ashamed to do, the writer marks in the first stanza of this chapter (after an introductory verse) the things of which a man ought *not*, and needs *not*, to be ashamed—bearing in mind that by the latter expression he means that they will not really affect his reputation. This is indicated in the last two clauses of *v.* 8, with which the stanza closes (*vv.* 1–8). For *v.* 8 *c* (the wording of which should be compared with

B. C. cir. 200.

OF these things be not thou ashamed, and [a] accept no person to sin thereby:

[a] Lev. 19. 15. Deut. 1. 17. Prov. 24. 23. ch. 20. 22.

2 Of the law of the most High, and his covenant; and of judgment to justify the ungodly;

3 ‖ Of reckoning with thy partners and ‖ travellers; or ‖ of the gift of the heritage of friends;

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4 Of exactness of balance and weights; or of getting much or little;

‖ Or, *Of thy partners' speech.*

‖ Or, *companions.*

‖ Or, *of the giving.*

xli. 24 *a*) seems to imply that there was a false feeling of shame, which might prevent a man from doing that which, if "truly instructed" and disciplined, he would not hesitate to do before all men. The difficulty, that *vv.* 6, 7 seem not to be formally included in the enumeration of things not to be ashamed of, is only apparent. The proposal to put *v.* 8 before *vv.* 6, 7—in which case they should be included in the next stanza (placed in connexion with *v.* 9)—is attractive, but not necessary. For, although there may be difference in form, *vv.* 6, 7 manifestly contain, like the other verses in the stanza, directions concerning things which a man need not be ashamed to do. And possibly they may not have been formally connected with what a man should not be "ashamed of," because in the nature of things they would take place in the privacy of home and not in view of the public. Lastly, it is evident that with *v.* 9 another train of thought begins,—no longer referring to a man's actions, but to his feelings.

The large number of directions needful in regard to domestic life naturally leads the writer to revert to what seems to have been a topic of frequent lucubration with him: that of daughters and women. This forms the subject of stanzas 2 and 3, each of three verses (*vv.* 9–11; *vv.* 12–14). On each of these points we might adduce Rabbinic parallels. Indeed, *vv.* 9, 10—although in a different, and as it seems to us more apt form—are quoted in the Talmud (perhaps from memory), as "written in the book of Ben Sira" (Sanh. 100 *b*). With this other Talmudic sayings may be compared—such as, "Happy he who has male children; woe to him that has female children" (Sanh. *u. s.*; Qidd. 82 *b*; Babha B. 16 *b*); "A boy comes into the world: his loaf comes in his hand—a girl, nothing at all with her" (Nidd. 31 *b*). Indeed, it was hagadically explained that the word נקבה for "maiden" meant נקייה באה, "she cometh empty" into the world (Nidd. *u. s.*). And as regards women generally, it is sufficient to refer to such sayings as "Women are of a light mind" (Shabb. 33 *b*; Qidd. 80 *b*); "Multiply not talk with a woman; they say, with one's own wife: how much more with the wife of one's neighbour? Hence the sages say, if a man multiplies talk with a woman he brings evil upon himself, he neglects study of the Law, and his end will be to inherit Gehinnom" (Ab. i. 5).

As regards the second part of our chapter (beginning with *v.* 15), it might seem as if it were not in any way connected with what had preceded. But if we regard ch. xxxix. 16–xlii. 14 as so much matter intercalated, then ch. xlii. 15 would resume and continue the main subject-matter from ch. xxxix. 15. In that case one stanza (the fifth in the chapter, *vv.* 15–20) would set forth the praises of God in Creation, Providence, and Revelation; while another (the sixth, *vv.* 21–25) would be more specially devoted to the subject of Creation. We note in the two concluding verses two *Chokhmah* sayings: the antithetic dualism in nature (similar to that formerly noticed in the moral world; cp. xxxiii. 14, 15), as well as the permanence of nature (xlii. 24); and secondly, the higher beneficial purpose of every thing in nature (*v.* 25).

1. *accept no person to sin thereby.*] Sin not therein out of false shame.

2. *Of the law of the most High.*] *I.e.* to observe its ordinances and commandments in any circumstances and before any persons.

and of judgment to justify the ungodly.] This clause has occasioned some difficulty. Baduellus thought "be not ashamed" might mean "be not moved by false shame." Grotius still more harshly supplies "obloqui sententiis eorum qui id agunt." Fritzsche would take the words literally, to justify the ungodly when he happens to be in the right; a very improbable sentiment. The MSS. and Versions give no help. We prefer adopting the emendation (of Luther?), τὸν εὐσεβῆ, "to justify the pious;" *i.e.* to give sentence in his favour, however unpopular such an action may be. Cp. Prov. xvii. 15. An interesting rendering (cited by Fritzsche) is "to punish the ungodly." Cicero tells us that ἐδικαιώθησαν was the euphemistic expression for "they have been executed," in Sicily.

3. *Of reckoning with thy partners.*] Versions and commentators are divided between this interpretation and "of talking with." The latter, although supported by Grotius ("quid impedit quominus quis aut sodales aut viae comites suavi sermone oblectet") and Fritzsche, seems too trifling for this place. "Reckoning with thy partners" might mean (as the Aeth. glosses) concerning the profits; but

B. C. cir. 200.

5 And of merchants' ‖ indifferent selling; of much correction of children; and to make the side of an evil servant to bleed.

‖ Or, *without profit.*

6 Sure keeping is good, where an evil wife is; and shut up, where many hands are.

7 Deliver all things in number and weight; and put all in writing that thou ‖ givest out, or receivest in.

‖ Or, *dealest for.*

8 Be not ashamed to ‖ inform the unwise and foolish, and the extreme aged ‖ that contendeth with those that are young: thus shalt thou be truly learned, and approved of all men living.

‖ Or, *rebuke.*

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‖ Or, *that is accused of fornication.*

9 The father waketh for the daughter, when no man knoweth; and the care for her taketh away sleep: when she is young, lest she pass away the flower of her age; and being married, lest she should be hated:

10 In her virginity, lest she should be defiled and gotten with child in

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what is reckoning with travellers? Further, על דבר (if the original of περὶ λόγου) could scarcely mean more than "concerning the matter of." We therefore suggest that in the Heb. על דבר חבר ואח, the last word was corrupt for ואח, and that the original meant "concerning the matter of a relative and a brother," *i.e.* be not ashamed to own brotherhood and connexion.

or of the gift of the heritage of friends.] Ordinarily interpreted as if the original had ἑταίροις, *i.e.* of giving legacies to friends, in spite of the disapproval of the heirs. Perhaps the phrase is metaphorical, the "heritage of friends" meaning those privileges to which friends have a natural claim. A few MSS. and Arm. read "others" for "friends."

4. *or of getting much or little.*] *I.e.* of acquiring wealth, whether in large quantities for fear of envy, or in small for fear of being thought mean (Grot.).

5. *of merchants' indifferent selling.*] Rather, **of the money gained by selling and merchants.** But Fritzsche is evidently right in substituting for the last word "and merchandise," supposing סחר of the original to have been wrongly pointed.

to make the side, &c.] See xxxiii. 24.

6. The suggestion of Gaab that *vv.* 6, 7 should be placed after *v.* 8 seems recommended on syntactic grounds; but it is not necessary for the sense. (See introd.)

Sure keeping.] Lit. **a seal.** The seal is probably to protect the goods ("vilissima utensilium anulo clausa," Tacitus, 'Annals,' ii. 2), rather than the woman.

shut up.] Viz. the stores; Copt. strangely, "thy hand."

where many hands are.] Aeth. "comers." Rather, "**servants.**" Compare the Latin *fures* for "slaves:" *exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.*

7. *Deliver all things.*] Lit. **whatever thou deliverest,** *i.e.* to the members of the household, "[let it be]."

8. *that contendeth with those that are young.*] *I.e.* in those contests which are only suitable for youth. The marginal reading is found in three MSS., and also in the Arm., Aeth., Copt., and S. H. versions. Compare xxv. 2 and the variant there.

9. The Syriac Version recommences here. The following passage repeats some of the matter of chaps. xxv., xxvi. Some fragments of the original are preserved in the Talmud (Sanh. 100 *b*).

The father waketh for the daughter when no man knoweth.] Lit. **a daughter is to her father a hidden sleeplessness.** But ἀπόκρυφος might be taken with θυγάτηρ, "a hidden daughter," *i.e.* a maiden (Grotius). Syr. "a daughter is very precious to (or heavy) upon her father." Both these renderings are mistranslations of the Hebrew (בת לאביה מטמונת שוא). The Talmud quotes (with slight alterations) *vv.* 9 and 10 as from Ben Sira: "A daughter is a delusive treasure to her father [the Heb. words as just quoted]: from fear he cannot sleep. When she is little, perhaps she may be seduced (?); when she is grown up, perhaps she will go astray [we translate not literally]; when she is marriageable [the difference between this and the previous age being six months, according to Jer. Yebam. 3 *a*], perhaps she will not be married; when she is married, perhaps she will not have children; when she is old, perhaps she will practise magic" (Sanh. 100 *b*, and with only slight differences in the so-called 'Second Alphabet of Ben Sira').

lest she pass away the flower of her age.] Syr. "lest she be despised," in the sense of not attracting suitors. The meaning is: she may pass the best of her life without being married.

10. The antithesis would be improved by transposing clauses *b* and *c*.

her father's house; and having an husband, lest she should misbehave herself; and when she is married, lest she should be barren.

11 [b] Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter, lest she make thee a laughingstock to thine enemies, and a byword in the city, and a reproach among the people, and make thee ashamed before the multitude.

12 Behold not every body's [c] beauty, and sit not in the midst of women.

13 For from garments cometh a moth, and [d] from women wickedness.

14 Better is the ‖ churlishness of a man than a courteous woman, a woman, *I say*, which bringeth shame and reproach.

15 I will now remember the works of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seen: In the words of the Lord are his works.

16 The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things, and the work thereof *is* full of the glory of the Lord.

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lest she should misbehave herself.] = תשטה, Syr. (Fritzsche).

11. *Keep a sure watch over a shameless daughter.*] = xxvi. 10. The Syr. omits "shameless," which may have been interpolated from the parallel.

a reproach among the people.] Lit. **summoned by the people** (Arm.). Syr. "in the assembly of the people," probably correctly, בקהל having been misread מקהל.

The Syr. adds, "from the place where she dwells let her not go forth; and let her not go about the houses."

12. *Behold not every body's beauty.*] Rather, **look not upon any man in** (= on account of?) **beauty**; but ἐν καλλονῇ may be a mistranslation of בְּחַמְדָּה, "with desire." The Syr. "shew not every man what is in thy heart," probably represents the same original differently pointed.

and sit not.] Lit. **sit not as counsellor.** The original would appear to have had (cf. Syr.) אל תמתיק סוד, "take not sweet counsel," in imitation of Ps. iv. 15.

13. *wickedness.*] Rather, "**the wickedness of a woman.**" So all MSS.; γυναικός is omitted by Ald., Arm., Aeth.; "of a man" is substituted by the Lat. The Syr. has: "for as a moth falls upon a garment, so doth jealousy upon a woman from the wickedness of her fellow," clearly endeavouring to explain a difficult text. It is possible that the Latin Version may have here preserved the truth: "from a woman proceeds the evil (or hurt) of her husband," אשה of the original being intended for אִישָׁה, but read by both Syr. and Greek as אִשָּׁה. The ancients believed in "spontaneous generation." The moth coming out of the garment is used by Menander (ed. Meineke, p. 198) as an illustration of the fact that "that which cometh out of the man defileth the man."

14. The misogyny of the author reaches its climax.

churlishness.] The marginal rendering is preferable. We have already seen reason for thinking that רע איש may have meant "a wicked man."

courteous.] Rather, **who doeth good.**

a woman which bringeth shame and reproach.] Although the Syriac fails us here, it seems nevertheless easy to detect a slight mistranslation. The context shews that some kind of argument *à fortiori* was intended; ἀγαθοποιός, מטיבה, of the first clause being opposed to מביאה in the second, the latter meaning "who doeth evil," as in Prov. xii. 4. The clause will then mean: **and a woman who doeth evil is a disgrace.**

15. *and declare the things that I have seen.*] A single experience not sufficing for all.

In the words of the Lord are his works.] *I.e.* by His word His works were created, as the Syr. and Aeth. gloss. The Syr. adds, "and all creatures do His pleasure;" the Copt. "and the praise of His judgments has come to pass (?)." It is not improbable that a clause may have been lost.

16. With *v.* 15 begins the second part of the chapter, on which see the remarks in the introduction.

The sun that giveth light looketh upon all things.] The Syr. divides the verbs between the two clauses: "like a sun that riseth over all, are the mercies of the Lord revealed upon all His works." It is, however, probable that the second clause was מָלְאוּ מַעֲשָׂיו חסדו, "His works are full of His mercy." The verse probably means that the whole range of objects on which the sun looks down are full of His glory, and is an explanation of the restriction "that I have seen" in *v.* 15.

and the work thereof is full of the glory of the Lord.] Rather, **and His work is full of His glory.**

B. C. cir. 200.

[b] ch. 26. 10.

[c] ch. 25. 21.

B. C. cir. 200.

[d] Gen. 3. 6.

‖ Or, *wickedness.*

B. C. cir. 200.

17 [e] The Lord hath not given power to the saints to declare all his marvellous works, which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established for his glory.

[e] ch. 43. 27.

18 He seeketh out the deep, and the heart, and considereth their crafty devices: for [h] the Lord knoweth all that may be known, and he beholdeth the signs of the world.

[h] Or, *the Highest.*

19 He declareth the things that are past, and for to come, and revealeth the steps of hidden things.

B. C. cir. 200.

20 [f] No thought escapeth him, neither any word is hidden from him.

[f] Job 42. 2. Isai. 29. 15.

21 He hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom, and he is from everlasting to everlasting: unto him may nothing be added, neither can he be diminished, and he hath no need of any counsellor.

22 Oh how desirable are all his works! and that a man may see even to a spark.

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17. *hath not given power.*] "Hoc praefatur ne putet a se expectandum ut res verbis aequet" (Grotius).

which the Almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might be established for his glory.] The Syriac renders, "He has given courage to them that fear Him to stand before His glory." The verb represented by "firmly settled" and "given courage" would seem to have been הִגְבִּיר (Dan. ix. 27). The last clause is probably rightly rendered by the Syr. "to stand before His glory" (see Isa. vi.). So far beyond all description is that glory, that it cannot even be contemplated by the angels.

18. *the deep and the heart.*] The two most inscrutable things. Comp. ch. i. 3; Dan. ii. 22.

and considereth their crafty devices.] Probably תַּעֲלֻמוֹת (Job xi. 6), "secrets" (cf. Syr.), perhaps read with ר for ל by the Greek translator.

all that may be known.] "Every conscience," a few MSS., Copt., Aeth., Arm. Heb. מדע of Eccles. x. 20.

and he beholdeth the signs of the world.] The expression might also be rendered "the sign of eternity." With the former interpretation it is explained of the portents of the world (De Wette, Aeth.); with the latter (Arm.) of the signs whence the future may be known (Fritzsche). Neither of these views is satisfactory. The Syr. (in *v.* 20) renders: "there are manifest before Him all that come into the world;" reading כל אותה עולם for על אות העולם. We are inclined to believe that this emendation is correct.

19. *He declareth.*] Comp. Isa. xli. 22, &c. But it may be questioned whether the original should not have been pointed יֵדַע, "he knoweth," rather than יוֹדִיעַ.

and revealeth the steps of hidden things.] Perhaps "makes out the track," finds the clue to. The "hidden things" are not necessarily "the secrets of the Divine world-plan" (Fritzsche).

21. *He hath garnished the excellent works of his wisdom.*] See xvi. 27.

and he is from everlasting to everlasting.] The MSS. vary between "who is," "and while he is," "as he is." The first of these is supported by the versions, but cannot be right, since evidently the reference is to the uniformity and perpetuity of nature, not to the eternalness of God. Fritzsche therefore adopts ἕως for the Hebrew עוֹד, in which case the verse should have been rendered "and they are still." We believe that either the reading of S, ὡς ("he has ordered them as they are," *i.e.* in that arrangement in which they abide), must be adopted, or else καὶ ἔστι, "and they exist," must be read, ἕως being regarded as having been interpolated from *v.* 22, of which ὡς and ὅς were further corruptions.

unto him.] More probably **unto them.**

may nothing be.] Rather, **has nothing been.**

of any counsellor.] "Ad conservandam eam molem" (Grotius).

22. *Oh how desirable are all his works!*] מה נאוו.

and that a man may see even to a spark.] Both text and interpretation are uncertain. The reading rendered by the A. V. is that of C. S. and a few other MSS. The other reading, ὡς, gives practically no meaning. Baduellus explains the former as signifying that there is nothing, however small, not even a spark, which does not give evidence of the beauty of creation; since, adds Grotius, a spark produces light and heat, both of them "ad vitam et artes necessariae." Drusius suggests as an alternative, "yet all a man can see therefore is up to a spark," *i.e.* human knowledge of creation does not extend beyond a minimum. We can scarcely believe that

B. C. cir. 200.

23 All these things live and remain for ever for all uses, and they are all obedient.

f ch. 33. 15.

24 f All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect.

25 One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?

B. C. cir. 200.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1 *The works of God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, are exceeding glorious and wonderful.* 29 *Yet God himself in his power and wisdom is above all.*

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the original was rightly translated. A hint, however, of the true text is probably preserved in the alternative reading ὡς, introducing an exclamatory clause, parallel to the first; ומה נצצים לראות, "and how sparkling (or "brilliant," Ezek. i. 7) are they to look upon." "Sparks" was a false punctuation of the second word; σπινθῆρες of MS. 106 is probably the true reading in the Greek.

23. Cp. xxxix. 17.

24. = xxxiii. 15.

imperfect.] Rather, **failing**. Heb. בטל (cp. Syr.), *otiosus*, in Rabbinic usage frequently in the sense of "idle," "void;" cp. Lat. *vacuus*.

25. *One thing establisheth the good of another.*] Syr. "this with this in pairs."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Before giving an outline of this chapter, we have to remark that we can only do so in regard to its present Greek form. In the Syr. the text ceases with *v.* 12 (indeed, the two previous verses also are wanting or defective). We will not offer any conjecture as to the reason of this remarkable omission. But we have no hesitation in expressing our belief that the present Greek text does *not* faithfully represent the Hebrew original, but has been modified in a Hellenistic sense by the younger Siracide. As a special instance of this we refer to the purely Hellenistic sentiment in *v.* 27 *b*, which is certainly a spurious addition.

In the Greek text the chapter continues the previous argument, and that in a manner and language which almost reaches the sublime. The theme is Creation: heaven, earth, and sea, as shewing forth the glory of their Maker. This, in five stanzas, to which a sixth is added in praise of the great Creator. Each of the first five stanzas refers to some department of God's works, and closes with a kind of eulogy (in stanza i. *v.* 5; in stanza ii. *v.* 10; in stanza iii. *v.* 12 *b*; in stanzas iv. and v., which are conjoined, *v.* 26). The last stanza (vi.) forms a great eulogy. In general we mark in the first five stanzas two divisions: things in heaven—the first three stanzas; and things on earth—stanzas iv. and v. A symbolism seems to attach to the number of the verses in each part. The first part consists of 5 + 5 + 2 verses—in all twelve (the symbolical number of Israel), and describes things in heaven. The second part consists of fourteen verses—ten (the number of the world) for earthly phenomena, and four verses for those in the sea, while the grand concluding eulogy (in stanza vi.) consists of seven verses, which is the covenant-number.

The first stanza, with its concluding eulogy, treats of the sun (*vv.* 1–5). The second stanza, with its eulogy (*vv.* 6–10), is devoted to moon and stars. Here we may note some remarkable Rabbinic parallels as set forth in Ber. R. (the Midrash on Gen.), par. vi. We mark especially the designation of the moon as "an indication of times"—the Jews calculating the year by the moon—and "the sign of feasts," the festal calendar being arranged according to the moon. Further, if, as we believe, the concluding words of *v.* 6 (σημεῖον αἰῶνος) should be translated "an everlasting sign" (*not* "sign of the world"), we have here another Rabbinic parallel, since calculation by the moon was regarded as a distinctive sign of and for Israel, whereas the sun served as the distinctive sign for the Gentile nations who calculated by it. Manifold and very curious is the application made of this notion in the Haggadah. Thus the obscurations of sun or moon were supposed to have each a special significance. Similarly, as the sun is in the sky only by day, but the moon by night and day, so the Gentiles had only part in this world, but Israel in this and the next; and again, as when the light of the sun sets that of the moon grows and spreads, so would it be in regard to the night of the Gentiles and the light of Israel. In fact, the constant renewal of the moon was an emblem of the constant renovation of Israel. Lastly, as regards the allusion in *v.* 8 to the attending "camps" of the stars (see note on that verse), we recall the Rabbinic legend, that because the moon had humbled herself to rule only by night God had appointed the stars to attend and accompany her, both when she rose and when she went down.

The third is a brief stanza about the rainbow (*vv.* 11, 12), and serves as transition from objects in heaven to phenomena affecting earth, which are referred to in stanza iv. (*vv.* 13–22), while the fifth and closely-allied stanza (*vv.* 23–26) is devoted to those pre-

B. C. cir. 200.

THE pride of the height, the clear firmament, the beauty of heaven, with his glorious shew;

2 The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising a marvellous ‖ instrument, the work of the most High:

‖ Or, *vessel.*

3 At noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof?

4 A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the sun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes.

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Great is the Lord that made it; and at his commandment ‖ it runneth hastily.

‖ Or, *he stayeth his course.*

6 [a] He made the moon also to serve in her season for a declaration of times, and a sign of the world.

[a] Gen. 1. 14, 16. Ps. 104. 19.

7 [b] From the moon is the sign of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection.

[b] Exod. 12. 2.

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sented by the sea. The concluding (sixth) stanza (*vv.* 27–33) is, as already stated, a grand eulogy. As concluding the *Chokhmah* utterances, it appropriately closes with a reference to it (*v.* 33 *b*).

1. It would be difficult to improve on the Authorized Version here.

The pride of the height.] The three members of this verse are apparently to be regarded as co-ordinate, the whole sentence being either exclamatory, or explanatory of the "glory" of xlii. 25 *b*. Grotius and Fritzsche, however, make "the pride of the height" predicate and the rest of the verse subject. The Copt. renders: "the boast of the height of the purity of the firmament."

2. *The sun when it appeareth, declaring at his rising.*] Some object is wanted for "declaring," which Fritzsche re-translates מספר. Grotius read ἐν ἐνδόξῳ for ἐν ἐξόδῳ, with Co., interpreting this, "telleth of the glorious one;" the Aeth. seems to have had some similar reading, which cannot be right. Perhaps the original for מספר had some derivative of שפר, meaning either "beautiful" or "shining," Arab. سفر and اسفر (used especially of the dawn to translate נגה by Jewish-Arabic commentators).

a marvellous instrument.] "A masterpiece."

3. *At noon.*] Lit. **at the noon thereof**, *i.e.* caused by it.

The second clause is from Ps. xix. 7.

4. *A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat.*] "Is" should be omitted. The sentence will then mean: **A man blowing a furnace in works of heat** [produces great heat]. But this sense is not satisfactory, for it is much more natural to compare the sun with the furnace than with the man who blows it. Syr. "more than the furnace which blows in the work of the smith;" and this, there is reason to believe, represents the original, except that "blows" should rather have been rendered "which is blown," "fanned" (מְנֻפָּח); and "the work of the smith" perhaps by "in the workshop (*officina*) of the smith." Καύματος for χαλκέως is probably due to καύματος in *v.* 3. Grotius wished to read ἐνεργὸς καύματος, "produces heat," which the Aeth. apparently translates.

breathing out fiery vapours.] Heb. perhaps יפיח, for which the Syr. would appear to have read פיחו, "his ashes."

5. *and at his commandment it runneth hastily.*] The other reading, "it stoppeth" (a few Greek MSS. and S. H.), is merely a transcriber's error.

6. *He made the moon also to serve in her season.*] The reading here translated is found only in 248, Co. The other MSS. read "and the moon in all things for her season," in which "in all things" has no obvious meaning. Syr.: "the moon, too, standeth for a time." From this it seems clear that Grabe rightly emended ἐν στάσει for ἐν πᾶσι, "the moon is at her station at her season," viz. at night (Grotius).

for a declaration of times.] The calendars of the ancient nations were lunar; compare the Greek phrase κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας. But the special reference here is to the Jewish calculation of time (see introd.).

and a sign of the world.] Compare xlii. 18. Rather, **an everlasting sign.** So also the Syr., S. H., Copt., Gutmann. This is the natural interpretation of the words. Fritzsche's explanation, "a sign of the future, whence the future may be known," cannot be adopted.

7. *the sign of feasts.*] *E.g.* the Passover.

a light that decreaseth in her perfection.] *I.e.* "after the full moon" (Fritzsche). The expression reminds us of Job xxvi. 10, עד תכלית אור עם חשך. We should expect a different phenomenon from that men-

B. C. cir. 200.

8 The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven;

9 The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord.

10 At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches.

[c] Gen. 9. 13.

11 [c] Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it; very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof.

B. C. cir. 200.

12 It compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the [d] hands of the most High have bended it.

[d] Isai. 40. 12, &c.

13 By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall apace, and sendeth swiftly the lightnings of his judgment.

[e] Deut. 28. 12. Job 38. 22. Ps. 135. 7. Jer. 10. 13. & 51. 16.

14 Through this [e] the treasures are opened: and clouds fly forth as fowls.

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tioned in 8 *b* to be described here; and indeed the particular phenomenon which gave the sign of the feast, viz. the moon being *full*. If this was represented by the Aramaic גמר, both the Greek and Syriac renderings could be easily accounted for.

8. *The month is called after her name, increasing wonderfully in her changing.*] The first clause should be in brackets, since the second clearly refers to the moon, not to the month. The verse is thought to have referred to the Hebrew יָרֵחַ and יָרַח; the latter being the older and more poetical word for the "month," whereas חֹדֶשׁ was the ordinary word. The Greek *μὴν* and *μήνη* are comparable; Drusius observes that the same remark holds good of the Flemish and English words. It does not, however, apply to the Aramaic and Syriac languages; whence the verse has been used to prove that the Siracide wrote in Hebrew. [Nevertheless the above interpretation is not free from difficulty. The original of the verse, as the consensus of Gr. with Syr. shews, must have been either ירח הוא בשמו or חדש הוא בשמו, either of which would be an unnatural way of expressing the sentiment in the text; meaning properly "the month" or "the moon is like its name," in some particular to be further explained. If the original contained the latter of the two words suggested, it should probably have been pointed חִדֵּשׁ, "He (or, as we say, she) is *new*, as his name (new moon, חֹדֶשׁ) implies." The last clause of the former verse will then have referred to the full moon, and this to the new moon, while the next clause of this verse refers to its divers phases.]

an instrument of the armies above.] Rather, **of the camps**. Fritzsche accepts the interpretation of Grotius, "a beacon," *i.e.* a general signal in accordance with which the armies direct their movements. Comp. here also the Jewish legend, referred to in the introd.

A full stop should be placed at the end of this verse. The next refers to the stars.

9. *in the highest places of the Lord.*] Some MSS. and Versions have: "in the highest places Lord."

10. *they will stand.*] Rather, **they stand.**

in their order.] Heb. כמשפטם, *rite.*

and never faint in their watches.] Better Greek would have been *καταλύσωσι τὰς φυλακάς*. Syr. "and change not in their courses." This makes it probable that the original was יעלפו (Isa. li. 20; misread by the Syr. יחלפו), with which the "courses" (מרוצתיהם; perhaps misread מצוודתיהם) agree better than the "watches" of the Greek translator. The "courses" of the constellations are familiar.

The rest of this chapter is wanting in the Syriac Version.

11. *in the brightness thereof.*] Cp. Ezek. i. 28.

12. *have bended it.*] Perhaps **have stretched it**, the metaphor having changed.

13. *By his commandment he maketh the snow to fall apace.*] The sentence is inelegant if the subject be God (Grotius), but we cannot well supply "the sky" with Drusius. The Aeth. would seem to have read *χιών*, "the snow pours down;" Fritzsche's suggestion that the verbs were used intransitively in the original is, however, simpler. The mention of snow itself in this place is rather surprising.

the lightnings of his judgment.] Cp. Ps. xviii. 15, &c.

14. *Through this.*] Perhaps על כן, "for this purpose."

treasures.] The storehouses in which the biblical poets figuratively represent hail, snow, &c., as piled up; see especially Job xxxviii. 22.

fly forth as fowls.] Compare the phrase of Aeschylus, λευκόπτεροι νιφάδες.

B. C. cir. 200.

15 By his great power he maketh the clouds firm, and the hailstones are broken small.

16 At his sight the mountains are shaken, and at his will the south wind bloweth.

17 The noise of the thunder maketh the earth ‖ to tremble: so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind: as birds flying he scattereth the snow, and the falling down thereof is as the lighting of grasshoppers:

‖ Or, *to groan as a woman in her travail.*

18 The eye marvelleth at the beauty of the whiteness thereof, and the heart is astonished at the raining of it.

19 The hoarfrost also as salt he poureth on the earth, and being congealed, ‖ it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.

B. C. cir. 200.

‖ Or, *it is as the point of sharp stakes.*

20 When the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breastplate.

21 It devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.

22 A present remedy of all is a mist *coming speedily:* a dew coming ‖ after heat refresheth.

‖ Or, *upon the heat.*

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15. On the one hand, the light and elastic particles of cloud are combined into heavy masses; and, on the other, solid blocks of ice are splintered into hailstones.

16, 17. These verses have become disarranged in most of the MSS.; the original order—17 *a*, 16 *a*, 16 *b*, 17 *b*—must be restored from MSS. 23, &c., S. H., and Copt. Accordingly we arrange them as follows:—

17 *a. The noise of the thunder maketh the earth to tremble.*] See margin.

16 *a. at his sight the mountains are shaken.*] Cp. Ps. l. 2, &c. If the original was הופיעו, it may have signified "at its flashing" (*i.e.* the lightning): cp. Job xxxvii. 15.

16 *b. and at his will the south wind bloweth.*] תֵּימָן, Ps. lxxviii. 26.

17 *b*, &c. *so doth the northern storm and the whirlwind.*] Perhaps the original order was גם צפון סופה וסערה, "so too the north wind, storm and whirlwind." The variation of expression in the text is an ornament of Greek rather than of Semitic poetry.

as birds flying.] Rather, **"alighting;"** *deponens ad sedendum*, Lat.

he scattereth.] Heb. זֹרֵק, perhaps here used intransitively, as in Hos. vii. 9. This will accord better with the simile.

lighting of grasshoppers.] More probably, **"of locusts,"** as the ancient versions render it. For "lighting" we should perhaps substitute **"encamping;"** Heb. נח (Ex. x. 14). The point of comparison lies in their "covering the eye of the whole earth" (Ex. x. 5). The simile is a familiar one in Scripture.

18. *at the raining of it.*] "Solent enim viatoribus visum adimere" (Grotius). This is not more probable than Fritzsche's rendering, "at the moisture of it." Raining and snowing are often confused by the ancients (see Tafel on Pindar, 'Olymp.' p. 403), but here some quality of the snow which occasions fear is required. Perhaps the other sense of the word נשמו, "its body," *i.e.* nature (in Aramaic), was intended.

19. *it lieth on the top of sharp stakes.*] The marginal rendering must here be substituted. Aeth. "it splits like sharp crystal." For "stakes" we should also substitute **thorns.**

20. Comp. Prov. xxvii. 16, LXX. (Fritzsche).

upon every gathering together.] מִקְוֵה, Isaiah xxii. 11; the torrents would not freeze.

and clotheth the water.] Lit. **and the water puts on as it were a breastplate.** A jingle may have been intended between שריון and שרה if the latter (Aramaic) verb was used for "resteth." Θώραξ and *lorica* are frequently used of any "coating;" *loricatio* in Vitruvius is the plastering of a wall.

21. *It devoureth the mountains.*] "Auferendo virorem" (Grotius).

22. *A present remedy of all is a mist coming speedily.*] "Present" and "coming speedily" represent the same word. If the Hebrew was מרפא הכל מהרה, it should probably have been rendered "a mist quickly healeth all."

a dew coming after heat refresheth.] If the Greek be here correct, it is clear that a verse or clause must have been lost in which the heat was mentioned. This is practically the view of Gutmann and Fritzsche, who refer *v.* 21 to the effects of the hot wind. The language there used agrees well with the effects of the קדים or *καύσων*, elsewhere described; see Gen. xvi. 6 ("burnt by the east wind"), Ezek. xvii. 10, &c. Nevertheless, the phrase *ἀπαντῶσα ἀπὸ καύσωνος*, פגע מקדם, must almost necessarily have meant "coming from the east:" "dew" then means "rain,"

B. C. cir. 200.

23 By his counsel he appeaseth the deep, and planteth islands therein.

24 [f] They that sail on the sea tell of the danger thereof; and when we hear it with our ears, we marvel thereat.

25 [g] For therein be strange and wondrous works, variety of all kinds of beasts and whales created.

26 By him the end of them hath prosperous success, and [h] by his word all things consist.

27 We may speak much, and [i] yet come short: wherefore in sum, he is all.

28 How shall we be able to magnify him? for he is great above all his works.

29 [k] The Lord is terrible and very great, and marvellous in his power.

30 When ye glorify the Lord, exalt him as much as ye can; for even yet will he far exceed: and when ye exalt him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.

31 [l] Who hath seen him, that he might tell us? and who can magnify him as he is?

[f] Ps. 107. 23, 24.
[g] Ps. 104. 25, 26.
[h] Col. 1. 17.
[i] ch. 42. 27.
[k] Ps. 96. 4. & 147. 5.
[l] Ps. 106. 2. John 1. 18. & 5. 37. & 6. 46.

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and the description is continuous from *v.* 20. "Refresheth" should rather have been: **which refresheth**. The ancients believed that snow must be followed by rain within a definite period: see Herod. ii. 22; Aristoph. 'Vespae,' 260.

23. *he appeaseth the deep.*] "The deep subsideth," according to a few MSS.

and planteth islands therein.] This would seem to refer to the sudden emerging of islands, due to submarine motions; of which it is surprising that our author should have known. Grotius would have altered the text, so as to make it mean "et si qua est in mari insula, plantas profert;" plainly not a fortunate suggestion. The word צִיִּים is rendered "islands" by the Pesh. in Ps. lxxii. 9, and a similar rendering is given the word צירים by the LXX. of Isa. xlv. 16. The former word we believe to have been used in this place: "**and he planteth her with ships.**" This, both on account of the next verses and because the appearance of ships rather than that of islands on the sea is the natural consequence of a calm. The word *νήσους*, "islands," is here preserved only by some "interpolated" MSS., and the Lat. and S. H. versions. All the old MSS., with the Aeth. and Copt., shew the corruption 'Ιησοῦς, "and Jesus planted her."

24. Cp. Ps. cvii.

the danger thereof.] It is not clear what the original can have been: "terror" was perhaps meant.

25. *whales created.*] The words must rather have meant "the [marvellous] creatures, whales." Compare the ordinary Greek idiom *χρῆμα θηρίον*, &c.

26. *By him the end of them hath prosperous success.*] The best authorities here have: **through him prosperity is the end thereof.** The interpretation of the clause will vary according as it is supposed to refer to the immediately preceding verses, or to those which follow (see the introd.). The former was the view of the Latin translator, *confirmatus est itineris finis* (reading *ὁδοῦ* for *αὐτοῦ*?); the latter, however, is more probable, if we compare the second clause. We would suggest that the clauses should be inverted, and that in the first *εὐοδοῖ* should be read for *εὐοδία*, with MS. 248: "By his word all things consist; and by it he maketh the extremity of them (= the totality, קצות) to prosper."

27. *and yet come short.*] Rather, **and we shall never attain thereto,** לא נשיג.

wherefore in sum, he is all.] Rather, **and the sum of the matter is: He is all.** This clause is evidently a spurious Hellenistic addition by the younger Siracide (see the introd.).

28. *How shall we be able to magnify him?*] Lit. **In glorifying him how shall we succeed?**

he is great.] Lit. **the one who is great.** The original, however, הגדל מכל מעשיו, would probably mean "the greatest of all his works" (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 313).

29. From Ps. xcvi. 4.

30. *When ye glorify.*] Rather, **Glorifying.**

exalt him as much as ye can.] It is probable that "him" was not the object of this clause, but "your powers" (מאדכם?) or "your voices."

be not weary; for ye can never go far enough.] Apparently a play on the words אל תיגעו כי לא תגיעו.

31. *Who hath seen him.*] The passage from St. John cited in the margin is in a very different context, and this question is here

B. C. cir. 200.

32 There are yet hid greater things than these be, for we have seen but a few of his works.

33 For the Lord hath made all things; and to the godly hath he given wisdom.

CHAPTER XLIV.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *The praise of certain holy men: 16 of Enoch, 17 Noah, 19 Abraham, 22 Isaac, 23 and Jacob.*

LET us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. The praise of the fathers.

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unnatural, if not improper. Probably the original was מי ראה, "who hath seen," viz. the whole of his work.

32. Cp. xvi. 21.

33. *wisdom.*] *I.e.* only the few are privileged to obtain any insight into these things.

CHAPTER XLIV.

From praise of the Creator the writer proceeds to that of the most prominent and distinguished of His people. Yet here also the object is not merely, nor mainly, praise of the heroes of Jewish history, but rather praise of God in them and for them. The chapter naturally arranges itself in four stanzas. In the first (*vv.* 1–7) the writer indicates that his main object is to praise the God who had bestowed manifold and divers gifts upon men for the good of His people. The description of these varied gifts and administrations is here general, the object being to shew that they all came from God and all served for the public good. In the second stanza (*vv.* 8–15) he proceeds to shew that there was another class, by whom also God was praised and whom He had raised up, although they had not occupied public or prominent positions, and their name and fame had not been preserved. Yet they also had their reward and their memorial. The latter consisted in their own happiness and peace unto death, and after it in the children and the good name which they left behind them. Once more we notice here a melancholy absence of all idea of another life (see especially *v.* 14). The stanza might be thus summed up: Not all can be famous, but all may be good; and, if so, they will be useful, happy, enduring, and of blessed memory: useful in life and after death.

The third stanza (*vv.* 16–18) begins the praise of individuals by name. In the Greek text this embraces Enoch and Noah. But it deserves special notice that the verse about Enoch (*v.* 16) is omitted in the Syr. Version, which in this is followed by the Arabic. On examining the Greek text, we find that it bears traces of Jewish tradition. On comparing LXX. Gen. v. 24 with Ecclus. xlv. 16*a*, we observe that while in the main the words of the LXX. are retained, there are also notable alterations. The LXX. has [we italicise the words used in common in the LXX. and in Ecclus.]: "And Enoch *pleased* God [the Lord] *well, and* he was not found because [*these words are omitted in Ecclus.*] God *translated* him"—where Ecclus. has: "and he was translated." These alterations and omissions are very important, as they seem to avoid the biblical doctrine of Enoch's translation (to heaven) by God (Ecclus. omits "he was not found because," as well as the notice that *God* translated him). [We mark that Heb. xi. 5 reproduces the LXX.: see Delitzsch *ad loc.*] Nor is this modified by Ecclus. xlix. 14 (where the Alex. however reads, not ἀνελήφθη, as the Vat., but μετετέθη as in xliv. 16). Now it is quite true that the Rabbis, chiefly in connexion with the Christian controversy, not only controverted the ascension to heaven of Moses and Elijah (Sukk. 5 *a*), but that the Midrash (Ber. R. 25) maintains that Elijah had died [this expressly, and also implicitly by interpreting the לקח of Gen. v. 24 by the use of the same word in Ezek. xxiv. 16]. The Targum Onkelos boldly puts: "because God made him to die" [so the correct text, ed. Berliner]. At a later period the Targum Pseudo-Jon., however, not only taught Enoch's ascension to heaven, but represents him there as Metatron, the highest of Angels, while, on the other hand, the so-called Jer. Targ. again omits all this. This latter may be regarded as the Palestinian current of opinion. Perhaps little intrinsic value attaches to the allegorisms of Philo, who makes the translation of Enoch the symbol of a change from a worse and blameable to a better mode of life ('de Abrah.' § 3), or from the domination of the body to the rule of the soul, and at the same time also the forsaking of the many for the solitude of meditation ('de Praem. et Poen.' § 3—as regards solitude and meditation, 'de mutat. nom.' § 4).

It results that Philo (like the majority of the Rabbis) not only ignored (if not expressly denied) the ascension of Enoch, but that, like Ecclus. xliv. 16 *b*, he represented him as "an example of repentance"—as one who had changed from a worse to a better state. But this also accords with Rabbinic tradition. According to Ber. R. 25, he had been reckoned among sinners; was by turns wicked and pious; and God had said that if he continued in his piety, He would take him out of the world. Whatever, therefore, may be said about the ascension of Enoch (on which

B. C. cir. 200.

2 The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

3 Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

4 Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions:

B. C. cir. 200.

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opinions varied at different times), Philo's idea about Enoch's repentance seems grounded on Jewish tradition. [It need scarcely be said that, with his peculiar views, Philo could not have believed in any real ascension of Enoch, any more than the Son of Sirach, who studiously ignores another life.] So far then from Ecclus. xlv. 16 being a spurious verse (as Fränkel supposes, 'Einfl. d. Palästin. Exeg.' p. 44, note *e*), it accords alike with Palestinian and Alexandrian notions, and there is not any reason why the older Siracide should not have written, and the younger Siracide translated, this verse—but quite the opposite. For its omission in the Syr. translation, we account on the ground that the verse would appear to the Christian translator inconsistent with Old but especially with New Testament teaching, and that it might deprive Christians of a powerful argument for the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. That it was used by Christians in that sense, is expressly stated in the Jewish Midrash. [We cannot help suspecting that similar motives prompted what seems to us the more emphatic wording of *v.* 21 *b* in the Syr.] Lastly, we notice with pleasure in the reference to Noah the absence of the later repulsive Rabbinic legends.

The fourth stanza in ch. xliv. (*vv.* 19–23) treats of the Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Here also we mark the absence of later Rabbinic legends. Again, it is instructive—or at least should be so—that, contrary to the confident assertions of a certain school of modern critics, Gen. xxii. 18 was understood by the younger Siracide (who presumably knew Hebrew) as by the LXX. to mean: "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"—*and not* "with thy seed shall they bless themselves." Indeed, not improbably the younger Siracide here quoted from the LXX.

1. *that begat us.*] Rather, **in their generation**; in chronological order.

2. *The Lord hath wrought great glory by them.*] The last two words are not found in the best MSS. From the Syriac we learn that the original had נתן להם, which the Syr. pointed נְתַן, "let us give," the Greek [אֵ]לֹהִים נָתַן; but which should have been pointed נִתַּן, "was given."

through his great power from the beginning.] "His great power" in the Greek is dependent upon "hath wrought;" giving in this context no very satisfactory meaning. The Syr. has: "because all their greatness was above the generations of the world." From this it would appear that the original was גָּדְלוּ מִדֹּרוֹת עֹלָם, "they were greater than the generations of the world;" *i.e.* they were eminent, conspicuous among them. The first word was misread גָּדְלוֹ from גֹּדֶל by both; the Syriac, "*all* [their greatness]," is an acknowledgment that the pronominal affix was in the singular.

3. First class of men of eminence.

Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms.] It is a little remarkable that the complement in all the other clauses in *vv.* 3, 4, is some personal quality of the individuals praised. Moreover the plural "kingdoms" is improper, since reference is made only to the kings of the united people, and then to those of Judah. The clause is omitted in the Syriac. Perhaps the author intended "by their counsels," using מלך in the Aramaic sense.

giving counsel by their understanding.] From the variations in the MSS., the original would appear to have had the imperfect.

and declaring prophecies.] Lit. **and having declared by prophecies.** The original had probably the perfect הֵגִידוּ (cf. Syr.), and meant "they gave information by their prophetic power." The Syr. renders: "they declared signs by their prophetic power." "Signs" reads like a mistranslation of אֹתִיוֹת, "coming events."

4. Second class: leaders and teachers.

Leaders of the people by their counsels.] Aeth. "kings of the earth in their expeditions."

and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people.] The Greek is here difficult and certainly corrupt. For γραμματείας we should emend γραμματεῖς, from the Aethiopic and Coptic versions; and so Fritzsche suggested. The same is apparently supported by the Syr. The original of this was either שטרי or שפטי, "judges of the people by their prudence." A possible version of the uncorrected text is that of Grotius, "and with wisdom [= possessed of wisdom] meet for the scribes of the people."

B. C. cir. 200.

5 Such as found out musical tunes, and recited ‖ verses in writing:

‖ Or, *ditties.*

6 Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:

7 All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

8 There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

[a] Gen. 7. 22.

9 And some there be, which have no memorial; [a] who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.

B. C. cir. 200.

10 But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hâth not been forgotten.

11 With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

12 Their seed standeth fast, and their children ‖ for their sakes.

‖ Or, *after them.*

wise and eloquent in their instructions.] Lit. **in whose instruction were wise words.**

5. Third class: poets and composers.

found out musical tunes.] The word signifies perhaps no more than "producing" or "performing." The Syriac suggests that it was the inventors of the instruments to whom allusion was made.

and recited verses.] The difficult combination "recited in writing" seems to have led the Syrian to transfer "in writing" to the next clause. "Verses" apparently represents משלים; for "recited" the comparison of Greek and Syriac suggests that the original was אמרי. Fritzsche regards this as an allusion to the books of Job and Canticles.

6. *furnished with ability.*] Heb. perhaps סמוכי חיל (cp. Gen. xxvii. 37, דגן ותירש סמכתיו), "well supplied with goods." The reference might be to the Patriarchs (Bretschneider); more probably it is to the wealthy landowners, the Naboths and Araunahs, to whom incidental allusion is made.

in their habitations.] Compare Dan. iv. 1.

7. *and were the glory of their times.*] We have reason for believing (cp. Syr.) that the original of the first clause would have been translated literally, "all these — there was honour to them." The translator being unable to paraphrase the second clause as he had paraphrased the first, left it, somewhat carelessly, unaltered. He should have rendered it, "and had boasting (*i.e.* magnificence) in their days."

8, 9. Second stanza. Yet not all of these became celebrated in after-times, nor had they even their memorial preserved.

8. *that their praises might be reported.*] Lit. **that** [men] **might recount** [their] **praises.**

10. The difference is due to the use made by them severally of their privileges; the latter *sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

whose righteousness.] Lit. **righteousnesses**; *i.e.* righteous acts (Isa. lxiv. 5).

hath not been forgotten.] Grotius (wrongly), "apud Deum scilicet."

11–13. *With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, &c.*] There is some confusion in these verses, which with the help of the Syriac may be partly corrected. (*a.*) Syr. "With their seed remaineth their fortune." We follow Fritzsche in believing that "good" was a substantive in the original; this may have been טובה or טובם. (*b.*) The Syr. continues: "their root is to their children's children." He read therefore שרשם where the Greek read (perhaps) ירשה. If we combine these readings into ירשם, *i.e.* יִרְשׁוּם, "these will inherit them," ἔκγονα αὐτῶν will be intelligible: "and their children shall inherit them" (or "have inherited them"). (*c.*) The Syr. proceeds: "In their covenant remaineth their seed." This can be obtained from the Greek by shifting a stop. The covenant which God made with their fathers is extended by Him to the sons; and the covenant is called *theirs*, just as the "covenant of Abraham," &c. is spoken of. (*d.*) Gr. 12 *b*: "And their children **through them**;" Syr. "and their children's children in good works." It is easy here to detect two readings—בַּעֲבָרָם, "on their account," and בְּעֲבָדִם, "in works;" and we cannot hesitate to prefer the former. It is possible that in (*c.*) "by their covenant" would have been a better rendering. (*e*) *v.* 13: "Their seed shall remain for ever." Here we accept the emendation of the Syr. "their remembrance," זכרם for זרעם. We have heard enough in the previous clause of the advantages enjoyed by their descendants.

The Syriac omits *vv.* 15 *b*, 16; the omission of this mention of Enoch is not a little remarkable, for it is the first time that he appears in the character of *prophet.* See the introduction.

B. C. cir. 200.

13 Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

14 Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

[b] ch. 39. 10.

15 [b] The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will shew forth their praise.

[c] Gen. 5. 24. ch. 49. 14. Hebr. 11. 5.

16 [c] Enoch pleased the Lord, and was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations.

[d] Gen. 6. 9. & 7. 1. Hebr. 11. 7.

17 [d] Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange [for the world;] therefore was he left as a remnant unto the earth, when the flood came.

B. C. cir. 200.

18 An [e] everlasting covenant was made with him, that all flesh should perish no more by the flood.

[e] Gen. 9. 11.

19 Abraham was a [f] great father of many people: in glory was there none like unto him;

[f] Gen. 12. 2, 3. & 15. 5. & 17. 4.

20 Who kept the law of the most High, and was in covenant with him: he established the covenant in [g] his flesh; and when he was [h] proved, he was found faithful.

[g] Gen. 17. 10, 11. & 21. 4. [h] Gen. 22. 1.

21 Therefore he assured him by an [i] oath, that he would bless the nations in his seed, and that he would

[i] Gen. 22. 16, 17, 18. Gal. 3. 8.

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16. *being an example of repentance.*] As fully stated in the introduction, Philo takes Enoch's *translation* as symbolic of his change to a better life; cf. Geiger, 'Urschrift,' p. 198. The versions all alter this sentiment (except Aeth.): Lat. *ut det gentibus poenitentiam;* Copt. "an example of wisdom" (διανοίας ?); S. H. "to be an everlasting example" (with MS. 253). On the whole subject comp. the remarks in the introduction.

17. See the references.

he was taken in exchange [for the world].] Lit. **became a substitute**; the Syr. and Aeth. versions gloss as the A. V. He became a substitute in the sense that his preservation served instead of the preservation of the whole world. This is more natural than to render "he became the price of the salvation of the world," with Grotius and Fritzsche; giving a sentiment which is doubly inaccurate. Nevertheless, we shall find occasion at xlvi. 15 for supposing that the word חלף was used by our author in its Arabic sense of "to leave behind." He may have used a derivative here also in the sense of "remnant," as Barhebraeus suggests.

when the flood came.] The Vat. and some other authorities have (corruptly): "on this account the flood came."

18. *everlasting covenant.*] For the phrase comp. Ex. xxxi. 16.

no more.] Lit. **not**.

by the flood.] Rather, **by flood**.

19. *a great father, &c.*] The author would appear to have employed a *schema etymologicum*, אבי רב המון גוים. רב is omitted (perhaps rightly) by Syr. The true etymon is still obscure.

in glory was there none like unto him.] Lit. **not found**. Syr. "there was no stain set on his glory." This seems to point to two separate readings, לא נמצא כמוהו and לא נתן מום. The latter expression occurs more than once in this book, and is likely to have been introduced here by the reminiscence of those other passages.

20. *and was.*] Lit. **became** = entered into (Syr.).

he established the covenant in his flesh.] The subject is probably still Abraham. ברית, as Grotius observes, is a technical term for "circumcision." But the probable occurrence of that word in the preceding clause and the jingle make it not unlikely that the Aramaic קים was here used: והקים קים. "Establish" means here to "ratify," the sign in his flesh being compared to the pillars on which treaties were engraved by the ancients.

and when he was proved.] See Gen. xxii. These "merits" of Abraham are largely insisted on in the Jewish ritual.

21. *he assured him by an oath.*] Rather, **made good to him**; and this is the Hebrew sense of הקים and קַיָּם. This expression might be justified on the ground that the promise of God is so sure as to be identical with its fulfilment. Nevertheless the regular use of the verb קים in Aramaic for "to swear" (see Buxtorf, 'Lex. Rabb.' coll. 1992, 3), together with the Syriac version here, make it probable that the author meant "swore him an oath." Compare *v.* 22.

that he would bless the nations in his seed.] The best authorities have the passive, "that all nations should be blessed." It is well known that many modern critics make the original mean "that all nations should bless themselves by," *i.e.* in their blessings cite the name of Abraham. See Edersheim's 'Prophecy and History,' &c., p. 55.

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multiply him as the dust of the earth, and exalt his seed as the stars, and cause them to inherit from sea to sea, and from the river unto the utmost part of the land.

[k] Gen. 26. 3, 4, 5.

22 [k] With Isaac did he establish likewise [for Abraham his father's sake] the blessing of all men, and the covenant,

23 And made it rest upon the head of [l] Jacob. He acknowledged him in his blessing, and gave him an heritage, and divided his portions; among the twelve tribes did he part them.

B. C. cir. 200.

[l] Gen. 27. 28. & 28. 14.

CHAPTER XLV.

1 *The praise of Moses,* 6 *of Aaron,* 23 *and of Phinees.*

as the dust of the earth.] See Gen. xv. 5; xxii. 17. Syr. and Aeth. "like the sand of the sea," perhaps correcting from the above passages.

exalt his seed as the stars.] The Aeth. substitutes "multiply." The Syr. renders: "that he would set his seed above all nations."

and cause them to inherit, &c.] (Gen. xv. 18; Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24; Josh. i. 4.) *I.e.* from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Euphrates to the Arabian deserts. These boundaries were attained during the most flourishing period of Israel. But the writer seems also to have had in mind Ps. lxxii. 8.

22. *did he establish.*] *I.e.* "swear," קַיֵּם; *v. supra.* There is no reason for the brackets in the A. V.

the blessing of all men and the covenant.] There is some confusion in these verses. The Syr. has: "and the blessing of all them that went before rests upon the head of Israel." The words "and made it rest" of the next verse seem to represent the Heb. יניח. This probably referred to Isaac and meant "he transmitted it." The addition in the Syriac would seem to be an interpretation of the first word of *v.* 23.

23. *And made it rest upon the head.*] The phrase is from Gen. xlix. 26; the author has also in mind Gen. xlviii. 14. As Jacob represents the unity of the people, the blessing is not conveyed to any single individual after him.

He acknowledged him in his blessing.] Syr. "whom he called my first-born Israel." It seems that ברכה and בְּכֹרָה, "birthright," have been confused; nor can we doubt that the Syriac in the main represents the true tradition. Transposition of letters is one of the most familiar sources of corruption in Semitic texts. The fact that the birthright was assigned to Jacob is too characteristic for our author to have passed over. ויכירהו בבכרה, or some similar phrase, corresponding with the legal expression in Deut. xxi. 17, כי את הבכר יכיר, "he must recognise the firstborn as such," was probably employed. The subject is probably Isaac, not God.

and gave him an heritage.] Lit. **in heritage.** Perhaps "he installed him in the heritage." The Aeth. shews a reading, "the inheritance itself;" the Syr., Lat., and one Greek MS., "the inheritance," either of which would be easier.

and divided his portions.] Fritzsche would make this refer to the land.

CHAPTER XLV.

A continuation of the previous chapter. The subjects of praise are Moses (*vv.* 1–5), Aaron (*vv.* 6–22), and Phinehas (*vv.* 23–25). The chapter concludes with a brief address to the high-priest then in office (*v.* 26). In the first stanza (*vv.* 1–5) we mark the (perhaps first) occurrence of what afterwards became a usual mode of expression: "his memory to blessing" (see note). It is not easy to decide whether at any rate *v.* 2 does not contain an allusion to some of the legends connected with the early history of Moses (for a popular summary of them, see B. Beer, 'Leben Moses' [posthumous and incomplete]). In stanza ii. (*vv.* 6–22) we notice a greatly disproportionate length and excessive abundance of detail, the more remarkable from its contrast with the comparative brevity of the encomium upon Moses, the great hero of Rabbinic conception and legend. This led writers in various ages to regard the author of this book as a priest (see General Introduction). To us it rather indicates that he wrote at a period when alike the civil and spiritual power was in the hands of the high-priest (the προστάτης τοῦ λαοῦ). The emphatic reference to the succession in the high-priesthood seems (as explained in the General Introd.) to indicate an allusion to contemporary events. According to Josephus, Simon I.—whom he designates as Simon the Just—was succeeded not by his son Onias (who was still a minor), but by his brother Eleazar, and afterwards by another brother, Manasseh. And it was only after the death of the latter that Onias II. became high-priest, being succeeded by his son, Simon II. (For the various dates see Gen. Introd. § II.) As stated in another place, we regard Ecclus. xlv. 25 as alluding to the long extrusion of

B. C. cir. 200.

AND he brought out of him a merciful man, which found favour in the sight of all flesh, even [a] Moses, beloved of God and men, whose memorial is blessed.

[a] Exod. 11. 3.

2 He made him like to the glorious saints, and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.

3 By his words he caused the wonders to cease, and he made him [b] glorious in the sight of kings, and gave him a commandment for his people, and [c] shewed him part of his glory.

[b] Exod. 7, 8, 9, 10, chapters.

4 [d] He sanctified him *in* his faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

[c] Exod. 34. 6.

[d] Numb. 12. 3.

5 He made him to hear his voice, and [e] brought him into the dark cloud, and [f] gave him commandments before his face, even the law of life and knowledge, that he might

[e] Exod. 24. 18.

[f] Exod. 19. 7. Deut. 6. 1, 2.

Onias from the pontificate, due to intrigues of the actual occupants of the office with the Egyptian suzerains of Palestine. Similarly, we consider *v.* 26 as addressed to Onias II. The political rule of Judæa was in his hands (Jos. 'Ant.' xii. 4, 1), but to none of his successors could such language as in *v.* 26 have been addressed (see the General Introduction). On the bearing of all this upon the question of the date of the original composition of Ecclesiasticus, see the General Introduction. (For a brief summary of the history of that period, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' App. IV., vol. ii. pp. 668–670; and for a detailed account, Herzfeld's 'Gesch. des Volkes Israel.')

1. *And he brought out of him a merciful man.*] Syr., Lat., Copt., and Aeth. connect this with the last verse of the previous chapter, and put the verb in the plural. The phrase "and he brought out" is from Isa. lxv. 9.

whose memorial is blessed.] זכרנו לברכה, an early case of this prayer, invariably attached (usually in the abbreviated form ז"ל) to the names of dead Israelites.

2. *like to the glorious saints.*] Lit. **to the glory of the saints**; "the angels" (Grotius, &c.); "the priests" (Fritzsche).

and magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of him.] Lit. **in the fears of his enemies**: "enemies" appears to be a gloss, by the Syr. rendering "among the timid." The original (בפחדים?) meant "with terror," and is rightly represented by the Greek. This suggests doubts concerning the originality of ἁγίων in clause 1, to which the Syriac has nothing to correspond; while for "he likened" (וידמהו) it has "he raised" (וירממהו). "He raised him high with glory" was perhaps the original verse; the Syriac "with blessings" (for "with glory") seems to be an interpolation from the end of the last sentence.

3. *By his words he caused the wonders to cease.*] Lat. *monstra placavit;* a phrase taken very improperly from the Roman religion. Grotius refers the words to the wonders of the Egyptian magic; Fritzsche to the withdrawal of the plagues. The words are too brief for the former interpretation, while we should expect the performance of the miracles to be mentioned rather than the withdrawal of them. The original was probably הֵנִיחַ, which may mean either "he sent down" or "he caused to cease:" the translator not surprisingly adopted the wrong signification. The clause is omitted in the Syr. Copt. and Aeth., "he performed:" this may be either a liberty, or represent a reading ἐποιήσε, which could have no claim to originality.

he made him glorious in the sight of kings.] Syr. "he made him to stand before the king." "To stand before the king" is a Hebrew phrase meaning "to be the king's minister" (Gesen., 'Thes.,' col. 1039*a* and 1111*b*); not quite an appropriate notion here, which the Greek translator may have intentionally avoided. The author's idea was probably more similar to that of Ps. cxix. 46 or Isa. lii. 15. Yet לִפְנֵי is occasionally used in the sense of *instar*, "like;" "and he established him as a king" would here be very suitable.

and gave him a commandment for his people.] The original, ויפקדהו על עמו (cp. Syr.), probably meant: "he set him over his people."

part of his glory.] Most of the versions obliterate the partitive genitive, which is here highly significant.

4. *He sanctified him.*] הקדישׁ; compare Jer. i. 5. "In" perhaps means "on account of" (Aeth.).

5. *He made him to hear.*] The privilege given him above "all flesh" (Deut. xxxiv. 10). The Syr. puts these words at the end of *v.* 3.

and gave him commandments before his face.] Probably ויתן לפניו, "and set before him." The *personal* conference is sufficiently insisted on in the previous clauses.

of life.] *I.e.* "which if a man do he shall live" (Ezek. xx. 11): compare Prov. vi. 23; *supra*, xvii. 11.

B. C. cir. 200.

teach Jacob his covenants, and Israel his judgments.

[g] Exod. 4. 14.

6 He [g] exalted Aaron, an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi.

[h] Exod. 28. 1, 2, 4.

7 An everlasting covenant he made with him, and [h] gave him the priesthood among the people; [‖] he beautified him with comely ornaments, and clothed him with a robe of glory.

‖ Gr. *he blessed.*

8 He put upon him perfect glory; and strengthened him with [‖] rich garments, with breeches, with a long robe, and the ephod.

‖ Gr. *vessels, or, instruments.*

9 And he compassed him with [i] pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a [k] sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a [l] memorial to the children of his people;

B. C. cir. 200.

[i] Exod. 28. 33.

[k] Exod. 28. 35.

10 With an holy garment, with gold, and blue silk, and purple, the work of the embroiderer, [l] with a breastplate of judgment, and with Urim and Thummim;

[l] Exod. 28. 15, 30.

11 With twisted scarlet, the work of the cunning workman, [m] with pre-

[m] Exod. 28. 17.

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that he might teach, &c.] Cp. Ps. xxv. 14; and especially Ps. ciii. 7.

6. There is one word too much for the rhythm: "he exalted," "holy," "his brother" (cp. Ps. cvi. 16), are omitted by different versions. The last of these, which is omitted by the Syr., may perhaps be an interpolation. "The tribe is mentioned here, being in the case of Aaron of such importance" (Fritzsche).

7. *he made with him.*] See above, xliv. 21. Our author gives Aaron a higher place than the Pentateuch ascribes to him.

and gave him the priesthood among the people.] Syr. "he set him for the truth of his people." This variation is curious, because it suggests that our author made use here of a very decided Arabism, אמת עמו from אמה = Arab. *'immatun*, "priesthood," more familiar in its derivative *Imâm* (used by the Jewish-Arabic commentators in the sense of "high-priest"). The natural punctuation would have been אֱמֶת, "truth;" and indeed the Greek translator must have been following some family tradition about the pronunciation of this word, if our conjecture be correct.

he beautified him with comely ornaments.] The marginal variant should have been "he called him happy." This the Lat. and Aeth. render "he beatified," while the Copt. *beneficio linguae* reproduces the Greek word. That there must be a misreading or mistranslation here seems clear, as is observed by Fritzsche, who supposes that יאשרהו was a corruption for יאזרהו, "he girt him." The Syr. renders: "and gave him." This points, we believe, to an original ישרנו, which might well have signified in the Aramaising dialect of the time יאשרנו, but actually meant וישרנו, "and he gave him," from the verb ישר, used by Isa. lvii. 9 with a similar construction, of which תשורה, "a gift," is a derivative.

clothed him.] Lit. **girt him.** Syr. "he chose him with the sublimity of his glory." We recognise the two meanings of אדרת, "magnificence" and "robe;" if the Syr. "chose" is not corrupt, it probably represents a corruption, יחגר for יבחר. "Magnificence" is more suitable to this verse, since the *garments* are so fully described in what follows.

8. *He put upon him perfect glory.*] Syr. "garments of purple:" apparently the original had only תְּכֵלֶת, "purple," very ignorantly read תַּכְלִית, "perfection," by the Greek translator.

and strengthened him with rich garments.] Lit. **with vessels of strength.** Fritzsche's ingenious suggestion that the Heb. had חָזִיק, meaning "girt," is probably correct, though not confirmed by the Syr. The remainder of the verse seems correctly restored by the same critic, בכלי עז. עז has not unfrequently the meaning "magnificence."

It is not a little remarkable that the following list of garments is omitted by the Syriac translator. It seems natural to attribute this to a wish on the part of a Christian translator or emendator not to enlarge on the glories of the Jewish priesthood. But as we miss in it the rhythm of the rest of the chapter, it may be an interpolation.

9. The A. V., with S. H., seems rightly to connect χρυσοῖς with "the bells." On all these see the various Bibl. Encyclopaedias.

that as he went there might be a sound.] Rather, **to give forth a sound:** ἠχεῖν is transitive.

and a noise made.] Rather, **and to make a noise.**

in the temple.] An apparent (not a real) anachronism.

for a memorial.] Meaning "for a reminder."

10. *breastplate of judgment.*] Lit. **a platform of judgment.** The reason of this translation of the Heb. חשן is obscure.

B. C. cir. 200.

cious stones graven like seals, and set in gold, the work of the jeweller, with a writing engraved for a memorial, after the number of the tribes of Israel.

[n] Exod. 28. 36.

12 [n] He set a crown of gold upon the mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful.

13 Before him there were none such, neither did ever any stranger put them on, but only his children and his children's children perpetually.

[o] Numb. 28. 3, 4.

14 [o] Their sacrifices shall be wholly consumed every day twice continually.

[p] Lev. 8.

15 [p] Moses consecrated him, and anointed him with holy oil: this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed, so long as the heavens should remain, that they should minister unto him, and execute the office of the priesthood, and [q] bless the people in his name.

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[q] Numb. 6. 23, 24.

16 [r] He chose him out of all men living to offer sacrifices to the Lord, incense, and a sweet savour, for a memorial, to make reconciliation for his people.

[r] Numb. 17. 5. 1 Sam. 2. 28.

17 [s] He gave unto him his commandments, and authority in the statutes of judgments, that he should teach Jacob the testimonies, and inform Israel in his laws.

[s] Deut. 17. 10, 11. & 21. 5. & 33. 10. Mal. 2. 7.

18 [t] Strangers conspired together

[t] Numb. 16. 1.

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12. *wherein was engraved Holiness.*] Ex. xxviii. 36 has: "holiness to the Lord," which Fritzsche thinks should be restored here. The last words of the sentence ("the desires of the eyes," &c.) may either refer to the garments as a whole, or to that last mentioned.

13. *any stranger.*] *I.e.* "of another tribe," as S. H. paraphrases it.

14. *Their sacrifices . . . wholly consumed.*] See Ex. xxix. 38, 39. As the chief part of the daily worship in the Temple, our author makes the daily sacrifices include all the others. (Comp. Dan. viii. 11–13; xi. 31; xii. 11.) The substantives from the verb ὁλοκαυτοῦν are common in the LXX.; the verb itself is very rare.

15. *Moses consecrated him.*] Lit. **filled his hand,** מלא ידו, from Ex. xxviii. 41; on the import of this expression, see the Commentaries. The Syr. renders: "placed his hand upon him;" a phrase that is used of the consecration of Joshua (Num. xxvii. 18), but not of Aaron. On the later use of the סמיכה in the designation to the Rabbinic office, see 'Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,' ii. p. 382. We can scarcely fail to see here a trace of the Syrian's Christianity.

anointed him with holy oil.] Ex. xxix. 7. Did our author know of the anointing of Aaron *only?* On this question see Dillmann on Lev. viii. 12.

this was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant.] Rather, **this became for him an everlasting covenant.**

so long as the heavens.] כִּימֵי (Syr., Lat.) was a better reading than בימי (Gr.).

minister unto him.] לשרת לו; the Levites "ministered" to the priests.

and execute the office of the priesthood.] Ex. xxviii. 41, 43, &c. The Syr. omits these words.

and bless the people.] Num. vi. 23. Aaron *and his sons* are commanded to do this.

16. The position of this verse compared with the last clause of 14 is curious; however, accurate order is not a characteristic of our author.

out of all men living.] כל חי, Gen. iii. 20, = every man. In the passage cited the phrase is clearly intended as an idiom.

for a memorial.] *I.e.* "for a burnt offering:" see Lev. xxiv. 7, &c.

for his people.] "Thy people," most MSS. and Copt.; "all Israel," Syr.

17. *He gave unto him his commandments.*] The best MSS. (except S) give "He gave unto him in His commandments;" and this seems to be the original reading, although the Syr. favours the A. V. The author meant that God gave Aaron this authority (הַמִּשְׁפָּט) by committing unto him the *thōrah.*

in the statutes of judgments.] Lit. **in the covenants of judgments:** *v. ad sup.* xxxviii. 43. The Syr. varies here as there.

The last clauses are omitted by the Syr. (See note on *v.* 8.)

inform.] Lit. **to illuminate,** = להאיר, which however is rare and late in this construction. See Ps. cxix. 135.

18. *Strangers conspired together.*] *I.e.* persons belonging to different families. In Num. xvii. 5 איש זר is explained to mean: "not of

B. C. cir. 200.

against him, and maligned him in the wilderness, even the men that were of Dathan's and Abiron's side, and the congregation of Core, with fury and wrath.

19 This the Lord saw, and it displeased him, and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed: he did wonders upon them, to consume them with the fiery flame.

[u] Numb. 17. 8.

20 [u] But he made Aaron more honourable, and gave him an heritage, [x] and divided unto him the firstfruits of the increase; especially he prepared bread in abundance:

[x] Numb. 18. 12, 13.

B. C. cir. 200.

21 For they eat of the sacrifices of the Lord, which he gave unto him and his seed.

[y] 1 Cor. 9. 13.

22 [z] Howbeit in the land of the people he had no inheritance, neither had he any portion among the people: for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.

[z] Numb. 18. 20. Deut. 12. 12. & 18. 1, 2.

23 [a] The third in glory is Phinees the son of Eleazar, because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord, and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back, and made reconciliation for Israel.

[a] Numb. 25. 11, 12, 13. 1 Mac. 2. 54.

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the seed of Aaron." Fritzsche's conjecture that the author wrote זדים, "wicked men" (cp. Num. xvi. 26), is not confirmed by the Syr.

and maligned] = and envied, ויקנאו, of Ps. cvi. 16.

the men that were of Dathan's and Abiron's side.] Heb. אנשי (Gesenius, 'Thes.' p. 85*b*), very happily rendered by this Greek idiom, which does not imply necessarily more than the people themselves.

and the congregation of Core.] Omitted in Ps. *l. c.* and in Deut. xi. 6.

with fury and wrath.] One of these words is sufficient for the rhythm, and only one is offered by Syr. and Lat. Cp. Num. xvi. 13 *sqq.*

19. *and it displeased him.*] Lit. **and he was not pleased.** Syr. "and he waxed wroth." The latter is so much the more natural expression that we might conjecture that the Hebrew was ויחר לו, corrupted in the Greek translator's text to וישר, "and it pleased him;" "not" being the translator's addition.

and in his wrathful indignation were they consumed.] The Syr. transposes this clause and the fourth.

he did wonders.] Perhaps בריאה ברא of Num. xvi. 30, of which the Syr. preserves a trace.

to consume them.] *I.e.* **consuming them** (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 280 *d*).

20. *he made Aaron more honourable.*] Rather, **he gave him yet more glory,** *i.e.* yet more than that described above. The rebellion of Korah did not directly increase his glory, although it publicly manifested and attested his Divine appointment.

and gave him an heritage.] Cp. Num. xviii. 20.

divided unto him.] Rather, **apportioned to them.**

the firstfruits of the increase.] ראשית בכורים, Ex. xxiii. 19; Ezek. xliv. 30,—a phrase of uncertain analysis, on which see Dillmann *ad l. c.* Exod.

especially he prepared bread in abundance.] "Bread" of course means food in general. "He provided" is perhaps for ערך, misread by the Syrian ("order") עֲרָךְ.

21. From Lev. vi. 9.

22. An explanation of what was meant by the inheritance of *v.* 20.

he had.] Rather, **he hath** or "shall have."

for the Lord himself is his portion and inheritance.] Lit. (according to Vat.) **he himself is thy portion, inheritance.** There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this text. The author probably intended a poetical apostrophe, in order, partly, to avoid the ambiguity of the repeated pronoun ("for *He* is *his* portion"); and he further employed a poetical construction (prob. חלקך נחלה), "thy portion as far as inheritance goes," which the translator did not fully understand; cp. Wright, 'Arabic Grammar,' ii. § 44 *e*. The Syrian adds, "and his inheritance is the house of Israel."

23. *The third in glory.*] Syr. "has received treble glory."

because he had zeal in the fear of the Lord.] בקנאו ליהוה (cp. Num. xxv. 13); apparently, however, the translators wished to avoid the juxtaposition of the two words in the original.

and stood up with good courage of heart when the people were turned back.] The Vat. gives "caused to stand;" but "stood" is defended by Syr. and by עמד in Ps. cvi. 30. Τροπὴ represents the Heb. פֶּרֶץ, "breach," which the Syrian renders more faithfully

B. C. cir. 200.

24 Therefore was there a covenant of peace made with him, that he should be the chief of the sanctuary and of his people, and that he and his posterity should have the dignity of the priesthood for ever:

[b] 2 Sam. 7. 12, &c.

25 [b] According to the covenant made with David son of Jesse, of the tribe of Juda, that the inheritance of the king should be to his posterity alone: so the inheritance of Aaron should also be unto his seed.

26 God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.

CHAPTER XLVI.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 The praise of Joshua, 9 of Caleb, 13 of Samuel.

JESUS [a] the son of Nave was valiant in the wars, and was the successor of Moses in prophecies, who according to his name was made great for the saving of the elect of God, and taking vengeance of the enemies that rose up against them, that he might set Israel in their inheritance.

[a] Numb. 27. 18. Deut. 34. 9. Josh. 1. 1 & 12. 7.

2 How great glory gat he, when he did lift up his hands, and stretched out his sword against the cities!

3 Who before him so stood to it? for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.

(here followed by S. H.). It means the plague which overtook the people.

and made reconciliation.] ויפלל in Ps. cvi. 31; the Syr. renders "and prayed."

24. *a covenant of peace.*] Num. xxv. 12: cp. Geiger, 'Urschrift,' p. 76.

that he should be the chief.] Not only in things pertaining to the sanctuary, but also the political chief of his people—with special reference to the circumstances of the time when the Siracide wrote (see the introd.).

of the sanctuary.] Lit. **of the holy things**, *sacra*. Fritzsche, "the holy ones," *i.e.* priests.

dignity of the priesthood] = the high-priesthood. The author would appear to have used an Aramaic derivative from a compound word (*e.g.* גְּדֻלַּת כְּהֻנָּה from כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל).

25. *According to the covenant.*] The Syriac Version has: "even David the son of Jesse inherited alone the inheritance of kings; and the inheritance of Aaron is to him and his sons." The parallel is as follows: just as the royal succession was in the house of David from father to son, so was it appointed that the succession in the high-priestly office should be in the direct line. For the allusion in this to the history of the time and the succession of Onias II., see the introduction.

26. *God give you wisdom.*] Syr. "therefore bless God who has given you wisdom."

and that their glory may endure.] Rather, **and** [give] **their glory**. The original may have been misunderstood in some way.

CHAPTER XLVI.

This chapter treats of Joshua, Caleb, the Judges, and Samuel—in so many stanzas of unequal length. What is said concerning the Judges in *v.* 12 *a* is not inconsistent with the writer's ignoration of another life after death. For (1) the Greek rendering must be corrected by the Syr. (see note on *v.* 12); (2) the statement itself is modified in *v.* 12 *b*; (3) we have a significant expression in regard to Samuel in *v.* 19 *a*. More difficulty in this respect is presented by *v.* 20 *a*. We had best explain the seeming inconsistency by supposing either that the writer understood the prophesying after death in some peculiar manner; or, more probably, that he regarded those in Hades as unconscious indeed—not truly living—but not as absolutely annihilated.

1. *the son of Nave.*] Corrupt for "Nun" (Syr.). The same designation is used in the LXX.

was valiant in the wars.] Heb. גבור חיל (cf. Syr.), "a valiant hero."

the successor of Moses in prophecies.] The author perhaps referred to Joshua the promise of Deut. xviii. 18 (Fritzsche). Syr. "who was reserved (or "observed") to be like Moses," omitting the two following clauses.

according to his name.] *Jēshū'a* and *J'shū'āh* ("salvation").

2. *and stretched out his sword.*] So Alex.; Vat. "to decline." The reference is to Jos. viii. 18, 27, where Joshua stretches out his spear at the siege of Ai.

3. *so stood to it.*] The sentiment required seems rather what the Syriac has, "who was able to stand before him." Perhaps the word rendered "so" may have been intended to mean "then."

for the Lord himself brought his enemies unto him.] This seems no adequate reason for the statement in the previous clause. The best

B. C. cir. 200.

4 [b] Did not the sun go back by his means? and was not one day as long as two?

[b] Josh. 10. 12, 13, 14.

5 He called upon the most high Lord, when the enemies pressed upon him on every side; and the great Lord heard him.

[c] Josh. 10. 11.

6 [c] And with hailstones of mighty power he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations, and in the descent [of Beth-horon] he destroyed them that resisted, that the nations might know all their strength, because he fought in the sight of the Lord, and he followed the Mighty One.

B. C. cir. 200.

7 [d] In the time of Moses also he did a work of mercy, he and Caleb the son of Jephunne, in that they withstood the congregation, and with-

[d] Numb. 14. 6. 1 Mac. 2. 55, 56.

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interpretation is that of Fritzsche, who would make the words signify "the Lord brought them on," delivering state after state into the hands of the invader. We suppose that there is here a mistranslation. The Syriac renders: "for he did the wars of the Lord" (*i.e.* fought the battles of the Lord). This suggests an original כי את קרב יי׳ הוא קרב. The Greek (whether "wars," πολέμους, or "enemies," πολεμίους, be the right reading) missed the construction of the sentence; and, besides, failed to observe that the second קרב, "he fought," was a denominative from the first קרב, "war," and accordingly rendered it "brought near." It is not impossible that the sentence should have been introduced with "when" rather than "for." Compare, however, Jos. x. 18.

4. *go back.*] The author should have said "stand still." As, however, the Syr. represents this, the passage may have been interpolated from *infra*, xlviii. 23. The true reading is perhaps represented by MS. 155, ἐνεποδίσθη, "was hindered," followed by the Lat. It is in any case strange that he did not adopt the characteristic word quoted from the Book of Jashar.

by his means.] Lit. **in his hand** = through his instrumentality.

5. *when the enemies pressed upon him on every side.*] "When he pressed the enemies" would (in this Greek) be also a possible version. The scene referred to is apparently that of Josh. x. 8, but does not correspond accurately with the description here. The Syriac Version, "and he answered him and put power in his hand," represents perhaps the correction of someone to whom the same difficulty occurred.

heard him.] Rather, **answered them** (Vat.).

6. *And with hailstones.*] The Greek text omits "and," and connects the words "with hailstones" with the previous clause: "and answered them" (except perhaps A, S; see Nestle, 'Append.' p. 128). The hailstones were the answer.

he made the battle to fall violently upon the nations.] The Greek text must here be corrected from the Syr. and Lat.: "which he hurled upon the hostile nation." In this phrase we recognise the גוי איביו of Josh. x. 13.

and in the descent he destroyed them that resisted.] *Ie.* the descent of Beth-horon (Josh. x. 11).

that the nations might know all their strength.] Rather, according to the Vat. (with some other MSS.), **his strength**, *i.e.* Joshua's, or more probably God's. The Syr. has a remarkable reading: "all the accursed nations," עם חרמי. כל עמי חרמו, "the people on whom My curse has fallen," is a phrase used by Isaiah, and would here be appropriate.

because he fought in the sight of the Lord.] Lit. **that** [*or* because] **against** [*or* in the presence of] **God is his war.** We should render "that they are fighting against God;" the Syriac inverts the expression, "that God is fighting with them."

and he followed the Mighty One.] Rather, **for he followed also behind a mighty one**; גם הוא מלא אחרי אלהים: cp. Josh. xv. 8 (Fritzsche). This should be connected with the next verse.

7. *a work of mercy.*] The word in the original probably rather meant "piety."

in that they withstood the congregation.] All the best Greek MSS. have "**the enemy**," which Fritzsche understands of the inhabitants of Canaan, whom they professed themselves *willing* to fight. It would be less strained to interpret it, with earlier commentators, of the rebels among the congregation. "To oppose the enemy" in the sense of the evil spirit which suggested these murmurings would also be intelligible. The Syr. renders, "standing in the breach of the people," as *sup.* 23. This phrase, however, would not be suitable here, since Caleb and Joshua did not succeed in making reconciliation for the people, but only for themselves. The conduct referred to must certainly be that recorded in Numbers xiv. 6–10. Most probably we have to do with euphemisms. שנאיו של ישראל, "the enemies of Israel," is the euphemism

held the people from sin, and appeased the wicked murmuring.

8 [e] And of six hundred thousand people on foot, they two were preserved to bring them into the heritage, even unto the land that floweth with milk and honey.

9 [f] The Lord gave strength also unto Caleb, which remained with him unto his old age: so that he entered upon the high places of the land, and his seed obtained it for an heritage:

10 That all the children of Israel might see that it is good to [g] follow the Lord.

11 And concerning the judges, every one by name, whose heart went not a whoring, nor departed from the Lord, let their memory be blessed.

12 Let their bones [h] flourish out of their place, and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.

13 [i] Samuel, the prophet of the

B. C. cir. 200.

[e] Numb. 26. 65. Deut. 1. 35, 36.

[f] Numb. 14. 38. Josh. 14. 11.

B. C. cir. 200.

[g] Josh. 14. 8, 9.

[h] ch. 49. 10.

[i] 1 Sam. 10. 1. & 16. 13.

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for Israel used in the Rabbinic writings when any evil is spoken of the nation. "To withstand the congregation" would have been an offensive phrase if used as a ground of panegyric. The copy followed by the Syrian is equally euphemistic, but has taken a different line.

and appeased the wicked murmuring.] Syr. "and taking away the ill report from the land of promise." The difference between the versions is here one of conception of the situation, the Syr. having reference to Num. xiii. 27, the Greek to Num. xiv. 7. This, however, does not necessarily imply any difference in the original, in which we should expect at least one of the characteristic words הסה and דבה to be used. If the author employed the phrase דבת הארץ, the Greek "murmuring of wickedness" might conceivably (as to the latter word) come from an Aramaic gloss, ארע, which had crept into the text.

8. *people on foot.*] Numbers xi. 21.

to bring them.] *I.e.* "to be brought," since none of the others survived.

9. See Josh. xiv. 6, 11.

he entered upon the high places of the land.] Rather, **he rode upon.** "To ride upon the high places of the earth" occurs in Deut. xxxii. 13 and Isa. lviii. 14. Hebron is called "a hill" in Joshua *l. c.*

10. *that it is good to follow the Lord.*] Syr. "that he had fulfilled the Law of God." The phrase is from Josh. xiv. 8, 9, 14. The word טוב had fallen out of the Syrian's copy.

11. *the judges.*] The Syriac Version seems to attach this word to the former verse, "that he had fulfilled the Law of God and His judgments." Probably, however, for *w' dinauhy* we should read *w' dayyōnauhy*.

every one by name.] *I.e.* severally. The author will not mention their names now, but bids the reader pray for their memory.

went not a whoring.] As was the case with Gideon. "Idolatry" of course is meant.

12. *flourish out of their place.*] Syr. "like lilies." The simplest way of reconciling these two versions will probably be to suppose that the original was בנרקסם, the change of which into ממקומם is not wholly unintelligible. We do not doubt that the Syriac is right; since "their place" will not give in this context any satisfactory meaning. Wishes that the graves of men might be green, which are so common in the Greek Anthology, scarcely seem to occur in the Bible. The wish, on the other hand, that their bones might flourish "like the narcissus," *i.e.* that their memory might survive and flourish, is very suitable to this passage.

and let the name of them that were honoured be continued upon their children.] The Greek words are difficult. A more literal rendering would be, "and let their name [remain] upon their children, being taken in exchange for their glorified persons;" possibly in this sense: may their children continue to treasure their names as some sort of substitute for their departed owners. The Syriac renders: "and let them leave their good name to their children and their glory to all the people." It would seem from this (1) that the word rendered *ἀντικαταλλασσόμενον* in the Greek was נחלף (so Fritzsche), which the Syrian translator rightly connected with the Arab. *Khalaf* in the sense of "to leave behind;" (2) that the last word was כְּבֹדָם, "their glory," parallel with "their name" in the first clause; (3) that for *αὐτῶν* (והם, "them"), the true reading was והעם, of which the third letter was omitted by a copyist's error. We render therefore: **their name is left behind with their children, and their glory for their people.** Their names, on the one hand, are a glory to their descendants; but, on the other, they are the pride of the people from whom they sprang. The effect of their particular achievements

B. C. cir. 200.

Lord, beloved of his Lord, established a kingdom, and anointed princes over his people.

14 By the law of the Lord he judged the congregation, and the Lord had respect unto Jacob.

[k] 1 Sam. 3. 19, 20.

15 [k] By his faithfulness he was found a true prophet, and by his word he was known to be faithful in vision.

16 He called upon the mighty Lord, when his enemies pressed upon him on every side, when he offered

[l] 1 Sam. 7. 9, 10.

[l] the sucking lamb.

17 And the Lord thundered from heaven, and with a great noise made his voice to be heard.

18 And he destroyed the rulers of the Tyrians, and all the princes of the Philistines.

19 And before his long sleep he made [m] protestations in the sight of the Lord and his anointed, I have not taken any man's goods, so much as a shoe: and no man did accuse him.

B. C. cir. 200.

[m] 1 Sam. 12. 3.

20 And after his death [n] he prophesied, and shewed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.

[n] 1 Sam. 28. 18, 19.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1 *The praise of Nathan,* 2 *of David,* 12 *of Solomon his glory, and infirmities.* 23 *Of his end and punishment.*

AND after him rose up [a] Nathan to prophesy in the time of David.

[a] 2 Sam. 7. 2, 3. & 12. 1. 1 Chron. 17. 1.

2 As is the fat taken away from

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may have long been lost and effaced, but their names are an heirloom which survives.

13. *his Lord.*] Syr. "his Creator," adding "him that was asked (lent) from the womb of his mother." This reference to the story of his birth is not inappropriate, and may have fallen out of the copy used by the Greek through homoeoteleuton, שמואל . . . . מושאל. But some other insertions in the Syr. of this verse render this doubtful.

14. *had respect unto Jacob.*] *I.e.* the Lat. *respexit,* "*visited* them."

15. *he was found a true prophet.*] Lit. **was known for certain** to be one.

and by his word.] So most MSS., for the Vat. reading πίστει, "in his faith." The Syr. fails us here.

16. *when he offered the sucking lamb.*] 1 Sam. vii. 9, 10.

18. *the Tyrians.*] Böttcher ('A. L.' 103) conjectured that the original meant "enemies," and was wrongly pointed by the translator. We regard this conjecture as improbable, because (1) the parallelism requires a proper name; (2) "captains of the enemies" is an improbable phrase; (3) the Syriac agrees with the Greek; (4) the Syriac suggests that the original was in the singular, צור. The writer had in mind Ps. lxxxvii. 6.

19. *before his long sleep.*] Syr. "at the time that he rested on his bed;" cp. Isa. lvii. 2. For the text, cp. Jerem. li. 39.

and [his] anointed.] The pronoun can only have been omitted by error in the best Greek copies.

so much as a shoe.] This is found in the LXX. of 1 Sam. xii. 13, in place of some difficult words in the Hebrew. Its occurrence here would be of critical importance for that passage, were it not that the Syr. here omits it. Probably, therefore, it is here an interpolation.

20. *and shewed the king his end.*] Syr. "his path:" the third instance which we have had of confusion between אחרת and אחרית.

to blot out the wickedness of the people.] On the analogy of Ps. l. 10, this should mean "to atone for," "to obtain forgiveness for;" which is surely out of place. It would be possible to render the words (in Hebrew) "bidding him blot out the wickedness." But Samuel's words contain no such bidding. The interpretation which refers the words to the coming calamity is forced; moreover, the biblical narrative makes the sin of which it was the consequence Saul's exclusively. We suggest that the words had no place in the original text, but were a gloss בכפר עין דור, "in the village of Endor," referring to the scene of Samuel's posthumous prophecy, but rendered as above by the Greek translator. (The Syr. omits "people.")

CHAPTER XLVII.

After a brief allusion to Nathan—natural as following on the praises of Samuel—the writer, omitting Saul, passes first to David (*vv.* 2–11), and then to Solomon (*vv.* 12–22). Possibly *v.* 22*a*, *b* may contain some dim reference to a hope of the restoration of the ten tribes. In any case the writer seems to expect a restitution of the Davidic kingdom. The closing stanza (*vv.* 23–25) is

B. C. cir. 200.

the peace offering, so was David chosen out of the children of Israel.

3 ‖ He played with [b] lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs.

‖ Or, *He smote lions.*

[b] 1 Sam. 17. 34.

4 [c] Slew he not a giant, when he was yet but young? and did he not take away reproach from the people, when he lifted up his hand with the stone in the sling, and beat down the boasting of Goliath?

[c] 1 Sam. 17. 49, 50, 51.

5 For he called upon the most high Lord; and he gave him strength in his right hand to slay that mighty warrior, and set up the horn of his people.

6 So the people honoured him with [d] ten thousands, and praised him in the blessings of the Lord, in that he gave him a crown of glory.

[d] 1 Sam. 18. 7.

7 For [e] he destroyed the enemies on every side, and ‖ brought to nought the Philistines his adversaries, and brake their horn in sunder unto this day.

[e] 2 Sam. 5. 7. & 8, 1, &c.

‖ Or, *contemned.*

B. C. cir. 200.

8 In all his works he praised the Holy One most high with words of glory; with his whole heart he sung songs, and loved him that made him.

9 [f] He set singers also before the altar, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their songs.

[f] 1 Chron. 16. 4.

10 He beautified their feasts, and set in order the solemn times ‖ until the end, that they might praise his holy name, and that the temple might sound from morning.

‖ Or, *perfectly.*

11 [g] The Lord took away his sins, and exalted his horn for ever: he gave him a covenant of kings, and a throne ‖ of glory in Israel.

[g] 2 Sam. 12. 13.

‖ Or, *of a kingdom.*

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devoted to a reprobation of Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

2. The fat was burnt on the altar, the rest given to the priest.

taken away.] Rather, **separated**; perhaps הורם.

3. *He played.*] The other reading, "he struck" (see marg.), has little MS. support, but is supported by the Syriac.

5. *that mighty warrior.*] From 1 Sam. xvii. 33.

6. *So the people honoured him with ten thousands.*] Syr. "the women praised him." Hebrew, unlike the other Semitic languages, has no distinction of gender in the 3rd person of the perfect plural. The expression "honoured him with ten thousands" is curiously concise, if the reference be to 1 Sam. xviii. 7. The next clause, "and praised him in the blessings of the Lord," is omitted in the Syriac. It is possible that these two clauses are only different translations of the same, with a various reading בְּרָכוֹת for בְּרִבּוֹת. The former of them, "they praised him [with] blessings" (Ewald, 'Lehrb.' § 279 *d*), may have been what the author intended.

in that he gave him.] Lit. **when a crown of glory was being won for him**; or (possibly) "carried by him" (Aeth.). The clause does not read naturally, but cannot be corrected from the Syriac "he fought little," which would be most inaccurate, and is also evidently corrupt.

7. *and brought to nought.*] Syr. "was avenged upon the Philistines;" Lat. *extirpavit.* The verb used in the Greek properly means "despised," but is occasionally employed in the LXX. to represent the Hebrew בּוּם, "to trample." It is more likely that the LXX. misunderstood the Greek than the Hebrew word.

8. *he praised.*] Lit. **he gave thanksgiving.** It seems probable that the words at the end of the clauses have been transposed, and that the author intended, "he gave glory . . . in words of thanksgiving." "Words of glory" is scarcely a Hebrew phrase; whereas "to give glory" and "a voice of thanksgiving" are common expressions.

9. This verse is interesting as shewing that our author was acquainted with the Book of Chronicles.

and daily sing praises in their songs.] This clause is omitted in all MSS. save 248 (and Co.). It is apparently due to a reminiscence of the Syriac verse, "every day continually he spake his praises before the altar; he gave mighty praises yearly."

10. *He beautified their feasts.*] Lit. **he put beauty in feasts.**

and set in order the solemn times.] Times of singing.

until the end.] Rather, **perfectly.**

the temple.] Rather, **the sanctuary.**

11. *took away his sins.*] See 2 Sam. xii. 13; and (perhaps) Ps. li. 9.

he gave him a covenant of kings.] The

B. C. cir. 200.

12 After him rose up a wise son, and for his sake he dwelt at large.

h 1 Kings 4. 21, 24, 25. & 5. 4, 5.

13 [h] Solomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was honoured; for God made all quiet round about him, that he might build an house in his name, and prepare his sanctuary for ever.

i 1 Kings 4. 29, 30.

14 [i] How wise wast thou in thy youth, and, as a flood, filled with understanding!

15 Thy soul covered the whole earth, and thou filledst it with dark parables.

k 1 Kings 4. 34. & 10. 1.

16 [k] Thy name went far unto the islands; and for thy peace thou wast beloved.

l 1 Kings 4. 31, 32.

17 [l] The countries marvelled at thee for thy songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.

18 By the name of the Lord God, which is called the Lord God of Israel, thou didst [m] gather gold as tin, and didst multiply silver as lead.

m 1 Kings 10. 22, 27.

B. C. cir. 200.

19 [n] Thou didst bow thy loins unto women, and ‖ by thy body thou wast brought into subjection.

n 1 Kings 11. 1, &c.

‖ Or, *in*.

20 Thou didst stain thy honour, and pollute thy seed: so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, and wast grieved for thy folly.

o 1 Kings 12. 15, 16, 17, 20.

21 [o] So the kingdom was divided, and out of Ephraim ruled a rebellious kingdom.

p 2 Sam. 7. 15. Ps. 89. 33.

22 [p] But the Lord will never leave off his mercy, neither shall any of his works perish, neither will he abolish the posterity of his elect, and the seed of him that loveth him he will not take away: wherefore he gave a remnant unto Jacob, and out of him a root unto David.

q 1 Kings 11. 43.

23 Thus rested Solomon with his fathers, [q] and of his seed he left behind him Roboam, even the foolishness of the people, and one that had no understanding, who [r] turned away the people through his counsel.

r 1 Kings 12. 10, 11, 13, 14.

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verse seems to refer to the *covenant* that the throne should be in his house for ever; see Ps. lxxxix. 29. "A covenant of kings," however, is a curious phrase. But 248, Co., Lat., and perhaps Syr., read βασιλείας, "a charter of royalty."

12. *at large.*] Syr. "in quiet." The Heb. was probably ברוחה.

13. *made quiet.*] For this phrase, see Deut. xii. 10, &c.

that he might build.] *I.e.* have time to build. Compare also 1 Chron. xxviii. 3.

14. For the simile, see *sup.* xxiv. 25.

15. *covered.*] The image of the river (the Nile?) is kept up (Fritzsche).

16. *far unto the islands.*] Cp. the comm. on Isa. xxiv. 15.

for thy peace.] This clause seems somewhat unnatural in the context. Syr. "and they wait[ed] for thy report" = ומחכים לשמעך. Possibly ומחבים לשלמך was a corruption of this, or there may have been a word-play on the name of Solomon.

18. *By the name of the Lord God.*] The prosperity of Israel in the time of Solomon is attributed to his piety, and especially to the agency of the Lord.

as lead.] Syr. "as dust," connecting עפרת with עפר.

19. *thou wast brought into subjection.*] Lit. **and hadst authority exercised over thee.**

20. *and wast grieved for thy folly.*] Vat. "I am grieved." The Syriac has: "that they should groan upon their beds."

21. *So the kingdom.*] Lit. **that the kingdom should be**; with confusion of purpose and consequence.

22. *take away.*] Rather, **annihilate.**

any of his works.] The Syriac: "of his words."

23. *the foolishness of the people.*] This phrase has caused great difficulty to commentators, although the epithet "foolishness of the people" might perhaps stand for "the most foolish of the people" (Grot.), or "the author of the foolishness of the people." Fritzsche most ingeniously conjectures that we should read מזרע עמון, "from the seed of Ammon," referring to the lineage of Rehoboam's mother; and that "foolishness" should be turned into "a fool." We do not doubt, however, that the Syriac rendering, "multiplying folly," is on the whole right, though the original text is hard to reconstruct.

who turned away.] *I.e.* **caused them to revolt.** Syr. "who led the people by his counsel;" perhaps we should emend ܒܕܪ for ܕܒܪ, "who scattered" or "divided."

B. C. cir. 200.

There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who [s]caused Israel to sin, and shewed Ephraim the way of sin:

[s] 1 Kings 12. 28, 30.

24 And their sins were multiplied exceedingly, that [t]they were driven out of the land.

[t] 2 Kings 17. 6, 18.

25 For they sought out all wickedness, till the vengeance came upon them.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

B. C. cir. 200.

1 *The praise of Elias,* 12 *of Eliseus,* 17 *and of Ezekias.*

THEN stood up [a]Elias the prophet as fire, and his word burned like a lamp.

[a] 1 Kings 17. 1.

2 [b]He brought a sore famine upon them, and by his zeal he diminished their number.

[b] Jam. 5. 17.

There was also Jeroboam the son of Nebat.] In the Greek this is the object of "left" in the first part of the verse. Syr. "let there be no remembrance to Jeroboam."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The subject of the first stanza (*vv.* 1–11) is Elijah; that of the second (*vv.* 12–16), Elisha. In stanza ii. *v.* 16 forms a natural transition to the mention of the pious rulers. Accordingly, king Hezekiah, with whom the prophet Isaiah is joined, forms the subject of the third stanza (*vv.* 17–24). The combination of prophets with kings (Nathan with David, xlvii. 1; Isaiah with Hezekiah), as well as the emphatic notice of the prophets (Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), shew that the author intended a review of the history of Israel from its religious aspect—although, at the same time, he may in his own mind also have classed the prophets with the representatives of *Chokhmah.*

As regards the theological standpoint of the writer, this chapter is of great interest and importance. We mark in it several points, as they successively emerge. (1) Verse 5 *b* seems to give further confirmation to the opinion previously expressed (see introduction to ch. xlvi.) that the writer regarded the departed in Hades not as annihilated, although not in a state of consciousness nor of real life. (2) While we mark in *vv.* 10–12 the absence of any mention of or reference to a personal Messiah, there cannot be any doubt that the writer expected a Messianic kingdom, according to the Jewish conception of it. Its negative aspect in the punishment and destruction of the heathen was already set forth in ch. xxxv. 18, 19, and in the prayer, xxxvi. 1–17, where we should also notice the anticipated fulfilment of prophecy (*v.* 15) in the restoration of Israel and the exaltation of Zion, on which see also xxxvii. 25 *b.* This positive aspect of "the kingdom" was further emphasised in the reference to Abraham in ch. xliv. 21, and to Isaac (*v.* 22); in that to David in ch. xlvii. 11, and even in the allusions contained in *v.* 22. These hopes are now fully expressed in ch. xlviii. 10, 11. (3) We gather from xlviii. 10, 11, that the writer identified the advent of this happy period with the return of Elijah—sharing in this the ordinary Jewish views. (4) For the understanding of *vv.* 10, 11 we must call special attention to the Syriac translation, as not only restoring in some important particulars the correct text (as in the Hebrew original), but as affording to our mind clear evidence that the Syriac translation was made by a Christian hand. We further notice (5) that in *v.* 13 the Syriac evidently rightly omits the second clause; and lastly (6) that the writer not only fully admits the miraculous in the scriptural record of Israel (as in Samuel, Elijah, Elisha), but also the reality of prophecy as in the case of Isaiah in *vv.* 22–24. As regards the latter verses, there are notable differences in the Syr. Version. For, first, the Syr. has in *v.* 22 *c, d,* "as had commanded him Isaiah the prophet, the most glorious of the prophets." Secondly, *v.* 24 in the Syr. does not necessarily convey, as in the Greek, that Isaiah prophesied of "the last things." The Syr. version is as follows: "And in the spirit of might [probably according to Hebrew usage = "the Spirit of God"] he saw [prophesied] new things and comforted the mourners of Zion. And so long as he was in the world he saw [prophesied] signs and wonders when they were not existent [before they took place]." Comparing the Greek with the Syriac version (the Arab. is very corrupt), we ask ourselves whether the Syr. does not here represent the true Hebrew original and the Greek a later alteration?

Looking back on the large belief in the supernatural on the part of the writer, his ignoration of another life seems certainly—to say the least—logically an inconsistency. But it is just the kind of inconsistency at which we do not wonder, which indeed we almost expect, on the part of such a religious philosopher as our author.

1. *as fire.*] Cp. Isa. xxx. 28. The author refers to the fierce and uncompromising character of this prophet's messages.

a lamp.] Rather, **a torch**. Cp. Zech. xii. 6.

2. *by his zeal.*] With reference to 1 Kings xix. 10.

he diminished their number.] Syr. "he split them." If the Greek translation be correct,

B. C. cir. 200.

3 By the word of the Lord he ‖shut up the heaven, [c]and also three times brought down fire.

‖ Or, *made heaven to hold up.*

[c] 1 Kings 18. 38. 2 Kings 1. 10, 12.

4 O Elias, how wast thou honoured in thy wondrous deeds! and who may glory like unto thee!

5 [d]Who didst raise up a dead man from death, and his soul from the ‖place of the dead, by the word of the most High:

[d] 1 Kings 17. 21, 22.

‖ Or, *grave.*

6 [e]Who broughtest kings to destruction, and honourable men from their ‖bed:

[e] 2 Kings 1. 16.

‖ Or, *seat.*

7 Who heardest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, [f]and in Horeb the judgment of vengeance:

[f] 1 Kings 19. 8, &c.

8 [g]Who anointedst kings to take revenge, and prophets to succeed after ‖him:

B. C. cir. 200.

[g] 1 Kings 19. 15, 16.

9 [h]Who wast taken up in a whirlwind of fire, and in a chariot of fiery horses:

‖ Or, *thee.*

[h] 2 Kings 2. 11.

10 Who wast ‖ordained [i]for reproofs in their times, to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment, before it brake forth into fury, and to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to ‖restore the tribes of Jacob.

‖ Or, *written of.*

[i] Mal. 4. 5, 6. Luke 1. 17.

‖ Or, *establish.*

11 Blessed are they that saw thee, and ‖slept in love; for we shall surely live.

‖ Or, *were adorned with love.*

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the author refers to the "seven thousand" who were left (1 Kings xix. 18).

3. *he shut up the heaven.*] **He held back** would be more literal than the marginal alternative.

and also.] Lit. **and so**; *i.e.* and likewise.

4. For the apostrophe, compare *supra*, xlvii. 14.

6. *Who broughtest kings to destruction.*] Cp. 1 Kings xxi. 20; also xix. 16.

from their bed.] The phrase naturally reminds us of 2 Kings i. 16, where Ahaziah is represented as on a sick-bed. Yet it is remarkable if the "bringing down" of a sick man to the grave is regarded by the writer as a remarkable feat of prophetic power. Probably our author used ערש in its familiar Arabic sense of "throne." אלערש is technically "the throne of God."

7. *Who heardest the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai.*] The Syr. has a strange corruption, "in his temptation;" נסינו for סיני. "The Lord" is omitted by the best MSS. "Rebuke" meant rather "reasoning," תוכחת.

the judgment of vengeance.] 1 Kings xix. 17, 18.

8. *to take revenge.*] Heb. לנמול. This is clearly stated as the purpose of the anointing of the kings in 1 Kings xix. 16–18. The author may well take notice of the dignity of the prophetic office here exercised.

10. *Who wast ordained for reproofs in their times.*] More lit. **who wast written** (specified) **in reproofs for times**, which Fritzsche ingeniously interprets, "who wast specified in the prophecy of Malachi to come at a certain time;" *i.e.* at the time of the restoration. [The Syriac Version has here only: "who is destined to come before the day of the Lord cometh."] In Hos. v. 9 יום תוכחה means "day of judgment," and we imagine that the author must have intended some phrase like this. This might be obtained by reading ἔλεγμός and εἰς καιρόν with inferior MSS.; הכתוב לעת תוכחה, "he that is written for [= to appear at] the time of judgment."

to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment.] According to the better reading, **to pacify wrath before rage**, *i.e.* before it burns (Fritzsche). The Lat. has "to pacify the wrath of the Lord." Compare Ps. ii. *ad fin.* The author is interpreting the last words of Malachi.

to restore.] From Isa. xlix. 6. The Syriac, "to preach to," betrays a Christian hand.

11. *Blessed are they that saw thee, and slept in love.*] The best Greek copies have "were adorned in love;" but as this can give no reasonable meaning in the context, we prefer the reading of the inferior MSS. "Slept in love" must, however, mean "slept contented," feeling that their best wish had been granted them; and this "in contentment" is probably only a gloss, though a singularly happy and appropriate one. This brings us to the text of the Syriac, "happy is he that shall have seen thee and die," אשרי ראיך ומת; *i.e.* "happy is he that shall see thee before he die."

for we shall surely live.] A difficult phrase, interpreted by the Vet. Lat. "we only live this life;" by Grotius and Fritzsche, "yet we shall surely remain alive," *i.e.* we shall surely live to see that day. Fritzsche finds in this passage evidence that the author looked forward to a speedy restitution, and imagined that he would live to see it. It seems to us unlikely that so cautious a writer would express his confidence so positively. We believe

B. C. cir. 200.

12 [k]Elias it was, who was covered with a whirlwind: and Eliseus was filled with his spirit: whilst he lived, [l]he was not moved *with the presence* of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection.

13 ‖No word could overcome him; [m]and after his death his body prophesied.

14 He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous.

15 For all this the people repented not, neither departed they from their sins, [n]till they were spoiled and carried out of their land, and were scattered through all the earth: yet there remained a small people, and a ruler in the house of David:

16 Of whom some did that which was pleasing *to God*, and some multiplied sins.

17 [o]Ezekias fortified his city, and [p]brought in water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.

18 In his time [q]Sennacherib came up, and sent Rabsaces, and lifted up

[k] 2 Kings 2. 11, 15.
[l] 2 Kings 3. 14.
‖ Or, *Nothing.*
[m] 2 Kings 13. 21.
[n] 2 Kings 18. 11, 12.
[o] 2 Chron. 32. 5.
[p] 2 Kings 20. 20.
[q] 2 Kings 18. 13, 17. Isai. 36. 1.

that the true text is preserved by the Syr.: "yet he shall not die; he shall surely live." The author recalls his former words "and die."

12. *was covered with a whirlwind.*] The expression is a strange one. Schleussner (iii. p. 50) would emend ἐπεστάσθη for ἐσκεπάσθη (from a quotation of Jerome), "flew up;" and this seems confirmed by the Aeth. (ዐረገ), though the freedom of that translator renders him untrustworthy. The Syriac renders: "Elias was gathered to heaven in storehouses;" the Hebrew of this was probably בסופה נאסף, "was gathered (or taken up) by a whirlwind." The Syriac translator was deceived by the intentional assonance, and the Aramaising orthography several times noticed gave him the right to read the former word באספה (see Nehem. xii. 25). The Aethiopic connects this clause with the preceding by inserting "*for the sake of* Elias who was," &c.

was filled with his spirit.] Syr. "and received double prophecy; and many temptations (read 'signs') and wonders spoke his mouth."

whilst he lived, &c.] The reference is to 2 Kings iii. 13, and vi. 16.

13. *No word could overcome him.*] This may mean either that no difficulty was too great for him, or that no secret was hid from him (Syr.). Probably there is special reference to the cleansing of Naaman, and therefore the first interpretation is to be preferred.

and after his death his body prophesied.] Lit. **when he was at rest.** The Syr. omits this clause; and its meaning is doubtful. The only possible reference is apparently to 2 Kings xiii. 21. But against this interpretation is (1) the certainty of the reference of 14 *b* to that fact, (2) the strangeness of the expression "prophesied." It has been suggested that the clause is spurious. If it were genuine, 14 *b* could only refer to Elisha's interview on his death-bed with the king; for in the case of such a worker of miracles the author would have no occasion to refer to the same act twice. But the language of the clause plainly renders any such reference impossible. Fritzsche's conjecture on this point is very improbable.

14. **wondrous were his works.**] Syr. "he raised the dead to life;" perhaps an incorrect gloss (see above).

15. *till they were spoiled and carried.*] Omit the last two words as an addition of the A. V. Fritzsche's ingenious conjecture that נשבו and נשסו have been confused, and that the true reading signified "**were carried away captive**" is confirmed by the Syr.

The author thus closes the history of the great and good men of Israel.

yet there remained a small people.] Compare Isa. vi. 11.

and a ruler in the house of David.] The Syr. renders this verse: "and Judah was left alone a small domain for the house of David." It is likely that the Syrian rightly translated the word שלטן, "dominion," and that the original meant either "the realm of the house of David," or "as subjects for the house of David."

16. *that which was pleasing to God.*] The MSS. omit the last two words.

17. *water.*] The best MSS. strangely give τὸν Γώγ, "Gog," ingeniously interpreted by Geiger ('Z. D. M. G.' xii. 542) as a corruption for ἀγωγόν, "a conduit;" a conjecture confirmed by S^2. Fritzsche suggests a corruption of "Gihon." "Water" is the rendering of the Syr., Lat., Aeth., S. H. (marg.), and the reading of many MSS. The corruption must have originated in a Greek MS. The Hebrew word was probably תעלה.

wells.] Rather, **reservoirs.**

18. *and sent Rabsaces.*] The best MSS. add "and he marched." As the Syr. and

B. C. cir. 200.

his hand against Sion, and boasted proudly.

19 Then trembled their hearts and hands, and they were in pain, as women in travail.

2 Kings 19. 15, 20.

20 [r]But they called upon the Lord which is merciful, and stretched out their hands toward him: and immediately the Holy One heard them out of heaven, and delivered them by

1 Or, *hand.*

the [1]ministry of Esay.

[s] 2 Kings 19. 35. Isai. 37. 36. Tobit 1. 18. 1 Mac. 7. 41. 2 Mac. 8. 19.

21 [s]He smote the host of the Assyrians, and his angel destroyed them.

[t] 2 Kings 18. 3.

22 [t]For Ezekias had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Esay the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him.

23 [u]In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king's life.

B. C. cir. 200.

[u] 2 Kings 20. 10, 11. Isai. 38. 8.

24 He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion.

25 He shewed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1 *The praise of Josias,* 4 *of David and Ezekias,* 6 *of Jeremy,* 8 *of Ezekiel,* 11 *Zorobabel,* 12 *Jesus the son of Josedec,* 13 *of Neemias, Enoch, Sem, Seth, and Adam.*

THE remembrance of [a]Josias is like the composition of the perfume that is made by the art of the

[a] 2 Kings 22. 1. 2 Chron. 34. 1.

Lat. versions omit this, and it is unnecessary if not perplexing in this context, it must be regarded as a dittography of καὶ ἐπῆρεν.

lifted up his hand.] This is the reading of the worse MSS., but doubtless correct. For the expression, compare 2 Sam. xx. 21.

19. Omitted in the Syr.

22. *was strong in.*] Rather, **abode by,** החזיק (Fritzsche). On the Syriac of clauses *c* and *d*, see the introd.

23. *In his time.*] Syr. "by his hands," reading בידין (for ביומו), which is probably right; compare, however, *sup.* xlvi. 4. The Syriac reading also makes the transition to Isaiah less abrupt.

24. *what should come to pass at the last.*] חדשות, "new things" (Isa. xlii. 9), like the Lat. *novissima*, seems from the Syr. to have been in the original. On the Syr. rendering of this verse, see the introd.

them that mourned in Sion.] From Isa. lxi. 2, 3.

25. *or ever they came.*] Isa. xlii. 9.

CHAPTER XLIX.

This chapter consists of four stanzas. The subject of the first (*vv.* 1–3) is pious king Josiah, on whom, as a bright example of piety in very dark days, the writer dilates with peculiar tenderness. In the second stanza (*vv.* 4–10) the mention of the three pious kings—David, Hezekiah, and Josiah—leads him, by way of contrast, to speak of the wicked kings who had brought such unutterable misery on Israel. In accordance with our author's method of combining kings (or reigns) with prophets, the reference to these kings brings up the names of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as well as the twelve prophets. The two former are described in accordance with the scriptural presentation of the leading features in their prophetic activity. We mark that, as afterwards Philo, our author gives special prominence to Jeremiah. The arrangement of his prophecies into those of judgment and consolation (*v.* 7 *c*, *d*) is in accordance with Jewish views. In *v.* 9 the subject is not Ezekiel but God, whose vision by Ezekiel had been described in *v.* 8 (see note on *v.* 9). In regard to *v.* 10 *b*, see the note.

The third stanza (*vv.* 11–13) refers to the activity of the post-exilian Jewish heroes: Zerubbabel, Joshua, and Nehemiah. Ezra is not mentioned. The review of Israel's history closes, not inaptly, in the fourth stanza (*vv.* 14–16) with a retrospect upon the fathers of Israel's history: Enoch, Shem, Seth, and Adam. It will be observed that they are enumerated in the inverse order of their succession. They are selected as the worthies to whom Israel's covenant-history would be traced up. In regard to Adam, however, it is not clear whether *v.* 16 *b* does not refer mainly to his priority in time, as the first human being, the father of the whole race.

1. *Josias.*] See the passages cited in the margin.

like.] Lit. **serves for.** With the expression compare Cant. i. 2.

the composition of the perfume.] See Ex. xxv. 6, xxxi. 10. The translator adopts the LXX. version of the Hebrew words, in which קטרת is perhaps derived from a wrong root, meaning properly "burning," "fumigation."

B. C. cir. 200.

apothecary: it is sweet as honey in all mouths, and as musick at a banquet of wine.

2 He ‖behaved himself uprightly in the conversion of the people, [b]and took away the abominations of iniquity.

3 [c]He directed his heart unto the Lord, and in the time of the ungodly he established the worship of God.

4 All, except David and Ezekias and Josias, were defective: for they forsook the law of the most High, *even* the kings of Juda failed.

5 [d]Therefore he gave their ‖power unto others, and their glory to a strange nation.

6 [e]They burnt the chosen city of the sanctuary, and made the streets desolate, ‖[f]according to the prophecy of Jeremias.

7 For they [g]entreated him evil, who nevertheless was a prophet, [h]sanctified in his mother's womb, that he might root out, and afflict, and destroy; and that he might build up also, and plant.

8 [i]It was Ezekiel who saw the glorious vision, which was shewed him upon the chariot of the cherubims.

9 For he [k]made mention of the enemies under *the figure of* the rain, and ‖directed them that went right.

‖ Or, *prospered.*
[b] 2 Kings 23. 4, &c. 2 Chron. 34. 3, 33.
[c] 2 Kings 23. 3, 25.
[d] 2 Chron. 36. 17.
‖ Or, *horn.*
[e] 2 Kings 25. 9. 2 Chron. 36. 19.
‖ Or, *by the hand of Jeremy.*
[f] Jer. 37. 8.
[g] Jer. 38. 6.
[h] Jer. 1. 5, 10.
[i] Ezek. 1. 3, 4, 15.
[k] Ezek. 13. 11. & 38. 9, 16, 22.
‖ Or, *did good.*

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that is made.] The Greek text refers "made" to the remembrance; the English translation follows a necessary correction.

as musick, &c.] For the author's estimate of this, see *sup.* xxxii. 5, 6.

The reference in clause 1 is not, however, necessarily to the incense of the sanctuary, but the meaning may be that of pleasure and refreshment, such as is conveyed to all the senses by perfume, honey, and music. And so it was a Jewish saying that "three things calm the mind of man, and they are these: sound [voice, music], sight, and smell [perfume]" (Ber. 57 *b*).

2. *He behaved himself uprightly.*] The original probably meant "he succeeded." The Syr. renders: "he was hidden from temptations." This perhaps represents no different reading, but a false connexion of the derivative of שוב employed by the author with שבה, "to carry captive;" which led to this glossing of the word "succeeded." The verse indicates why his "remembrance" was so precious. On the activity of Josias, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 24.

3. *he established the worship of God.*] Lit. **he strengthened.**

4. The verse begins the second stanza. The author, one imagines, might also have mentioned at least Jehoshaphat and Asa; but (as Fritzsche remarks) the worship in the "high places" continued in their time.

failed.] *I.e.* **came to ruin.** Or, perhaps, rather, **they deserted their post of duty.**

5. *he gave.*] The Greek MSS. have all **they gave,** and this is rendered certain by the Syr. The author either refers to those foreign alliances which the prophets so severely condemned, or makes them responsible for the result to which their actions led. Indeed, the two would be combined in the view of the writer. He would chiefly have in mind the calling in of the Assyrian power by Ahaz, with all its disastrous consequences to Judah and Israel; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

6. *They.*] The strange nation.

the streets.] Syr. "the ruins thereof." חרבות and רחבות were various readings. Doubtless the Greek reading is to be preferred.

according to the prophecy.] Lit. "by the hands." We must read with the Syr. בימי, "in the days" of Jeremiah. The same variation was noticed at xlviii. 23.

7. Comp. the corresponding passages in Jeremiah, which can scarcely leave a doubt that the younger Siracide had the LXX. version of Jeremiah before him. The reference is to the twofold commission of Jeremiah: to destroy and to build.

8. *the glorious vision.*] Rather, **the vision of the glory** = הכבוד. The reference is to the visions described in Ezek. i., viii., and x.

which was shewed him.] Rather, **which he shewed him.**

9. *For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of the rain.*] Lit. **in rain.** "Rain" is referred by the commentators to the ὑετὸς κατακλύζων, "flooding rain," with which in Ezek. xiii. 11 (LXX.) the false prophets are threatened. But the whole verse is so difficult and unsatisfactory that it cannot be supposed to represent the original faithfully. The Aeth. renders: "and he mentioned the enemy with wrath," anticipating Fritzsche's conjecture that the Hebrew זעם, "wrath," was corrupted into זרם, "flooding rain," in the translator's copy. The Syr., "and even concerning Job he

B. C. cir. 200.

10 And of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed, and [l] let their bones flourish again out of their place: for they comforted Jacob, and delivered them by assured hope.

[l] ch. 46. 12.

11 How shall we magnify [m] Zorobabel? even he was as a signet on the right hand:

[m] Ezra 3. 2. Hag. 2. 23.

12 So was [n] Jesus the son of Josedec: who in their time builded the house, and set up an holy temple to the Lord, which was prepared for everlasting glory.

B. C. cir. 200.

[n] Ezra 3. 2. Hag. 1. 12. & 2. 2. Zech. 3. 1.

13 And among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, [o] who raised up for us the walls that were

[o] Neh. 7. 1.

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said," clearly reading אִיּוֹב for אוֹיֵב, as Arnaldus and Geiger observed. Accepting this correction ("Job" for "the enemy"), both these scholars imagine the reference to be to Ezekiel's mention of Job (xiv. 14). But it is improbable that so unimportant a fact would be alluded to here, although Ezekiel's mention of Job might have reminded our author of him. We would propose translating: **For He** [God] **remembered** [made remembrance of = זכר, so rendered in the LXX., especially frequently in the Psalms; see particularly Ps. ix. 12 (Heb. 13) and Ps. lxxiv. 22 (LXX.: Ps. lxxiii.)] **the enemy in storm.** We suggest that the Greek translator misread בִּשְׁעִירִם, "in rain-shower" (Deut. xxxii. 2, which the LXX. render by ὄμβρος as in our verse), instead of בִּשְׂעָרָה, "in storm"—or else "He remembered the enemy in wrath," if he misread זֹרֵם for זֹעֵם. Either of these corrections would make clause 1 correspond with clause 2, which would not be the case if we were to correct "enemy" into "Job," the introduction of that name being also unsuited to the context.

and directed them that went right.] Lit., according to the better reading, **to do good to them**, &c. Geiger ('Z. D. M. G.' xii. 572) emended the whole verse as follows: גם את איוב זכר בסערה לגמל דרכי ישרו. "Job, too, he remembered in the whirlwind to repay his righteous dealing." To the twofold commission of Jeremiah (*v.* 7), which the writer conceives to be further confirmed by the visions of Ezekiel (*v.* 8), corresponds the twofold activity of God: towards His enemies and to those that "go right."

10. *let the memorial be blessed.*] This clause is found only in MS. 248.

let their bones flourish again.] The Syriac here supports the Greek. The repetition of these words from ch. xlvi. 12 (see the connexion there) deprives them of the meaning which some might attach to them as referring to the resurrection of the body.

for they comforted.] On the supposition that these two clauses are here in their right place, we must adopt this reading, which is supported by the Syr. and the Vet. Lat., though not found in the best MSS., which give the singular. The latter would necessitate a reference to God (*v.* 9), and also the transposition (Fritzsche) of the last two lines of *v.* 10 to *v.* 9. In that case *v.* 10 would consist of only the first three lines in the A. V. On the whole we prefer this re-arrangement for the reason about to be mentioned.

and delivered them by assured hope.] Lit. **by (in) assurance of hope.** Whether we retain this and the previous line in their present position, or, as we prefer, add them to *v.* 9, the subject must be "God." The Syr., which adopts the plural number ("they comforted") consistently with the reference to the prophets, alters the last line as follows: "and promised them that they should be delivered."

11. Here begins stanza iii. The omission of Ezra is somewhat remarkable. It is scarcely accounted for by the circumstance that only the rebuilding of the Temple and city were in the mind of the writer (Fritzsche). Did he feel out of sympathy either with the person or the special activity of Ezra in regard to the Law?

a signet.] The author adheres to his custom of employing characteristic phrases. In our view the writer does not intend to refer to the signet as an ornament, but to indicate that in and by Zerubbabel the previous promises of God to Israel were sealed.

12. *Jesus the son of Josedec.*] See Zech. iii. 1–9.

who in their time.] The addition seems needless, and, as we might expect, the Syriac is different; "by their exhortation," Polyglot; "in their poverty," Lagarde: the former is supported by the Arab., which, however, is corrupt. It is probable that the author wrote "with their hands," בידיהם, which was corrupted into בימיהם, as so often in these chapters.

builded the house, and set up an holy temple.] Syr. "set up an altar and built a holy temple." This rendering avoids the tautology.

prepared.] A reference to Haggai's well-known prophecy; though the Siracide had no conception of the manner in which it would be fulfilled in the coming of the Messiah.

B. C. cir. 200.

fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again.

14 But upon the earth was no man created like [p]Enoch; for he was taken from the earth.

15 Neither was there a man born like unto [q]Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people, whose bones were regarded of the Lord.

16 [r]Sem and Seth were in great honour among men, and so was Adam above every living thing in the creation.

B. C. cir. 200.

[p] Gen. 5. 24. ch. 44. 16. Hebr. 11. 5.

[q] Gen. 41. 43. & 42. 6. & 45. 8. & 50. 25. Exod. 13. 19.

[r] Gen. 5. 3, 32. & 11. 10.

CHAPTER L.

1 *Of Simon the son of Onias.* 22 *How the people were taught to praise God, and pray.* 27 *The conclusion.*

SIMON the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life re-

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13. *And among the elect was.*] The better reading is, **and may the memory of Nehemias be great.** Compare Jos. 'Ant.' xi. 5, 8, where it is recorded that Nehemiah called priests and Levites from the country into the thinly populated city, and built them houses at his own expense (Fritzsche).

our ruins.] Lit. **our ground-plots.** The original was probably, however, חרבות, "ruins."

14. The author having come to the end of the national history in the last stanza takes a retrospect of the "fathers" of Israel's covenant-history. It was perhaps in order to indicate this that their names are introduced in the reverse order of their chronological succession. If Enoch was rightly omitted by the Syr. in xliv. 16, the introduction of his name here will be more intelligible.

was no man.] Syr. "few;" doubtless an intentional alteration, perhaps from a Christian hand.

15. *a governor.*] Rather, **a leader;** the reference is to Gen. xlix. 26, נזיר אחיו.

a stay of the people.] This and the previous clause are omitted by Syr.

whose bones were regarded of the Lord.] "Of the Lord" must be omitted. Aeth. "his bones found mercy." Lat. *et post mortem prophetaverunt*, an interpolation from xlviii. 13. Syr. "and his body was gathered in peace;" whence it appears that the reference is to the careful conveyance of the body of Joseph from Egypt (see Ex. xiii. 19; Jer. xxiv. 32). Possibly the author used the word נקברו, "were buried," of which the second and third letters had become transposed in the Greek translator's text; the word בקר ("to look to," "to care for") is occasionally rendered ἐπισκέπτεσθαι in the LXX. The Syriac adds the words "in peace." It is possible that that word itself (בשלם) represents a corruption of "in Shechem" (בשכם).

16. *were in great honour among men, &c.*] Syr. "Seth, Shem, and Enos were created among men; and over all these is the glory of Adam." It has been suggested that the Hebrew original may have consisted of a combination of the first clause of the Greek with the second of the Syriac. Some word which either bore the two meanings, "create" and "glorify," or while signifying the latter was similar in form to a word meaning the former, must have been employed in both clauses. Shem and Seth represent the ancestors of the pious part of the postdiluvian and antediluvian world respectively. The "Enos" of the Syrian is probably nothing more than a dittography of באנוש, "among men."

CHAPTER L.

This chapter describes the services of the Temple in the time of Simon I., whose character and administration are highly extolled, and whose appearance in the various functions of his high-priestly office are also set forth under a variety of figures. It closes with a grand eulogy, perhaps in imitation of those at the end of each of the five books in the Psalter. This is followed by what we regard as a spurious later addition, alike in the Hebrew original and the Greek Version (see note on *vv.* 25, 26). The book concludes with the name of the writer and a general commendation of that which formed the subject of the whole work.

The chapter seems arranged into six stanzas:—Stanza i., *vv.* 1–4: praise of Simon I. as high-priest and ruler (see the General Introduction). Stanza ii.: the high-priest on the Day of Atonement, *vv.* 5–10. Stanza iii.: the high-priest in the ordinary functions of his office, *vv.* 11–20. Stanza iv.: grand eulogy, *vv.* 22–24. [Stanza v.: later insertion, *vv.* 25, 26.] Stanza vi.: general conclusion, *vv.* 27–29. Thus the chapter would consist of four verses (stanza i.), six verses (stanza ii.), ten verses (4 + 6, stanza iii.), four verses (stanza iv.), and, omitting the interpolated stanza v., three verses (stanza vi.).

1. *Simon the high priest, the son of Onias.*] Syr. "son of Nathaniah," a name with an easier etymon than "Onias." In the list of the high-priests of that period we have no fewer than three of the name of Onias (four, if we include Menelaus; five, if we add the Onias who founded the temple at Leontopolis) in

B. C. cir. 200.

paired the house again, and in his days fortified the temple:

2 And by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple:

[a] 1 Kings 7. 23.

3 In his days the [a]cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was covered with plates of brass:

B. C. cir. 200.

4 He took care of the temple that it should not fall, and fortified the city against besieging:

5 How was he honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of [‖]the sanctuary!

‖ Gr. *the house of the veil.*

Egypt. As regards the question which Simon is referred to in this verse—whether the first or the second of that name—we refer to the General Introduction, § II. The Syr. adds, "greatest of his brethren and crown of his people was." And some such phrase seems required to give the sentence a commencement; it may have been omitted in the Greek copy by design or by neglect—probably the former.

repaired the house.] Gr. *ὑπέρραψεν*, well rendered in Latin by Kessler, "sartam tectam praestitit;" Heb. רִפֵּא (Fritzsche). On the subject of these repairs we must once more refer to the General Introduction, § II.

fortified the temple.] Rather, **strengthened** or "rebuilt;" see the references in Ges. 'Thes.' *s. v.* חָזַק.

2. *And by him was built, &c.*] This verse is obscure, and precise historical details are wanting (see General Introduction, § II.). The author apparently refers to a high surrounding wall built round the Temple; many of the words are to be found in the description of the palace at Persepolis given by Diodorus xvii. 71. The second clause may be translated "a lofty structure, a surrounding wall for the Temple." Ἀνάλημμα—in the LXX. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5 for "Millo"—is employed to designate any massive structure; see Wesseling *ad l. c.*, Diod., Suidas *s. v.*, with the references in Bernhardy's edition. The first clause is rendered more difficult by the phrase *ὕψος διπλῆς*; which should mean, "by him was founded (= built) to the height of a double;" "a double," *διπλῆ*, signifying some measure of length. In any case *ὕψος*, so close to *ὑψηλόν*, would suggest that the text was either corrupt or mistranslated. Perhaps the former was the case, and the original had חומת, signifying a "double wall" (compare *l. c.* Diod.), which the Syrian (whose text, however, is deficient) misread קומת, "height." For various suggestions on this locality, see Fritzsche.

3. The A. V. here follows an emended text. The Greek literally rendered would be: **in his days was diminished a receptacle of waters, brass** [or, with some MSS., "a lake"], **in circumference like that of a sea.** It is clear that this "diminished" cannot represent the original correctly; nor are the attempts that have been made to correct the Greek text successful. Fritzsche, whose criticisms on the attempts of his predecessors are here as elsewhere painfully sharp, reads *ἐλατομήθη*, "was cut out of stone;" a correction far inferior to that of Herzfeld ('Gesch. Israels,' ii. 195), *ἠλατώθη*. The Syriac Version, though it only preserves two words of the verse, enables us to correct the error with certainty. It renders "he dug a well," shewing that חסר, "diminished," in the Greek copy was an error for חפר, "dug." But this also shews us that in the second clause *λάκκος*, "a lake," must be substituted for *χαλκός*, "brass," of the best MSS.; a substitution in accordance with the canon that a more difficult reading is to be adopted in preference to one easier. The whole verse should then be rendered, **in his days was dug out a receptacle of waters, a reservoir in circumference like a sea.** There seems here an allusion to some public work, probably with a view to render a longer defence of Jerusalem possible.

4. *He took care of the temple.*] The A. V. follows an emendation; all the best authorities have: **who took thought for his people.**

that it should not fall.] Rather, **against ruin.**

against besieging.] The author would seem to mean "to stand a siege in," *i.e.* so that it could stand a siege. Ἐμπολιορκεῖσθαι would have been the correct Greek rather than *ἐμπολιορκῆσαι*. The mistake may be due either to the translator or to his copyists.

5. Stanza ii. The description of the high-priest during the most solemn function of his office: on the Day of Atonement.

in the midst of the people.] Ewald took the words to mean "during the circuit of the people," *i.e.* "on the solemn feast-day when the people walked in solemn procession round the sanctuary." But this is impossible, since there was no such circuit on the Day of Atonement. Syr. "when he departed out of the temple;" whence Bretschneider corrected the Greek *ναοῦ* for *λαοῦ*.

in his coming out of the sanctuary.] Rather, **when he came out from the house of**

B. C. cir. 200.

6 He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full:

7 As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds:

8 And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of summer:

9 As fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones:

10 And as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.

11 When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the

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the veil, *i.e.* from behind the Veil—from the Holiest of all. As the high-priest only entered the Holiest of all on the Day of Atonement, the reference must be to his "glorious" appearance on that day. For details of the services of that day, we refer to 'The Temple and its Services,' ch. xvi. The appearance of the high-priest is described in the following verses under eleven figures.

6. *as the morning star.*] Compare Isa. xiv. 12.

in the midst of a cloud.] Syr. "between clouds."

the moon at the full.] Lit. **full in days.** Syr. "in the days of Nisan;" a remarkable reading, which, if right, would seem to refer to the Paschal moon—but, if so, incorrectly. On the other hand, the autumn full moon—the harvest-moon—would be a much more suitable figure. It, as well as some of the subsequent figures, gains in significance when we remember that on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore "linen garments" ('Temple and its Services,' pp. 266, &c.).

7. *As the sun shining upon the temple of the most High.*] Syr. "upon a palace" (Heb. היכל? or אפדן?). The author is referring to gilt rooves.

in clouds of glory.] Syr. omits "of glory."

8. *as the flower of roses in the spring of the year.*] The expression "spring of the year" is the same as in xxiv. 23. Syr. "like the ears of the field;" an equally natural simile in our author's mind: see on xl. 22.

as the branches of the frankincense tree.] The meaning of the expression βλαστοὶ λιβάνου has been questioned. That represented by the A. V. is adopted by Fritzsche; and the reference to midsummer is explained by him (after Hug) from the observation of Theophrastus ('Hist. Plant.' ix. 1, 6), that the tree is tapped "under the Dog-star and in the hottest days." It has been suggested that the mention of frankincense in the next clause renders this interpretation improbable; and that we should translate "the shoots of Lebanon," עצי לבנון. This might indeed be referred to the fragrant herbs which grew there (so Herzfeld, *l. c.*; compare Cant. iv. 11), but it is more probably to be interpreted of the cedars, whose magnificent growth affords the material for so many biblical similes; since rich and luxurious vegetation rather than fragrance is the characteristic of all the plants mentioned in *v.* 10. On the other hand, however, aromatic plants alone are mentioned in one verse, and the mention of "branches of the frankincense tree" would form an apt transition to "the incense" in the next verse.

in the time of summer.] Probably "in harvest time," בימי קציר; cp. Syr. here, and LXX. of Prov. xxvi. 1. This corresponds with the date of the Fast.

9. *As fire and incense.*] The figure of hendiadys is not common in the Semitic languages. We prefer, therefore, the reading of the Syr., אשי לבנה, "offerings of incense"—conjectured independently by Fritzsche.

as a vessel of beaten gold.] Compare the similes in xxxii. 5, 6.

10. *a fair olive tree.*] "Fair" is found only in 248, Co.

budding forth fruit.] Rather, **bringing forth.** Syr. "whose branches are mighty," perhaps thinking of פארה for פריה.

as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds.] The cypress is φύσει ὑψηλόν (Theophrastus, 'Caus. Plant.' III. vii. 4). The tree spoken of, however, seems to have been the עץ שמן, or oleaster (cp. Syr.). The expression "which groweth up to the clouds" is so strange that even without the Syriac we might have guessed that the author had used the word עב, which bears the twofold meaning of "cloud" and "foliage," and that the latter was the sense which the author intended to convey. Theophrastus ('Hist. Plant.' I. viii. 3 and III. vi. 2) observes on the regularity of the boughs of this tree. To this feature our author probably alludes, but the original is difficult to reconstruct out of ὑψουμένη and ܡܣܒܠ.

11. Second stanza.

When he put on the robe of honour.] The

B. C. cir. 200.

perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable.

12 When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Libanus; and as palm trees compassed they him round about.

13 So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.

14 And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty,

[b] Deut. 32. 14. ch. 39. 26.

15 He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of [b]the blood of the grape, he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweetsmelling savour unto the most high King of all.

B. C. cir. 200.

16 Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and [c]sounded the ‖silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High.

[c] Numb. 10. 8, 10.

‖ Or, *trumpets beaten forth with the hammer.*

17 Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship their Lord God Almighty, the most High.

18 The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody.

19 And the people besought the Lord, the most High, by prayer before him that is merciful, till the

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distinctive vestments of the high-priest (see 'The Temple and its Services,' p. 72). Although during the ordinary part of the services on the Day of Atonement the high-priest wore his usual vestments—"the robe of honour," or, as it is called, "the golden vestments"—yet it seems more likely that the reference now is to the ordinary, or to the Sabbatic, or other festive functions of the high-priest. This, partly because it is not likely that these functions would remain wholly unnoticed, partly because we should scarcely expect that after the full description of the appearance on the Day of Atonement the writer would go back to it again. The wearing of the "golden vestments" during part of the Day of Atonement seems alluded to in the figure of *v.* 9. In connexion with this it here deserves notice that the services of that day were concluded by the high-priest in his "golden vestments" ('Temple and its Services,' pp. 285, 286). Indeed, a comparison of the figures in *vv.* 5–10 will shew that they correspond with the rubric regarding the vestments to be worn by the high-priest in the various functions of that solemn day.

he made the garment of holiness honourable.] Rather, **he made the surrounding** [the *ambitus*] **of the sanctuary glorious.** "The surrounding of the sanctuary" is the Court of the Priests where "the holy altar," *i.e.* the altar of burnt-offering, stood. For the rendering of *ἁγίασμα* by "sanctuary," comp. Ecclus. xlvii. 10, 13; xxxvi. 15; xlix. 6. The high-priest might officiate on any day and in any of the priestly functions.

12. *the portions.*] Syr. "of flesh." The sacrifice was cut up in pieces according to certain rules, and salted before being laid on the altar. For the various rubrics, comp. 'The Temple and its Services,' pp. 90, 100, 135, 141.

compassed with his brethren round about.] On the number of priests who carried up the various sacrifices, comp. *u. s.* p. 90.

as a young cedar in Libanus.] Omitted by Syr.; perhaps it has come in from *v.* 8.

13. For the detailed explanation of the order of service as here described we must refer to the account of these services, *u. s.* ch. viii.

14. *And finishing the service at the altar.*] Lit. **and performing completion on the altars**; Syriac, "until he had finished serving the altar." The latter would seem to represent the better reading; מְשָׁרֵת was read by the Greek translator מְשֹׁרֶת, and עד כלה taken by him for an adverbial phrase (probably we should read *εἰς συντέλειαν* for *καὶ σ.*).

that he might adorn the offering.] Rather, **while adorning** or **performing.**

15. *the cup.*] Heb. קִשֻּׁת, not used in singular. The "drink-offering" was poured on the base of the altar: comp. 'The Temple and its Services,' p. 142.

16. *silver.*] The marginal rendering is more literal. Immediately after the "drink-offering," the Temple-music began (*u. s.* pp. 142–144). On the musical part of the service, comp. *u. s.* pp. 52–57.

19. "The Psalm of the day was always sung in three sections. At the close of each

B. C. cir. 200. solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service.

20 Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name.

21 And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High.

Ps. 72. 18. 22 Now therefore [d]bless ye the God of all, which only doeth wondrous things every where, which exalteth our days from the womb, and dealeth with us according to his mercy. B. C. cir. 200.

23 He grant us joyfulness of heart, and that peace may be in our days in Israel for ever:

24 That he would confirm his mercy with us, and deliver us at his time!

25 There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:

26 They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem.

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the priests drew three blasts from their silver trumpets, and the people bowed down and worshipped" (*u. s.* p. 143).

20. On the priestly benediction and the response of the people, see *u. s.* p. 141. In the Temple of Herod the priestly blessing was given before the meat- and drink-offering and the Psalmody.

21. Although this verse seems naturally to connect itself with that which precedes, the structure of the chapter (see introduction) requires it to be connected with the hymn which follows.

22–24. Although put in the mouth of the people, this is rather ideal than real, and the hymn of thanksgiving must be regarded as the original composition of the Siracide rather than as forming part of the services in the Temple. Its catholic character, as distinguished from narrow Jewish views (*v.* 22 *a*, *b*); its expression of a wider gratitude (*v.* 22 *c*, *d*); its healthy tone (*v.* 23), and its pathetic utterance of hope (*v.* 24), entitle it to a place among the loftiest of uninspired hymns. As noticed in the General Introduction, it has been reproduced in the well-known German hymn of Rinckart (about 1648): *Nun danket alle Gott*—with special appropriateness to the circumstances of the time of its composition—the close of the Thirty Years' War. (For its translation into English, see 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' No. 379.) The Syriac version of the hymn is as follows:

"And let the people of the earth praise the Lord,
Who doeth famous things on earth,
And created the sons of man from out the womb of their mother,
And ruleth them according to His will,
To give unto them wisdom of heart;
And let there be peace between them;
And let mercy be established with Simon:
[or: And let it be established with Simon the Just (see General Introduction, p. 6)]
And with his seed, as the days of heaven."

It will be observed that while the Syriac rendering is in the first five lines more universal in its tone than the Greek, being probably modified by the Syriac translator, the last three lines seem more accurately to express what one would expect to have been in the mind of the original Hebrew writer.

25, 26. *There be two manner of nations, &c.*] It has been suggested that these two verses have the appearance of being a riddle, containing the author's name or an indication of the date at which the book was completed. Upon the whole their insertion in this place—after the concluding eulogy of *vv.* 22–24 and before the customary close in *vv.* 28, 29—seems so strange and incongruous that we are disposed to regard them as the later addition of a scribe, and as dating from near the time of Herod. This on account of the covert allusion to Edom, which, as the birthplace of the family of Herod, the Idumæan, was held in such general hatred at that time. For the reference to "the mountain of Samaria" must have been intended to cover some other allusion, the Samaritans being referred to in the last clause of the verse. The Hebrew original had no doubt "in mount Seir," referring to Edom. This is preserved in the Syr. גבל (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 8—while in the Samar. version of the Pentateuch *Seir* is rendered by גבלה). Similarly, the Vet. Lat. translates: *in monte Seir*. By the expression "Philistines," we conjecture that the foreign—Grecian—settlers in Palestine (*advenæ*) are meant, especially those who inhabited the older Philistine and Phœnician cities by the sea-coast. The

B. C. cir. 200.

27 Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem hath written in this book the instruction of understanding and knowledge, who out of his heart poured forth wisdom.

28 Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things; and he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise.

29 For if he do them, he shall be strong to all things: for the light of the Lord leadeth him, who giveth wisdom to the godly. Blessed be the Lord for ever. Amen, Amen.

CHAPTER LI.

A Prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach.

I WILL thank thee, O Lord and King, and praise thee, O God my Saviour: I do give praise unto thy name:

B. C. cir. 200.

2 For thou art my defender and helper, and hast preserved my body from destruction, and from the snare of the slanderous tongue, and from the lips that forge lies, and hast been mine helper against mine adversaries:

3 And hast delivered me, according to the multitude of thy mercies and greatness of thy name, from [1]the teeth of them that were ready to devour me, and out of the hands of such as sought after my life, and from the manifold afflictions which I had;

‖ Gr. *the gnashing of the teeth.*

4 From the choking of fire on every side, and from the midst of the fire which I kindled not;

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words "they that dwell among" are taken from H, 248, Co., but are not in any of the principal MSS., which have only "the Philistines."

CHAPTER LI.

Viewed generally, this chapter consists of three parts: Part I., *vv.* 1–12; Part II., *vv.* 13–27; Part III., *vv.* 28–30. The first two parts consist of several stanzas. Part I. has two stanzas, each of five verses (*vv.* 1–5; 6–10), and closes with a stanza of two verses (*vv.* 11, 12). Part II. has three stanzas, each of five verses (*vv.* 13–17; 18–22; 23–27). Part III., which may be regarded as the general conclusion, consists of one stanza of three verses. Not only the different parts of this chapter, but the stanzas of which each part consists, are well marked by the difference of the subject in each of them. Perhaps this is least clear in Part I. But here also we notice that from the record of strictly personal events in stanza i. (*vv.* 1–5) the writer passes in the second stanza (*vv.* 6–10) to a more general religious consideration of them and a statement of his own spiritual experience, which in the third stanza rises into thanksgiving (*vv.* 11, 12). This forms an apt conclusion of Part I. In Part II. the writer once more gives in the first stanza (*vv.* 13–17) what may be called a more personal account of his inner life as regards Wisdom, and again passes in the second stanza (*vv.* 18–22) to a more general statement in regard to it. Lastly, stanza iii. is an admonition addressed to all, and based on the writer's personal experience of Wisdom. This prepares for Part III., which contains a general commendation of the pursuit of wisdom and piety.

As regards critical points we note that this chapter is wanting in the S. *H.* Version, and in one or two MSS. Fritzsche would place it before *v.* 27 of the last chapter, without any adequate ground. Bickell endeavours to prove that it was an alphabetical psalm. In any case, from its personal character, the author was justified in making it an appendix to his book, within which it would have been entirely out of place. The Syriac Version has many strange variations (as in the preceding chapters), all of which do not require to find a place here.

1. *I will thank thee, &c.*] Cp. the commencement of Ps. cxxxviii. The Aeth. inverts clauses 1 and 2. On the circumstances of danger which beset the author, see the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8, 13.

2. *For thou art.*] Rather, **hast been** on a particular occasion.

from the snare of the slanderous tongue.] For the circumstances in Ben Sira's personal history which explain this verse, comp. the General Introduction, pp. 4, 8.

mine adversaries.] Lit. **those who stood beside me**—naturally in a hostile sense, "waiting to destroy me."

3. *and greatness of thy name.*] Lit. **and of thy name.** The text, if right, exhibits a remarkable zeugma. Aeth. "and on account of thy name." Some MSS. (with the Lat.) solve the difficulty by omitting the copula; and this Fritzsche adopts after Drusius. The original is likely to have been כרב חסדי שמך, "according to the multitude of the

B. C. cir. 200.

5 From the depth of the belly of hell, from an unclean tongue, and from lying words.

6 By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue my soul drew near even unto death, my life was near to the hell beneath.

7 They compassed me on every side, and there was no man to help me: I looked for the succour of men, but there was none.

8 Then thought I upon thy mercy, O Lord, and upon thy acts of old, how thou deliverest such as wait for thee, and savest them out of the hands of the enemies.

9 Then lifted I up my supplication from the earth, and prayed for deliverance from death.

10 I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the days of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, when there was no help.

B. C. cir. 200.

11 I will praise thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving; ‖and so my prayer was heard:

‖ Or, *because my prayer.*

12 For thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks, and praise thee, and bless thy name, O Lord.

13 When I was yet young, or ever I ‖went abroad, I desired wisdom openly in my prayer.

‖ Or, *went astray.*

14 I prayed for her before the temple, and will seek her out even to the end.

15 Even from the flower till the

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mercies of Thy Name," when the ו was corrupted into ן. The reason for the periphrase must have been rhythmical.

4. *which I kindled not.*] *I.e.* trouble which I had brought on by no folly of my own. It is likely, however, that there is a mistranslation, and that the original meant "so that I was not burnt."

5. *the belly of hell.*] Or, rather, **Hades**—so also in *v.* 6. The phrase is from Jonah's hymn (ii. 3, בטן שאול), to which this chapter contains several allusions. The meaning is that he was guiltless.

unclean tongue.] Comp. Isa. vi. 5, "of unclean lips," which, however, is rather different.

6. *By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue.*] The text of the best MSS. is here corrupt and must be corrected. The inferior MSS. read διαβολῆς for διαβολή. The text means: **from a false accusation to the king, from the accusation of an unrighteous tongue.** The A. V. follows a correction, διαβολῇ. Copt. "from the calumny of the tongue of violence of the king." This clause, however, really forms part of the preceding verse, to which it should be joined. With the next clause begins the second stanza, which is connected with the first by the resumption of the reference to Hades.

my soul drew near, &c.] Similar complaints are frequent in the Psalms.

7. *They compassed me.*] Syr. "I turned behind."

8. *out of the hands of the enemies.*] The better MSS. have: **hands of the Gentiles.** This would also fit in better with the peculiar circumstances of danger in which the writer was placed.

10. *the Lord, the Father of my Lord.*] "Christi ut apud Davidem Ps. cx. 1" (Grotius). This, however, is impossible in such a book as this. The Syriac shews us that the original text signified: "unto the Lord, my father, O Lord."

in the time of the proud, when there was no help.] The construction is difficult; the best critics seem, however, agreed about the meaning.

11. Concluding stanza of Part I.

and so (rather, *yea*) *my prayer was heard.*] Apodosis of *v.* 10. The whole cast of this stanza is entirely in accord with the spirit of the Old Testament. Whatever Israel lost in its degenerate times, it was not the dignity of suffering.

13. The verse begins Part II. Here Bickell makes the alphabetical portion begin.

or ever I went abroad.] The commentators are divided between this meaning and that suggested in the margin. For the author's travels, see xxxiv. 11. Yet "to wander" need mean no more than "to leave the nest."

openly.] Perhaps "loudly."

14. *before the temple.*] Cp. Ps. v. 8; cxxviii. 2. The posture of the suppliant is that of looking towards the sanctuary.

and will seek her out.] A holy resolution to persevere in what he had from the first

B. C. cir. 200.

grape was ripe hath my heart delighted in her: my foot went the right way, from my youth up sought I after her.

16 I bowed down mine ear a little, and received her, and gat much learning.

17 I profited therein, *therefore* will I ascribe the glory unto him that giveth me wisdom.

18 For I purposed to do after her, and earnestly I followed that which is good; so shall I not be confounded.

19 My soul hath wrestled with her, and in my doings I was exact: I stretched forth my hands to the heaven above, and bewailed my ignorances of her.

‖ Or, *I got understanding.*

20 ‖I directed my soul unto her, and I found her in pureness: I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning, therefore shall I not be forsaken.

B. C. cir. 200.

21 My ‖heart was troubled in seeking her: therefore have I gotten a good possession.

‖ Or, *bowels.*

22 The Lord hath given me a tongue for my reward, and I will praise him therewith.

23 Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the house of learning.

24 Wherefore are ye slow, and what say ye of these things, seeing your souls are very thirsty?

25 I opened my mouth, and said, [a]Buy her for yourselves without money.

[a] Isai. 55. 1.

26 Put your neck under the yoke, and let your soul receive instruction: [b]she is hard at hand to find.

[b] Deut. 30. 14.

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sought, and in which experience had confirmed the wisdom and goodness of his choice.

15. *Even from the flower* **till the ripening grape.**] The writer has in mind Isa. xviii. 5. If the reading adopted by the A. V. be right, the author is referring to his own lifetime, "from earliest youth to manhood." The simile is a common one in the classical poets. Horace's *immitis uvae* and Pindar's γενύσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν will occur to many readers. Most MSS., however, have ὡς, "as," for ἕως, "till," giving a difficult verse, which might be explained with Fritzsche: "from her [Wisdom's] flower, as from the ripening grape," &c.

16. *and gat* **myself,** *&c.*] Compare the phrase in the Prologue.

17. *I profited.*] Rather, **I made progress.** Syr. "her yoke became a glory to me." Perhaps עֲלָהּ has been confused with עלה.

18. This verse begins a new stanza.

19. *hath wrestled with her.*] Syr. "clung to her." Can there be any reference here to the wrestling of Jacob? But the word is not the same as that used in Gen. xxxii. 21.

and in my doings I was exact.] The best MSS. have "and in the doing of hunger," which is evidently impossible. The reading of the A. V. is found in a few MSS. Possibly we should accept Fritzsche's correction, ποιήσει νόμου, "doing of the law:" comp. xix. 18.

20. The order of the clauses in the T. R. is as follows: "I directed my soul," "I have had," "I found her." It is clear that the order of the A. V. is correct, which is supported by A and S.

I have had my heart joined.] Lit. **I gained heart,** *i.e.* I acquired wisdom, קניתי לב (as the Syr. shews).

with her.] The T. R. has "with them." The Syr. omits the phrase.

21. *My heart.*] The marginal reading is that of all the best authorities, doubtless altered for decency's sake. Syr. "my entrails burned like an oven."

23. This verse begins a new stanza. The Orientals feel no modesty in praising their own works. In an Arabic letter shewn the commentator, the author of a poem in honour of Mohammad writes: "Have you not heard what the author of it says of it?—'Blessed are all they that read it; lost are all they that cast it aside.'" At the same time the praise in this verse may be intended rather for what formed the subject of the work than for the writer's mode of presenting it.

24. *and what say ye of these things.*] These words are omitted by the best MSS., and are shewn to be spurious by the Syr. In reality they represent a gloss τί λήγετε upon the διότι ὑστερεῖτε, "why are ye slow," of the text.

25. A recommendation willingly to submit themselves. The expression "yoke" for "obligation" is common in Jewish writings:

B. C. cir. 200.

27 [c]Behold with your eyes, how that I have had but little labour, and have gotten unto me much rest.

[c] ch. 6. 19.

28 Get learning with a great sum of money, and get much gold by her.

B. C. cir. 200.

29 Let your soul rejoice in his mercy, and be not ashamed of his praise.

30 Work your work betimes, [d]and in his time he will give you your reward.

[d] Rom. 2. 6, 7.

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comp. Ab. iii. 5; Ber. iii. 2 (especially the latter).

26. Syr. adds, "and he that giveth his soul will find her."

27. The labour was brief, the rest great and lasting. We prefer referring the sentence to the author's experience as regards his submission to wisdom and piety than to the labour of composing his book and the satisfaction ensuing from it.

rest.] The Syr. omits the word. Perhaps מַנְחָה, "a present," should have been read rather than מְנוּחָה, "rest."

28. Concluding part. The Syr. renders this verse: "Hear my teaching though little, and ye shall gain silver and gold by me."

BARUCH.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Contents and Division.

The Book of Baruch, as it stands in the Authorized Version, consists of several parts distinctly marked:—

Chap. i. 1–14. Historical Preface, describing the origin of the book.

Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. Israel's Confession and Prayer in the time of captivity.

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. Israel admonished to return to the Fountain of Wisdom.

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. Encouragement and promise of a happy deliverance.

The Epistle of Jeremy, which appears in the A.V. as Baruch chap. vi., is a distinct work, which it will be better to consider in a separate Introduction.

The first step towards determining the relation of these several parts to each other, and to the whole, is to state briefly the contents of each, before attempting to examine them critically.

Chap. i. 1–14. The Historical Preface. (*a*) Origin of the Book in Babylon (i. 1–9). (*b*) Message sent with the Book to Jerusalem (i. 10–14).

(*a*) This is the Book which Baruch wrote in Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and read in the ears of King Jechonias and all the captives who dwelt by the river Sud. "Whereupon they wept, fasted, and prayed before the Lord;" and, having collected money, sent it to Jerusalem with the book (*v.* 14), and with the silver vessels brought from the Temple, which Zedekiah had made after Jechonias had been carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar (1–9).

(*b*) With the money and the book was sent this message: "Spend the money in sacrifices, pray for Nebuchadnezzar and his son Balthasar, that we may live long and happily under their shadow, and that God may forgive us our sins, and turn his anger from us. Read this book of confession and prayer in the Temple upon the solemn Feasts" (10–14).

Chap. i. 15—iii. 8. Israel's Confession and Prayer. (*a*) Confession of sins (i. 15—ii. 10). (*b*) Prayer for forgiveness and deliverance (ii. 11—iii. 8).

(*a*) The Lord is righteous, but we and our fathers have sinned against Him since the day that He brought them out of the land of Egypt (i. 15–19). The judgments therefore which God foretold by Moses and the Prophets have justly fallen upon us; yet, notwithstanding all God's terrible chastisements, we have not repented and turned to Him (i. 20—ii. 10).

(*b*) And now, Lord, remembering Thy mercy to our fathers in Egypt, we acknowledge our sins, and pray Thee to "deliver us for thine own sake," that our

afflicted souls may live to praise Thee (11–18). We plead not any righteousness of our fathers, or of our kings. Thy prophets warned us to submit to the king of Babylon, but we hearkened not to the warnings which Thou hast now made good upon our fathers, upon us, and on Thy holy House (19–26). Yet in all this Thou hast dealt mercifully with us, according to Thy word by Moses, that, after being made few in number and scattered among the heathen, Thy people should remember themselves and turn unto Thee, and be brought back to the land promised to their forefathers, and be joined to Thee in an everlasting covenant, and be no more cast out of the land (27–35).

We cry to Thee in anguish: hear us in Thy great mercy: hear the prayers of Thy people, and remember not their iniquities: for now Thou hast put Thy fear in our hearts, and we praise Thee this day in the midst of our captivity (iii. 1–8).

Chap. iii. 9—iv. 4. ADMONITION TO RETURN TO THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM. Why art thou in captivity, Israel? Because thou hast forsaken the Fountain of Wisdom. Where Wisdom is, there is life and peace (9–14). But who has found the place of Wisdom? Not the rulers of the earth, nor those whose hearts were set upon riches; neither they, nor their children after them, nor the wise of all nations, nor the giants of old time have found Wisdom. None hath found her in all the wide world, in the sky, or beyond the sea; none but the All-Wise, the Maker of the world and all that is therein, whom the light and the stars obey (15–34). This is our God, and He hath given wisdom unto Israel in the Law that endureth for ever. Happy art thou, O Israel, if thou wilt walk in that light (iv. 1–4).

Chap. iv. 5—v. 9. ENCOURAGEMENT, AND PROMISE OF A HAPPY RETURN. Let Israel take courage. The remnant shall not perish, though they have provoked God to jealousy by idolatry, and have grieved Jerusalem their mother (5–8).

Sion appeals to her neighbours for pity, because her children have departed from God's law, and been carried into captivity by a strange and terrible nation (9–16). Turning now to her children, she cries, How can *I* help you? He that hath sent these evils on you will deliver you. Go your way; and while I in sackcloth cry unto the Eternal, cry ye also to Him for deliverance. For He has given me a joyful hope that ye shall return with gladness. Therefore bear His chastisement patiently, and ye shall see the destruction of your enemies. Seek Him with tenfold earnestness, and He will save you (17–29).

Jerusalem herself now receives a message of comfort. Woe to thy enemies! Woe to the city where thy children are in bondage! She shall be desolate, burned with fire, a habitation of demons.

See thy children gathered to thee again. Put on again thy glorious apparel. God giveth thee a new name. Arise! Stand upon the height, and see every valley exalted, every mountain brought low, that thy children may be brought back to thee in the light of the glory of God (iv. 30—v. 9).

Looking back over this summary of the contents, we see clearly that there is *no essential connexion* between the first portion i. 1—iii. 8, consisting of the Prayer and its historical preface, and the second part iii. 9—v., containing the Praise of Wisdom and the Promise of speedy deliverance.

Accordingly, in considering the questions of Authorship, of the Time and Place of Composition, and of the Original Language, we cannot admit any argument which rests on the supposed unity of the Book, but must examine the two parts separately, before attempting to discover how they came to be connected.

§ II. THE REPUTED AUTHOR.

We do not propose in this section to discuss the authenticity of the book, but only to review the historical and traditional notices of Baruch, the reputed author.

The book which bears the name "Baruch" ("Blessed") professes to contain "the words of the book which Baruch the son of Neriah . . . wrote in Babylon

in the fifth year" after "the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire."

The Baruch here meant is unquestionably the companion of the prophet Jeremiah, described by Josephus as "being of a very illustrious family, and eminently learned in his native tongue." ('Ant.' x. ix. § 1.) He is first mentioned in Jer. xxxii. 12, as "the son of Neriah;" and was thus the brother of "Seraiah, the son of Neriah, the son of Maaseiah," who went to Babylon with Zedekiah, king of Judah, taking with him the book in which Jeremiah had written "all the evil that should come upon Babylon" (Jer. li. 59, 60).

The ancestry of Baruch is traced back for three generations before his grandfather Maaseiah in Baruch i. 1, an historical notice the truth of which is generally admitted.

In Jeremiah xxxvi. Baruch appears as the prophet's faithful friend, who wrote in the roll of a book, and read first to the people assembled in the outer court of the Temple on a public Fast-day, in December 605 B.C., and then in the ears of the princes of Judah, all the words in which Jeremiah gave warning of the coming destruction. Of Baruch we do not hear again until after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 588 B.C.; but from the statement of Josephus, in the passage already quoted, that Jeremiah, when set free from chains at Ramah (Jer. xl. 1–6), entreated Nebuzaradan to release Baruch also, we may infer that he had shared his master's captivity.

After the murder of Gedaliah and the flight of Ishmael (Jer. xli.), the prophet delivered to "the remnant of Judah" a warning from God not to seek refuge in Egypt, but to remain quietly in their own land (xlii.). The advice was rejected, and Baruch was accused of urging Jeremiah to deliver the people into the hands of the Chaldeans (xliii. 3); and both the prophet and his faithful companion were compelled by "the captains of the host" to go with them into Egypt, where they dwelt at Tahpanhes (*v.* 7), a town of Lower Egypt on the eastern border, near Pelusium, called by Herodotus Daphnae, and identified by Sir Gardner Wilkinson with Tel-Defenneh ('Dict. of the Bible').

There Jeremiah uttered his prophecies of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (xliii. 8–13 and xlvi., xlvii.), and his remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt (xliv.). The fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, though not recorded in the historical books of the Old Testament, is attested by Josephus, who says that Nebuchadnezzar slew the king of Egypt, and set up another in his place, and again made captive the Jews who were in Egypt, and led them away to Babylon ('Ant.' x. 9, § 7).

According to a Jewish tradition (*Seder olam rabba*, c. 26) Jeremiah and Baruch were both carried away to Babylon at this time, and a trace of this same tradition is seen in the Greek superscription of Ps. cxxxvii., which the Vatican Codex attributes to Jeremiah (Τῷ Δαυὶδ Ἱερεμίου).

Another tradition, mentioned by S. Jerome ('adv. Jovin.' ii. 9), states that Jeremiah and Baruch both died in Egypt, the former being stoned by the Jews at Tahpanhes, for his stern rebuke of their apostasies. This is usually regarded as the most trustworthy account: but, according to another rabbinical tradition, Baruch left Egypt after his master's death, and himself died in Babylon twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

In concluding this notice of the reputed Author of the Book, we may draw attention to an interesting view of the personal character of Baruch in Jer. xlv. The chapter expressly refers to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when Baruch wrote the words of Jeremiah in a book, and read them in the ears of the princes (Jer. xxxvi.). Baruch himself was deeply affected by the message which he had to deliver: "Thou didst say, Woe is me now! for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow; I fainted in my sighing (R.V. I am weary with my groaning), and I find no rest."

But the word of the Lord must be fulfilled: "That which I have planted I will pluck up, even this whole land." Let Baruch therefore form no vain hopes, nor seek great things for himself, but be content to know that wherever he may go his life shall be protected.

The nature of this prophecy explains its position: being purely personal and

private, it is not inserted in the course of the history after Jer. xxxvi., but appended, with other isolated prophecies, at a later period, probably after the death of Jeremiah, to his final remonstrance against the idolatry of his countrymen in Egypt.

§ III. The alleged Place and Time of Writing.

According to the account given in Baruch i. 1–14, the book was written by Baruch, the son of Neriah, "in Babylon, in the fifth year, and in the seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire."

The first question is, To what capture of Jerusalem does this statement refer?

(1.) In the year B.C. 606, Nebuchadnezzar "came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years" (2 Kings xxiv. 1): "then he turned and rebelled against him. And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldees, ... and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by his servants the prophets" (*v.* 2). On this occasion, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6, Nebuchadnezzar bound Jehoiakim "in fetters, to carry him to Babylon," but this intention seems to have been frustrated by the death of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6; Jer. xxii. 18, 19): "Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7).

Jehoiachin, who succeeded, reigned only three months, and then was carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, with great treasure, and with the princes and all the men of might. These events took place B.C. 599–597; but though Jerusalem was besieged and taken more than once, there is no mention of its being burnt with fire at this time.

(2.) In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, B.C. 588, the king having been previously carried away captive to Babylon, "came Nebuzaradan . . . unto Jerusalem, and he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire" (2 Kings xxv. 9). The same event is described in similar language in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19, it being expressly mentioned that "they burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire."

It is beyond all reasonable doubt that this latter destruction of Jerusalem is the event referred to in the words of Baruch i. 2, "what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire:" and in the fifth year after that event, *i.e.* in 583 B.C., Baruch is said to have written the book and read it in the ears of Jehoiachin. (Compare note on i. 2.)

The objections urged against the historical truth of this statement are numerous, the most important being drawn from the representations in i. 1–14: but our course will be cleared if we deal first with arguments drawn from other portions of the book.

Thus, in the sections iii. 9—iv. 4 and iv. 5—v. 9, there are expressions which betray a later date than the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem in 588 B.C. In iii. 10 a late period of the Captivity is implied in the words "thou art waxen old in a strange country:" and in iv. 22, 24, 25, the assurance that the promised deliverance is near at hand is emphatically repeated.

It is not enough to answer, as Reusch does on iv. 22, that "the seventy years of the exile are but a short time in comparison with the 'everlasting joy' which follows thereon (iv. 29; v. 1: compare Isa. liv. 7, 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee).'" In fact, the continuance of the Exile for seventy years was foretold, not as a short but as a long time, in direct contradiction to the false prophet who promised deliverance within two full years (Jer. xxviii. 3, 11; xxix. 5–10).

With regard to Isa. liv. 7, 8, the prophet appears to set himself in imagination beyond the close of the Captivity, whereas Baruch is supposed to write not long after its commencement. In looking back upon the Exile *as past*, it was quite natural to regard it as of short duration: but the hope of speedy deliverance in Baruch iv. 22–25, though put into the mouth of Sion at the time of her children's departure, is in fact only suited

to a late period of the Captivity, and is directly contrary to the expectation expressed in i. 12, "We shall serve them many days."

The true answer is that the objection is decisive as to the later date of these sections, but does not affect the previous section, i. 1—iii. 8, which is perfectly distinct.

Returning to the introductory section, i. 1–14, we have to consider the objection that it "contains historical errors which are inconceivable in a contemporary, but may fairly be imputed to a later writer."

The general charge, thus stated by Fritzsche and adopted by most Protestant commentators, is based upon alleged misrepresentations of—(A) the personal history of Baruch; (B) the circumstances of the captives in Babylon; (C) the condition of Jerusalem.

A. The presence of Baruch in Babylon in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem (1) has no other evidence, and (2) is improbable, because Baruch attached himself constantly to the person of Jeremiah, and *he* was at that time still alive (Fritzsche: so also Lange).

(1.) As regards the want of evidence to confirm the statement that Baruch was in Babylon (i. 1), it might be fairly answered that there is no evidence against it, and therefore no inference to be drawn either way. The scriptural history, as we have seen, is silent concerning the latter years of Jeremiah and Baruch after their arrival at Tahpanhes.

Either of the traditions above mentioned, that they were both carried away by the Chaldeans from Egypt to Babylon, or that Baruch after his master's death joined the Jewish exiles in Babylon and died there twelve years after the destruction of Jerusalem, is in itself as probable as the other tradition, that both remained in Egypt and died there.

(2.) The confident assumption that Jeremiah was still alive in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem is not supported by any particle of evidence. On the other hand, the tradition that both died in Egypt states also that Jeremiah was stoned by his countrymen: if this were so, the occasion was probably his rebuke of their idolatry, which seems to have occurred soon after his arrival at Tahpanhes (Jer. xliii. 8—xliv.); and probability is thus given to the view that Baruch survived him. We conclude that, beyond the statement of i. 1, 2, there is no evidence either for or against Baruch's visit to Babylon, and no improbability in it. Certainly we cannot admit Fritzsche's positive assertion: "There is, therefore, an error in i. 1, 2."

B. (1.) "According to i. 3, King Jehoiachin was present at the reading; but at that time he was still in prison" (Fritzsche).

This objection rests solely upon an extremely literal, and probably exaggerated, view of the statement in 2 Kings xxv. 27, concerning the release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach many years later. It is not probable that the king or his fellow-captives were kept for thirty-seven years in such close confinement as to be forbidden to meet together to listen to the reading of a book by one of their number.

(2.) "In i. 11 the son of Nebuchadnezzar is called Balthasar."

Balthasar, *i.e.* Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1), was the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to the custom of the writers of the Old Testament, might be called his son, as in Dan. v. 2, 11, 18, Nebuchadnezzar is called the "father" of Belshazzar, being in fact his grandfather. Our author, taking the expression too literally, makes Belshazzar heir to the throne during the life of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, Evil-Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31), was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, on whose death (556 B.C.) his infant son, Laborosoarchod, was murdered by the usurper Nabonadius (Labynetus). This last having married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Nitocris), associated his eldest son, Belshazzar, with himself as co-regent, thus restoring the line of Nebuchadnezzar. Nabonadius, when defeated by Cyrus, fled to Borsippa, while Belshazzar was shut up in Babylon and there perished, B.C. 538. The touching prayer of Nabonadius for Belshazzar —"my eldest son, the offspring of my heart,"—in one of the cuneiform inscriptions, is given in the 'Speaker's Com-

mentary' on Dan. v. 1, where the history of the period is admirably discussed.

C. *State of Jerusalem.*—(1.) It is argued that the state of Jerusalem in the fifth year after its destruction by the Chaldeans could not have been such as is assumed in the request of the exiles that their money might be spent in sacrifices (i. 10), and the book read in the house of the Lord upon the feasts and solemn days.

Reusch answers that of the people who had not been carried away some would naturally gather again round Jerusalem (compare Jer. xl. 12), having among them some priests who had either been left behind by the Chaldeans or had escaped and hidden themselves: that though Temple and Altar had both been destroyed, they might have raised an Altar among the ruins, and resumed their sacrifices and observance of the Feasts, as well as the circumstances would permit. This explanation is in fact justified by the statement in Jer. xli. 5, that there came Jews "from Shechem, and Shiloh, and Samaria, with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord."

Thus the ruins of the Temple (as the chief modern interpreters agree) are still called by Jeremiah himself "the house of the Lord;" and if offerings are brought in less than three months after its destruction, much more may have been done in five years towards a partial restoration of the accustomed worship.

(2.) "It is not true that Joachim was at that time the High Priest."

In this objection there are two points to be examined: (*a*) The title ascribed to Joachim, the son of Hilkiah; (*b*) The date.

(*a*) "**The priest**" (ὁ ἱερεύς, i. 7) very frequently means "the High Priest," this latter title (הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל) being rare in the Pentateuch, and the corresponding ἀρχιερεύς still rarer. On the other hand, ἀρχιερεύς has become frequent in the Apocryphal books, while ὁ ἱερεύς is, apparently, only once in them applied to the High Priest (1 Macc. xv. 1, 2).

In Jeremiah (xx. 1; xxi. 1; xxix. 20, 21; xxxvii. 3; lii. 21) we find "**the priest**" (ὁ ἱερεύς) used as a distinctive title of persons who were not the High Priests, as "Pashur the son of Immer, the priest, who was also chief governor in the house of the Lord" (xx. 1–6) in the time of King Jehoiachim, and "Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah, the priest" (xxi. 1; xxxvii. 3) in the time of Zedekiah. To this Zephaniah a letter was sent by Shemaiah from Babylon, in which he said, "The Lord hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye should be officers in the house of the Lord" (xxix. 26).

The office in which Zephaniah succeeded Jehoiada was that of "second priest," or "Sagan," as we learn expressly from Jer. lii. 24: "The captain of the guard (Nebuzaradan) took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah the second priest," and brought them to Riblah, where they were put to death, B.C. 587, and Seraiah was succeeded as High Priest by his son Jehozadak, who was carried away captive to Babylon (1 Chr. vi. 14).

Thus the contemporary usage of the title by Jeremiah, and the absence of the name of Joachim from the list of High Priests in 1 Chr. vi. 13, 14, combine to shew that Joachim is called "**the priest**," as being the successor of Zephaniah in the office of "second priest" and "governor of the house of the Lord."

(*b*) As to the date Kneucker (p. 208) argues that "the author of the (alleged) interpretation (i. 4–9) has no doubt mistaken the time at which Joachim son of Hilkiah attained the office of 'second priest,' when he puts him in office in the fifth year after the capture of Jehoiachim, *i.e.* B.C. 595: for he was much earlier."

But "the fifth year" is not B.C. 595, but, as we have shewn, B.C. 583, and even with this later date there is no such mistake as is alleged.

Hilkiah is mentioned as High Priest in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4), *i.e.* about 620 B.C. His son might therefore well be the "second priest" in 583 B.C., about thirty-seven years later; and in that office he would have the care of the treasury, more especially in the absence of the High Priest in Babylon.

(3.) Another alleged error is the statement that "vessels of the house of the Lord" were at that time brought back, "namely silver vessels" which Zedekiah had made (i. 8).

The golden vessels provided by Solomon (1 Kings vii. 48–50; 2 Chr. iv. 19–22) are said to have been "cut in pieces" (2 Kings xxiv. 13), or, according to 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, when he brought Jehoiachin "to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of the Lord."

On this occasion (599 B.C.) there is no mention of silver vessels. But at the end of Zedekiah's reign, when Nebuzaradan "burnt the house of the Lord," we read (2 Kings xxv. 9, 15) that "the fire-pans, and the bowls, and such things as were of gold, in gold, and of silver, in silver, the captain of the guard took away."

This express mention of silver vessels at the end of Zedekiah's reign, and the absence of any such mention on the previous occasion, seem to give probability to our author's statement (i. 8) that they had been made by Zedekiah to replace the golden vessels which had been destroyed and carried away at the beginning of his reign: just as, when Shishak carried away the golden shields which Solomon had made, Rehoboam made shields of brass to replace them (2 Chr. xii. 10). "It is true," says Reusch, "that in Kings and Chronicles (where the narrative of the reign of Zedekias is very defective) this is not expressly stated, but it is in itself very probable that Zedekias, the successor of Jehoiachin, caused those golden vessels, such at least as were indispensable to the Temple service, to be replaced by new, cheaper, silver ones.

"These new silver vessels, together with the others which had been left behind in 599 B.C., were carried away to Babylon in 588 B.C., after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 13 ff.), and were (as we learn from Baruch) restored at this time,—being either redeemed by the exiles or restored by Nebuchadnezzar out of compassion to the penitent Jews; while the other silver and the golden vessels remained in Babylon till the time of Cyrus."

There is nothing improbable in this explanation, and the allegation of error, resting only on an argument *e silentio*, is by no means proved.

The following is, according to Reusch (p. 47), the most *probable combination of events* partly stated, partly assumed, in the Book of Baruch.

"In the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in 583 B.C., Baruch was in Babylon, and read his book to Jechoniah and an assembly of the Jewish exiles.

"This assembly made a collection of money, and sent the produce to Jerusalem.

"In the letter which accompanied it, the Jews at Jerusalem were exhorted to present offerings for Nebuchadnezzar and for the exiles, and to read Baruch's book (sent with the letter) on Feast-days." Baruch himself was the bearer: he was going back to Jerusalem to restore some of the vessels of the Temple which had been carried off at the time of its destruction; namely, silver vessels made by Zedekiah to replace the original golden vessels carried off by Nebuchadnezzar at the capture of the city in the time of Jehoiachin, B.C. 599.

"In this there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition that Baruch himself composed this short historical preface to his book, though it is also possible that some one else may have added it afterwards."

This defence is ingenious, but not adequate. We may acknowledge our belief that the tendency of modern criticism has been to exaggerate the supposed evidence of spuriousness drawn from the historical statements of the book. If, however, these statements were entirely free from any great inaccuracy, it would not necessarily follow that Baruch was the author, but only that the real author was well informed concerning the events of which he writes. On the other hand, the serious error of representing Belshazzar as contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar (see above, B 2) is fatal to the theory of Baruch's authorship, and betrays an ignorance which can only be imputed to one who lived long after the death of Belshazzar and the return of the exiles.

§ IV. Relation to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.

One of the commonest and strongest arguments against the genuineness of the Book of Baruch is based upon its want of originality and its close dependence upon earlier books. There is much truth in the objection, at least as applied to the earlier portion (i. 1—iii. 9); but there is also much exaggeration and inaccuracy in the expressions used.

Eichhorn, as quoted by Reusch, p. 66, calls the book "a mere rhapsody out of various ancient Hebrew scriptures, especially Daniel and Nehemiah." Keerl, also quoted by Reusch, writes still more strongly: "Every Prophet of the Old Testament brings new as well as old out of his treasure. The worthy Baruch contents himself with transcribing the older prophecies. In comparing the contents of his book, there comes over one a feeling as if some incompetent scribbler had wished to do an exercise in the language and style of the Prophets; it reminds one of the rhetorical practice of a feeble schoolboy, who composes an opusculum out of all sorts of passages."

Fritzsche, with more justice, speaking of the first part only, calls it "a cento from earlier writings, in which Jeremiah, Daniel, Nehemiah, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah are so strongly used, that this necessarily carries us on into a later time which had lost all productive prophetical power."

We do not find, even in the first part, any proof of dependence on Nehemiah; but the use made of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in the first section, and of Isaiah in the second, is such as goes far to justify the conclusion which Fritzsche has drawn.

The similarity between Baruch i. 15—ii. 17 and Daniel ix. 7–19 is too evident to be denied, and too close to be accidental. The two passages are so much alike, not merely in single phrases and sentences, but in the whole course of thought, that no one can help assuming a connexion between them. But while fully admitting this connexion, Reusch tries to maintain the genuineness of Baruch by suggesting that he, and not Daniel, is the original author. In support of his opinion he appeals to the frequent resemblance to passages of Jeremiah, and argues that the prayer, composed by Baruch, may have come into general use among the Jews in captivity, to whose circumstances and feelings it is very suitable, and thus its language was adopted by Daniel in his prayers, as also in "the Prayer of the Three Children in the Furnace."

This argument, if well founded, would be more effectual in destroying the genuineness of Daniel than in establishing that of Baruch.

A more impartial judgment on the relation between Baruch and Daniel is expressed by critics like Fritzsche and Kneucker, who deny the authenticity of both alike. They "can afford to see," as Dr. Pusey says of Fritzsche, "that the Book of Daniel was used" in Baruch, on account of the late date assigned to the latter.

Dr. Pusey's own judgment is too valuable to be omitted: "The great prayer of Daniel is made the basis of the early portion of the prayer in Baruch. . . . The agreement is not in formulæ, but in whole verses, and that in the same order. Nor can there be any doubt, that Daniel is the original, which is filled up and expanded in Baruch. The prayer of Daniel is one whole, whose inspired thoughts, like those in the Psalms, have formed the devotions of 2300 years, ever gushing forth in renewed fulness. . . .

". . . The prayer in Baruch, on the contrary, is a mosaic formed of jewels from Daniel, Nehemiah (?), and Jeremiah, blended together, yet not forming one distinct whole." ('Lectures on Daniel,' p. 362.)

§ V. Original Language.

Three different opinions have been held concerning the original language of the book: (*a*) that the Greek text is throughout original; (*b*) that it is throughout a translation from Hebrew; (*c*) that the part i. 1—iii. 8 was originally written in Hebrew, and iii. 9—v. 9 in Greek.

It will be desirable to consider the language of these two parts separately, it being universally admitted that they do not contain equally strong evidence of a Hebrew original.

In i. 14 the author, writing in the name of the Exiles, directs that his book shall be read publicly in the Temple at Jerusalem. This of course *implies* that the book to be so read was written in Hebrew, and the evidence would be conclusive if the Introduction (i. 1–14) were the genuine work of Baruch: even a later author may have intended his prayer to be used in public worship, and we are "hardly justified in assuming this direction to be a mere fiction" (Fritzsche). The real evidence, however, lies in the language of the Greek text itself, and in its relation to the Hebrew Scriptures and Septuagint.

It may be admitted that a translation from Hebrew might possibly be written in so pure a style as not to be distinguishable from an original work in Greek; or, on the other hand, a book written in Greek by a Jew, accustomed to think and write in Hebrew, might bear the appearance of a translation from Hebrew.

The question is therefore put on a right basis by Fritzsche when he says that even strong Hebraisms may indicate only that the writer was a Jew, not necessarily a translator; "but the question is as to the nature of those Hebraisms and of the whole work. Where a man's thoughts and words run back at once into Hebrew, where we find what is absolutely contradictory to the genius of Greek not distinguished from the context, and can discover only faint colouring of genuine Greek, while on the other hand considerable knowledge of Greek accidence and, in a measure, of syntax is shewn,—there the writing must be a translation, because otherwise this very knowledge must have had a more decided influence, and the appearances can only be explained by the restraint which hampers the writer. And this principle is applicable here: the section i. 1–iii. 8 contains not only individual examples of strong Hebraism, but is almost one entire Hebraism, and reads like another translation in the Septuagint" (p. 71).

We proceed to notice the special instances alleged in proof of a Hebrew original.

(*a*) The constant use of *καί* (Heb. ו) at the beginning of a sentence, when in ordinary Greek some other conjunction would be used.

(*b*) The relative followed by a demonstrative, as in Hebrew (אֲשֶׁר).

ii. 4, *οὗ* (*διέσπειρεν*) . . . *ἐκεῖ*. The same construction occurs also in ii. 13, 29; iii. 8. All these passages are derived directly or indirectly from Deut. xxx. 3, where the LXX. have the same close imitation of the Hebrew.

ii. 26, *οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. This is taken from Dan. ix. 18, exactly as in the LXX.

(*c*) i. 15, *ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη*. The same phrase is repeated in i. 20; ii. 6, 11, 26, in all of which places it is in quotations from canonical books, and agrees with the rendering of the LXX.

The instances given above are generally accepted as proofs of a Hebrew original (Fritzsche, Reusch, Lange, Kneucker). If their evidence is somewhat weakened by their occurrence in citations from the Hebrew Scriptures and their close agreement with the Septuagint, it is on the other hand worthy of notice that the later section of Baruch is almost, if not entirely, free from these forms of Hebraism.

In i. 10, *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, meaning "sin offerings," is a phrase which may have become familiar in Hellenistic Greek from its use by the LXX.; and in ii. 25 the strange use of *ἀποστολή* for "pestilence" is closely connected with Jer. xxxii. 36.

More decisive evidence of translation from Hebrew is found in the following passages, and discussed in the notes on them:—

i. 10, *μαναά*, said to be used in translations only, not in any original Hellenistic writing.

ii. 18, *ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος* can, as it seems, only be explained as representing some Hebrew word which has been misread or misunderstood.

On ii. 29, *βόμβησις*, and iii. 4, *τεθνηκότων*, see the Additional Notes.

In these and other passages we may recognise the truth of Fritzsche's remark that, in this first section, "the very literal translation allows the exact Hebrew to gleam through."

A further proof of the existence of a Hebrew original is found in the fact

mentioned by Schürer ('Geschichte d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,' p. 724), that in the Milan MS. of the Hexaplar Syriac there is a marginal note at i. 17 and ii. 3, "This is not found in the Hebrew."

In the second part (iii. 9—v. 9) Kneucker gives a long list of Hebraisms, most of which are so thoroughly naturalised in Hellenistic Greek, that they prove nothing concerning a Hebrew original:—

iii. 11. προσελογίσθης μετὰ τῶν εἰς ᾅδου, a citation from Ps. lxxxviii. 4.
iii. 24. οἶκος θεοῦ for "heaven:" see note on ii. 16.
iii. 31. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ γινώσκων.
iii. 33. ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὸ φῶς καὶ πορεύεται.
iii. 35. λογισθήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν. Is not this good Greek?
iv. 5. λαός μου.
iv. 18, 21. ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν.
iv. 20. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου.
iv. 26, v. 5. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν. See Matt. viii. 11.
v. 3. τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πάσῃ. See Luke xvii. 24.
v. 4. καλεῖσθαι, in the sense "to be:" "thy name shall be called."

Such examples are far too weak to prove a Hebrew original, and cannot be compared to the instances collected from the first part.

The following are more deserving of consideration, though far from convincing:—

iii. 17. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τέλος. Compare Nah. ii. 9; iii. 3, 9; Isa. ii. 7, ix. 7; Eccl. xii. 12.
iii. 18. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξεύρησις. Compare Job v. 9; Ps. cxlv. 3; Prov. xxv. 3; Eccl. viii. 16; Isa. xl. 28.
iv. 22. τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτῆρος. See the note.
v. 6. ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας. See the note.

The insufficiency of the evidence derived from these Hebraisms in the second part is admitted even by the advocates of a Hebrew original. They acknowledge also that the Greek style differs from the language of the earlier chapters, being purer, more flowing, more choice in particular words and phrases.

The contents also are more original, and "in the appreciation and treatment of older prophetic and didactic passages (the author) shews a certain independence and versatility, and here and there we cannot deny to him a certain poetic force and vivid representation. Compare, *e.g.*, iii. 15, 24, 32; iv. 5, 23, 30, 36" (Kneucker).

On the whole, we may safely conclude that the evidence of translation is almost irresistible in the first part, while in the second there is more probability in favour of the Greek as original. In Dr. Pusey's judgment the latter part bears "no marks of a translation" ('Lectures on Daniel,' p. 361)

§ VI. Probable Date.

The marked difference between the two portions of the book, both in style and contents, casts much doubt upon the unity of authorship, and makes it not improbable that the two parts were composed by different authors at different times: but when, or by whom, we have not the means of deciding.

Ewald assigns an early date to the first section of the book,—"written during the last period of the Persian rule, as the communities in and around Jerusalem were becoming more restless and disaffected towards the existing rule, and, on the other hand, the communities in the East were fearing, and perhaps had actually experienced therefrom, great injury both to themselves and the cause of the true religion generally." ('Prophets of the Old Testament,' v. 109.)

This early date is declared by Kneucker (p. 55) to be "absolutely impossible," without any reason except that it is opposed to his theory of the late date of Daniel. Fritzsche, apparently for the same reason, assigns the composition to the late Maccabean period; while Kneucker himself is unable to reconcile the contents and purposes of the book with the circumstances of the Jews in any period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70.

The earlier date assigned to this first portion of the book by Ewald appears much more probable: the arguments in favour of it are very forcibly stated by Ewald in 'The History of Israel,' v. p. 207 (Engl. Tr.), and again in the work quoted above.

In regard to the second section (iii. 9–v. 9), Ewald's judgment, that "in point of age, subject, and purpose, as

well as art and execution, it was originally a different piece," will hardly be questioned by any one who is not interested in maintaining that the whole book is the genuine work of Baruch.

The uncertainty as to the original language of this section increases the difficulty of assigning it to any definite period. Dr. Pusey, speaking of the latter portion, says, "that mostly original and beautiful section was probably written not so long after the close of the Canon. It is written amid hopes of a speedy restoration, but in a calm atmosphere of trust, in the consciousness of no troubles beyond those which were the results of the Captivity, and with no anticipation of the distresses of the Maccabean period. It was, then, doubtless written before Antiochus Epiphanes." If, however, the Greek text is the original, the comparatively late date of the composition is rendered probable by its dependence upon the Septuagint, in such expressions as ἐνωτίσασθε (iii. 9), τί ὅτι (iii. 10), τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πάσῃ (v. 3); and especially in the words εὐπρέπεια δόξης (v. 1), and εἰς ὁμαλισμόν (v. 7), on which see the notes.

Schürer (p. 724) sees a decisive proof of very late date in the remarkable similarity between Baruch v. and Psalm of Solomon xi. The Psalms of Solomon were not written till after the death of Pompey (B.C. 48), that event being graphically described in Ps. ii. 30, 31. But there is no sufficient evidence that our author borrowed from this late Psalter. From a careful examination of the similar passages, it seems more probable that both borrowed independently from the Septuagint.

§ VII. Text.

For the purpose of this Commentary it will be sufficient to mention briefly a few of the chief authorities to which we may have occasion to refer in discussing the more important variations of the Greek text.

I. The Textus Receptus is contained in the edition of the Septuagint published at Rome in 1587 by authority of Pope Sixtus V., and based upon the famous Vatican Codex (B). The text of the Roman edition was several times republished by Tischendorf, and a sixth edition by Nestle in 1880, with prolegomena, emendations, and the various readings of the oldest uncial MSS.

II. The Vatican Codex (B) of the 14th century, edited by Vercellone and Cozza ('Bibliorum Sacrorum graecus codex Vaticanus,' Romae, 1868–1875, tom. i.–v.). The Book of Baruch is in the fourth volume.

III. Codex Alexandrinus (A), of the 5th century, in the British Museum, edited by Grabe (Oxon. 1707–1720) and by Baber (1812–1828), is the basis of the edition of the Septuagint published by Field (Oxon. 1859), at the cost of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The Codex has been recently published in a photographic fac-simile. A full account of it is given by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Septuagint (pp. lii.–lxii.).

Of the value of the text of this famous uncial Fritzsche (p. vi.) gives the following estimate:—"Greater attention has been given to the Codex Alexandrinus only in order to shew that it is greatly overvalued; and notwithstanding its antiquity, it ought, with its made-up text, to be used only with great caution."

In the great critical edition of the Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons (Ox. 1798–1827), the variations of twenty-five manuscripts are compared with the Vatican Text of the Book of Baruch. After comparing these variations in thirty-one passages, Kneucker (p. 97) thus states his conclusion:—"Although the original text of the Greek Version is found in no one MS. entirely pure, yet it may be recognised and restored with certainty everywhere, except in some four passages [ii. 10, 18, 29, 31], from the Vatican Codex with help of other manuscripts, of which *five* are sufficient for the purpose,—namely, III. (Alex.), XII. (Marchalianus), 22, 233, 239."

XII. Codex Marchalianus (Vat. 2125), an uncial of the 6th or 7th century, but of no great critical value.

233 (Vat. 2067), a cursive of the 12th century.

239 (Bologna 641) is dated 1046 A.C.

These three MSS. contain both Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy.

22 (British Museum), a cursive of the 11th or 12th century, contains Baruch.

This MS. and 233 are said to "belong, according to a recent discovery of Paul de Lagarde and Mr. Field, to the recension of the martyr Lucian made in the 3rd (?) century" (Lange, p. 61). The recension here meant seems to be the revised version of the Septuagint made by Lucian in the 4th century: see 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' LUCIANUS (12).

Fritzsche (p. 174) gives the following classification of the MSS. collated by Holmes and Parsons for the Book of Baruch:—

"(1) To the first class belong 22*, 48, 51, 231, 62, 96. These agree closely throughout, and often stand alone, but then always give arbitrary changes; *e.g.* in i. 9 they give, in agreement with the Syriac, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας, an interpolation from Jer. xxiv. 1 (Sept.).

"In general agreement with these are also 36, 49, 26, 198 (reaching to ii. 19), and 229.

"(2) The second class consists of the Codex Alexandrinus, 33, 70, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 228, *233, *239. In this class, however, particular divergences are more frequent. Thus Alex. stands oftener alone, and here, as elsewhere, it is shewn that its text is an amended one, which existed elsewhere in a purer form.

"Lastly, *XII., 23 [Venetus, an uncial marked by Holmes and Parsons as a cursive], and 106 are of a very mixed nature, agreeing sometimes with the first class, sometimes with the second."

The Received Text is acknowledged to be an essentially good one: the two classes into which Fritzsche divides the MSS. represent two revisions of it, not strictly independent, yet often preserving the original reading, especially when their chief witnesses agree.

The Codex Sinaiticus (Friderico-Augustanus) and the famous Codex Ephraem Syri rescriptus (C) do not contain Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy. For these books Tischendorf compares the Roman Text with the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. only, making no use of Versions or Fathers (Proleg. p. xxii.).

Versions. — The ancient versions, Latin (2), Syriac (2), Arabic, Æthiopic, Coptic, Armenian, are all made from the Greek.

The Latin Version adopted in the Vulgate (*Vetus Lat. a*) is part of the so-called Itala, in use before the time of Jerome, who did not include either Baruch or the Epistle of Jeremy in his revision.

It is an extremely literal, even servile, rendering of the Greek: Fritzsche does not hesitate to call it also "a patois full of provincialisms and grammatical blunders." Kneucker, who gives a detailed account of the readings of this version (pp. 141–151), concludes that "The old Itala, for the Book of Baruch, has followed a Greek text which is not contained entire in any of the known Greek Codices, which are also altogether of later origin,—a mixed text, which may be traced most frequently (apart from the Vatican Codex II.) in the MSS. 62, 36, III. (Alex.), 48, 231."

The second Latin Version (*Vet. Lat. b*), first published at Rome by Tommasi, 1688, was re-edited by Sabatier ('Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae'), and thought by him to represent the earliest form of the *Itala*, but is described by Fritzsche as a less literal and more latinised reproduction of *Vet. Lat. a*, collated with a Greek text.

A full account of the Syriac and other ancient versions is given by Kneucker.

The English Authorized Version agrees generally with the Vatican Text; where this differs materially from the Alexandrine, or from the Latin, the readings of these latter will be noticed in the Commentary, but minute textual criticism is not embraced in the plan of this work.

§ VIII. PLACE IN CANON.

St. Jerome expressly states that neither the Book of Baruch nor the Epistle of Jeremy had any place in the Hebrew Canon; nor is any portion of either work extant in Hebrew.

On the other hand, it is stated in the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' v. xx., that the Jews, "even now on the tenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when they assemble together, read the Lamentations of Jere-

miah" (iv. 20), "and Baruch, in whom it is written, This is our God, &c." (Bar. iii. 36). This statement may possibly have arisen from the direction in i. 14.

In the Greek Bible both works are placed among the writings of Jeremiah; and in the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS., as also in the Roman edition, they stand in the following order: (1) Jeremiah, (2) Baruch, (3) Lamentations, (4) Epistle of Jeremy.

In the Latin Bible as revised by St. Jerome, Baruch and the Epistle are both omitted for the reason above stated, nor have they any place in the oldest known MS. of the Vulgate, the Codex Amiatinus.

In the Clementine, and other editions of the Vulgate, "the Prophecy of Baruch," including the Epistle of Jeremy as chap. vi., is placed after Lamentations.

At the Council of Trent it was recognised, among the other deutero-canonical books, as part of the Old Testament Canon ('Conc. Trid.' S. 4, *decr. de can. Script.*, cited by Reusch).

In the English Bible, at the time of the Reformation, it was removed to the place where we now find it among the Apocrypha.

Appendix: The Titles of God in Baruch.

It is interesting to notice the use of different titles of God in different parts of the book.

In the First Section, i. 1—iii. 8:—

(*a*) Κύριος and its cases without the article stand alone more than twenty times, and with the article twice (ii. 9, 17).

(*b*) Κύριος θεὸς ἡμῶν about five times (i. 18, 19, 22; ii. 5; iii. 8).

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (Ἰσραήλ, αὐτῶν) about ten times (i. 10, 13, 21; ii. 11, 12, 15, 19, 27, 31; iii. 6).

ὁ Κύριος θεὸς ἡμῶν (i. 13, 15; ii. 6).

(*c*) Κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ (iii. 1, 3).

In the Second Section, iii. 9—v. 9:—

(*a*) Κύριος apparently does not occur at all, but only θεός, or ὁ θεός, as far as iv. 7.

(*b*) In iv. 8 αἰώνιος first occurs in the combination θεὸν αἰώνιον. Compare Isa. xl. 28.

(*c*) In iv. 10, 14, 20, 22 (first part), 24, 35, and v. 2, ὁ αἰώνιος seems to take the place of Κύριος as representing the sacred name Jehovah.

Also in the latter part of iv. 22 (παρὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτῆρος ὑμῶν) it probably has the same sense, "The Eternal your Saviour," corresponding to "The Lord (Jehovah) your Saviour" in Isa. xlix. 26; lx. 16.

(*d*) Ὁ ἅγιος, "The Holy One," is not found in the First Section; but in iv. 22, 37 and in v. 5 it stands alone, as in Isa. xl. 25 and Hab. iii. 3. In the canonical books it is commonly found in combination with other words, *e.g.* "the Holy One of Israel."

This remarkable difference between the two parts of the book in the words used to represent the sacred name Jehovah seems strongly to confirm the other evidence that the two parts had different authors or translators.

For the general argument and main substance of this note on the titles of God, and for very valuable criticism on other parts of this commentary on Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy, I am indebted to the Rev. P. H. Mason, B.D., Tutor, President, and Hebrew Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge.

E. H. G.

BARUCH.

CHAPTER I.

1 *Baruch wrote a book in Babylon.* 5 *The Jews there wept at the reading of it.* 7 *They send money and the book to the brethren at Jerusalem.*

AND these are the words of the book, which [a]Baruch the son [a] Jer. 36. 4. of Nerias, the son of Maasias, the son of Sedecias, the son of Asadias, the son of Chelcias, wrote in Babylon,

2 In the fifth year, and in the

CHAPTER I.

1–14. Historical Preface.

On the contents of these verses see the Introduction, § 1.

1. *And these are the words.*] Compare Jer. xxix. 1, "Now these are the words of the letter," &c. The conjunction implies that the Book of Baruch is to be connected with the writings of Jeremiah, which it follows immediately in the ancient MSS. (See the Introduction, § viii.)

the son of Nerias, the son of Maasias.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 12. The same descent is ascribed in Jer. li. 59 to Seraiah, Baruch's brother, who was the chief chamberlain of Zedekiah, and went with him to Babylon. This Maasias, or Mahseyah (Heb. מַחְסֵיָה), is not to be confounded with the Maaseiah (Heb. מַעֲשֵׂיָה) who is mentioned in Jer. xxxv. 4 and in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8 as "governor of the city" in the time of Josiah, nor with the Maaseiah in Jer. xxix. 21.

Sedecias.] The name is the same as Zedekiah, but the person here meant is not to be identified (as in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. "Sedecias") with the false prophet in Jer. xxix. 21, 22: see the preceding note.

Asadias.] The name, not the person, is the same as in 1 Chron. iii. 20, "Hasadiah." The Syriac Version gives "Saraia," from a mistake between two similar letters.

Chelcias.] The same name, in the Hebrew form, was borne by Hilkiah, the father of Eliakim, "who was over the household" of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 18, 26; Isa. xxii. 20, xxxvi. 3); by Hilkiah, the High Priest in the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 4); and by Jeremiah's father, one "of the priests that were in Anathoth" (Jer. i. 1).

The Old Latin (b) adds after the name of Chelcias "of the tribe of Simeon;" but we have no proof of this statement in the genealogies, only a bare possibility being implied in the fact noticed in 2 Chr. xv. 9, that some of the tribe of Simeon joined themselves to Judah and Benjamin in the reign of Asa.

In the work known as 'The rest of the words of Baruch' Jeremiah is called a priest, and Baruch a Levite.

"The strange Rabbinic tradition (Carpzov. 'Introd. in lib. Vet. Test. Jerem.') that eight of the persons most conspicuous in the religious history of this period (Jeremiah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, Huldah, Shallum) were all descended from the harlot Rahab, may possibly have been a distortion of the fact that they were connected, in some way or other, as members of a family" ('Dictionary of the Bible,' art. "Jeremiah").

in Babylon.] On the question whether Baruch was ever in Babylon, see Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

2. *In the fifth year.*] The date from which this "fifth year" is to be reckoned must, of course, be gathered from the context, and accordingly can be no other than the time when "the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and burnt it with fire," *i.e.* 588 B.C.

The proposal to refer the date to the fifth year of the exile of Jehoiachin, B.C. 595, is quite arbitrary, and only serves to make a difficulty where none really exists.

in the seventh day of the month.] According to 2 Kings xxv. 8, Nebuzaradan came "*unto*" Jerusalem in the fifth month, "on the seventh day of the month:" according to Jer. lii. 12, he came "*into*" Jerusalem in the fifth month, "in the tenth day of the month." The *burning* of the city, which followed, is not limited by either of these passages, nor by Baruch, to one particular day; there is therefore no necessary discrepancy.

It is *possible* (as Kneucker suggests) that the original reading in Baruch was—"in the fifth year, in the fifth month, and in the seventh day of the month;" and that the second clause being so similar to the first was accidentally omitted, as in Ezekiel xxxii. 17

seventh day of the month, what time as the Chaldeans took Jerusalem, and burnt it with fire.

3 And Baruch did read the words of this book in the hearing of Jechonias the son of [1]Joachim king of Juda, and in the ears of all the people that came to hear the book,

4 And in the hearing of the nobles, and of the king's sons, and in the hearing of the elders, and of all the people, from the lowest unto the highest, even of all them that dwelt at Babylon by the river Sud.

5 Whereupon they wept, fasted, [1] Or, *and vowed vows.* and prayed before the Lord.

6 They made also a collection of money according to every man's power:

7 And they sent it to Jerusalem unto [1]Joachim the high priest, the [1] Or, *Joacim.* son of Chelcias, son of Salom, and to

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compared with xxxii. 1. But that the conjecture, though possible, is not necessary, is shewn in the next note.

what time as.] Literally, "**at the season in which.**" The same phrase is used by the LXX. in Deut. xvi. 6, where it is stated expressly that the Passover is to be sacrificed "at even, at the going down of the sun," but the month and day of the month are only defined by the words "at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt." So here, *the day* of the month is expressly stated, but the month itself, and the year, are both defined by reference to "the season in which the Chaldeans burnt Jerusalem with fire." "The remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem must have been especially vivid at this season, and therefore their hearts peculiarly susceptible to admonition" (Tirinus).

3. *in the hearing.*] Literally, "in the **ears**," as in Jer. xxxvi. 6, 10, 13, 14, and frequently.

Jechonias the son of Joachim.] *I.e.* Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 6, 15; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20).

that came to hear the book.] Literally, "that came to the book." The tense indicates a repeated coming, as if the book were read "day by day," as in Neh. viii. 18.

The idea that "the book of the law" is meant, and that in this gathering of the people by the river-side we see the origin of the Jewish synagogue, has no foundation in this passage, where "the book" (*τὴν βίβλον*, cf. Jer. xxix. 1) is evidently the same as in the beginning of the verse (*τὸ βιβλίον*). Both the Greek words are used to translate the same Hebrew word (סֵפֶר) in Jer. xxix. 1; xxx. 2; xxxii. 10–12. "The book of the law" could not, in this context, have been described simply as "the book," without some addition.

4. *the nobles.*] "**the mighty men**" (*τῶν δυνατῶν*), as in *v.* 9.

the king's sons.] "the **kings**' sons," according to the better reading of the Vatican Codex, *i.e.* the princes of the house of David, not sons of Jehoiachin. See the note on Jer. xxii. 30, "Write ye this man childless," and compare the expression "our kings" in *v.* 16.

the elders.] These are mentioned (with the priests and the prophets) in Jer. xxix. 1 as "the residue of the elders which were carried away captive."

from the lowest unto the highest.] "from the **least even** unto the **greatest**," as in Jer. xlii. 1, or "**both small and great**," as in 2 Kings xxiii. 2, where the same words are used by the LXX., meaning "both young and old."

the river Sud.] Of this river nothing is known except from this passage. We may infer that it was not far from Babylon, but beyond this the endless conjectures concerning its position are of little use.

5. *Whereupon, &c.*] "**And** they wept **and** fasted." Compare 2 Sam. i. 12.

Instead of the contents of the book being given here, as we might have expected, the effects of the reading are first stated.

and prayed.] The rendering in the margin, "vowed vows," represents the reading of the Alexandrine and other MSS., which may have been suggested by the mention of offerings in what follows (*vv.* 6, 10).

6. *according to every man's power.*] Literally, "according as each man's hand was able;" an evident Hebraism. Compare Deut. xvi. 10 (Sept.) and 17: "every man shall give as he is able;" marg. "according to the gift of his hand."

7. *sent it.*] The "it" should be in Italics, being rightly supplied, as is seen from *v.* 10. Ewald's rendering "sent *him*," i.e. Baruch, is less natural.

Joachim the high priest, the son of Chelcias, son of Salom.] Read, "Joachim **the priest, son of Hilkiah**, son of **Shallum**." Joachim is not here called the High Priest, but simply "**the priest**" (*ὁ ἱερεύς*), being thus distinguished from the general body of priests, probably because he was (like Pashur, Jer. xx. 1, and Zephaniah, Jer. xxix. 25, 26) the "chief

the priests, and to all the people which were found with him at Jerusalem,

8 At the same time when he received [b] the vessels of the house of the Lord, that were carried out of the temple, to return them into the land of Juda, the tenth day of *the month* Sivan, *namely*, silver vessels, which Sedecias the son of Josias king of Juda had made,

9 After that Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried away Jechonias, and the princes, and the ‖captives, and the mighty men, and the people of the land, from Jerusalem, and brought them unto Babylon.

10 And they said, Behold, we have sent you money to buy you burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and prepare ye ‖manna, and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;

[b] 2 Kings 24. 13. 2 Chron. 36. 10.

‖ Or, *prisoners.*

‖ Gr. corruptly for *mincha*, that is, a *meat offering.*

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governor in the house of the Lord," and therefore the proper person to receive the money. Compare Ezra viii. 29, 33; and see more on this point in the Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

which were found with him.] Compare 1 Sam. xiii. 15, "and Saul numbered the people *that were* present (marg. "found," LXX. τὸν εὑρεθέντα) with him."

8. *At the same time when he received.*] Omit the words "at the same time," which are not expressed in the Greek, nor required in the English. The person meant is evidently *not* Joachim, for he is described as being already at Jerusalem, but the chief person previously mentioned, namely Baruch, who being at Babylon (is said to have) received the vessels in order "to return them into the land of Juda."

the temple.] The sanctuary, or Holy Place (ὁ ναός), distinguished from "the house," as a whole, and from "the oracle" or Holy of Holies: see 1 Kings vi. 3, 5.

to return them.] The Greek word (ἀποστρέψαι), not very commonly used in this sense "to restore," seems to be taken from Jer. xxviii. 3, where Hananiah falsely prophesies that within two years God would "bring again" all the vessels of the Lord's house that Nebuchadnezzar had taken away, and also bring back Jehoiachin and all the captives. Compare Jer. xxix. 10 and Baruch i. 12. No restoration of the vessels is elsewhere recorded before the time of Cyrus.

the tenth day of the month Sivan.] The Vat. Codex has Σειουάλ, which is probably an error for Σειουάν, the name of "the third month, that is the month Sivan" (Esther viii. 9), corresponding nearly to June. The words seem to be misplaced here, and Hitzig thinks their proper place is in *v.* 14. If retained here, they define more closely the time when Baruch is said to have "received the vessels." Reusch supposes that his intended departure was delayed some weeks; and the assembly, which is to be regarded as immediately preceding it, took place "on the seventh day of the fifth month."

silver vessels.] On the historical worth of the statement concerning these vessels, see the Introduction, § iii. p. 247.

9. The whole verse is taken from 2 Kings xxiv. 14 and Jer. xxiv. 1, with some remarkable variations.

the princes.] These are not princes of the royal blood, but the chief officers of the court (ἄρχοντας, שָׂרִים).

the captives.] See the Additional Note.

the mighty men.] Greek, δυνατούς. These might be either, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, "the mighty men of valour" (τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἰσχύι), or more generally, as in 2 Kings xxiv. 15, "the mighty of the land" (τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς τῆς γῆς), *i.e.* the rich and powerful, the same class who in *v.* 4 are called "the nobles" (τῶν δυνατῶν).

This latter sense is the more probable, as corresponding more nearly to the Septuagint version of Jer. xxiv. 1 (τοὺς πλουσίους, "the rich").

and the people of the land.] These, in contrast to "the mighty men" above mentioned, can only be the common people in general: many of these were carried away into captivity; for, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 14, "none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land."

10–14. A message sent from the captives in Babylon to Jerusalem, with the gold and the Book of Baruch.

10. *sent you money to buy you burnt offerings.*] Read, "sent **unto** you money, **and buy ye for the money** burnt offerings."

sin offerings.] Literally, "for sin" (περὶ ἁμαρτίας), as in Isa. liii. 10; Ps. xl. 6; Heb. x. 6, 8.

manna.] Read, "**a meat offering.**" The reading of the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. μάννα is a frequent corruption of μαναά, the Greek form of the Hebrew word for "a meat offering" (מִנְחָה, *minchâh*):

Ezra 6. 10. Jer. 29. 7.

11 And [c]pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven:

12 And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live [d]under the shadow of Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthasar his son, and we shall serve them many days, and find favour in their sight.

[d] Ezek. 31. 6. Dan. 4. 12, 21.

13 Pray for us also unto the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God; and unto this day the fury of the Lord and his wrath is not turned from us.

14 And ye shall read this book which we have sent unto you, to make confession in the house of the Lord, upon the feasts and solemn days.

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compare in the Septuagint Jer. xvii. 26, xli. 5.

offer upon the altar.] See Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

11. In Jer. xxix. 7, the exiles themselves are bidden to seek the peace of the city whither they are carried away captive.

Balthasar his son.] The LXX. use the same Greek form of the name both for Belteshazzar (Dan. i. 7) and for Belshazzar (Dan. v. 1). This latter, here called the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was in fact his grandson: see the notes on Dan. v. 2, 11, in the 'Speaker's Commentary,' and our Introduction, § iii. p. 245.

On the meaning of the name Belshazzar ("Bel protect the king"), see the Additional Note on Dan. i. 7.

as the days of heaven upon the earth.] Both here, and in the original passage (Deut. xi. 21) from which this phrase is taken, the more exact rendering is "as the days of the heavens **above** the earth," *i.e.* as long as the heavens continue to cover the earth,—in other words, to the end of time. Compare Job xiv. 12, "till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake;" Ps. lxxxix. 29, "his throne as the days of heaven."

12. *And the Lord will give us strength.*] Compare Ps. xxix. 11: "The Lord will give strength unto his people." The effect of the prayers for the kings of Babylon will be that in their prosperity they will be favourable to the captives, who will long enjoy their protection. "In the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (Jer. xxix. 7).

lighten our eyes.] *I.e.* give us safety and prosperity. Compare Ezra ix. 8; Ps. xiii. 3, xix. 8; and Baruch iii. 14.

live under the shadow.] The protection enjoyed under the rule of a powerful monarch is compared to the shadow of a great tree: thus Ezekiel, when describing the Assyrian as "a cedar in Lebanon," says that "under his shadow dwelt all great nations" (xxxi. 6; compare Dan. iv. 12). It is a different image when the Psalmist speaks of "the shadow of God's hand," or "the shadow of his wings."

serve them many days.] In accordance with Jer. xxix. 5, 28.

13. *Pray for us also.*] Ewald draws attention to the tone of genuine humility in these Jewish exiles, who, "with a consciousness of their errors and calamities, gladly accept for themselves the intercession at Jerusalem."

sinned against.] Greek, "sinned unto," as in ii. 5; Prayer of Manasses, 7.

the fury of the Lord and his wrath.] Both words in the Greek express strong emotion; but when they are distinguished, "wrath" (ὀργή) is the settled feeling of anger, and "fury" (θυμός) its sudden blaze. The distinction is well seen in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 10: "to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment before it brake forth into fury" (κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ).

14. *this book.*] The Book of Baruch, referred to in i. 1, and contained in i. 15—iii. 8.

to make confession.] This meaning of the Greek word (ἐξαγορεῦσαι) is fully established by its use in Ezra x. 1, "when Ezra had prayed, and when he had confessed (ἐξηγόρευσε), weeping, and casting himself down;" and in Neh. ix. 2, "stood and confessed (ἐξηγόρευσαν) their sins," and ib. *v.* 3. It is found also in Lev. v. 5, xvi. 21, xxvi. 40; Num. v. 7; Neh. i. 6; Ps. xxxii. 5; Dan. ix. 20. A public confession is to be made in the very words of the book, which follow in *v.* 15 ff.

The meaning given by Fritzsche and Lange, "we have sent you this book to make it known," is very feeble.

in the house of the Lord.] See note on *v.* 10; and Introduction, § iii. p. 246.

solemn days.] Lit., "days of season," an unusual expression: but compare Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 8, "He altered seasons and feasts."

15 And ye shall say, [e] To the Lord our God *belongeth* righteousness, but unto us the confusion of faces, as *it is come to pass* this day, unto them of Juda, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem,

16 And to our kings, and to our princes, and to our priests, and to our prophets, and to our fathers:

17 For we have [f] sinned before the Lord,

18 And disobeyed him, and have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in the commandments that he gave us openly:

19 Since the day that the Lord brought our forefathers out of the land of Egypt, unto this present day,

[e] Dan. 9. 7. ch. 2. 6. See Neh. 9. 32, &c.

[f] Dan. 9. 5.

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i. 15—iii. 8. THE CONFESSION OF THE CAPTIVES IN BABYLON.

Verses 15–18. These verses correspond closely with the prayer of Daniel (ix. 7–10), with some omissions and variations. The character of the variations shews—(1) that the Greek texts of the two passages are independent versions, and (2) that they are taken from two different Hebrew books. On the other hand, the correspondence is so close that these two Hebrew originals cannot have been wholly independent of each other. See the Introduction, § iv. p. 248.

15. *To the Lord our God belongeth righteousness.*] Compare Dan. ix. 7, 9. The A. V. rightly supplies a verb in the present tense; for the meaning is, not "God's was the righteous cause" (Hitzig on Daniel), but "righteousness" is the eternal attribute of God manifested in all His dealings with Israel, even in their deepest misfortunes. Compare the words of Azarias in The Song of the Three Holy Children, *vv.* 4, 5: "For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and all thy judgments truth. In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment." Compare also Bar. ii. 9; Dan. ix. 14.

the confusion of faces.] Omit the article, with the Vatican MS.

as it is come to pass this day.] Lit., "as this day *is*." Ewald's rendering—"shame of face now at this time"—is inadequate: there is a comparison implied in the Greek—To us belongs confusion of face, as this day is an example and a proof. Compare Deut. ii. 30; Jer. xxv. 18, xliv. 6, 23; Dan. ix. 15; and especially Ezra ix. 7, "and to confusion of face, **as it is this day.**"

unto them of Juda.] Literally, "to the man of Judah," as Ewald renders: but the Hebrew word (אִישׁ) is often used collectively, and the phrase "**the men** of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" occurs frequently in the prophetic books, especially in Jeremiah, *e.g.* xi. 2, 9. See Gesenius, 'Hebrew Gr.' § 108, 1.

16. *our kings, &c.*] The like enumeration of special classes, beginning with the highest, and so shewing that none are to be excepted, is frequent in Jeremiah, *e.g.* xxxii. 32: in Dan. ix. 8, the priests and the prophets are not mentioned, but the fuller enumeration given by our author is found also in Neh. ix. 32.

and our fathers.] All generations as well as all classes are included in the author's view, which embraces the whole history of Israel from the giving of the Law to the time present (*v.* 19).

17. *For we have sinned.*] "**For that:**" compare Dan. ix. 8, "because we have sinned against thee;" and see the note at the end of the chapter on the Greek construction, and on the evidence of a Hebrew original of Baruch.

18. *And disobeyed him.*] Our author substitutes this for the beautiful passage in Dan. ix. 9: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him." How can we fail to recognise here the difference between the real prophet and the copyist? The remainder of the verse is taken entirely from Dan. ix. 10, but with variations, which imply that the Book of Baruch was first compiled in Hebrew. See the note at the end of the chapter on *v.* 17.

the commandments.] In Dan. ix. 10 both Hebrew and Greek have "in his laws:" our author's phrase is especially frequent in Ezekiel.

that he gave us openly.] The same words (ἔδωκε κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν) are better rendered in ii. 10 and in Daniel, "**which he set before us,**" *i.e.* as the rule and guide of our life.

19. The sin confessed is no occasional transgression, but continual disobedience from the first day of the national existence till now. For the phrase compare 2 Sam. vii. 6, "since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day;" 2 Kings xxi. 15; Jer. vii. 25.

we have been disobedient.] The unusual form of the verb (ἤμεθα ἀπειθοῦντες) expresses very strongly the continuous persistence in disobedience: compare Deut. ix. 7, 24 (LXX.).

we have been disobedient unto the Lord our God, and we have been negligent in not hearing his voice.

[f] Deut. 28. 15. Dan. 9. 11. 20 [f] Wherefore the evils cleaved unto us, and the curse, which the Lord appointed by Moses his servant at the time that he brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, to give us a land that floweth with milk and honey, like as *it is to see* this day.

[h] Dan. 9. 10. 21 [h] Nevertheless we have not hearkened unto the voice of the Lord our God, according unto all the words of the prophets, whom he sent unto us:

22 But every man followed the imagination of his own wicked heart, to serve strange gods, and to do evil in the sight of the Lord our God.

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we have been negligent in not hearing.] The Greek word (σχεδιάζω), meaning to do anything in a slight, careless, negligent way, does not occur elsewhere in the LXX. It is well translated by Ewald, "we were too careless to hearken." A comparison with Dan. ix. 11, "by departing (ἐξέκλιναν, LXX.) that they might not obey," shews the independence both of our translator and of his Hebrew text. See the note on σχεδιάζω at the end of the chapter.

20. *Wherefore the evils cleaved unto us.*] Better rendered by Ewald: "**So there clave unto us the evils.**" Compare Dan. ix. 11: "Therefore (καί, Heb. ו) the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God." The reference is to Deut. xxviii., where see especially *v.* 21, "The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee" (προσκολλήσαι Κύριος); and *v.* 60, "and they shall cleave unto thee" (κολληθήσονται ἐν σοί).

appointed by Moses.] "appointed **unto** Moses," *i.e.* commanded Moses to declare: see Ex. xvi. 16, 32, 34 (LXX.).

at the time.] "**in the day:**" compare Jer. xi. 4; Dan. ix. 15.

like as it is to see this day.] "**as it is this day:**" see on *v.* 15. In Jer. xi. 4, 5, from which our passage is evidently taken, the clause refers to the continued possession of the land: "in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt . . that I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as it is this day." In the present context the last clause seems to refer to the beginning of the verse: "**clave unto us . . . as it is this day.**"

21. *Nevertheless.*] Literally, "And." The words are taken from Dan. ix. 10, as in *v.* 18 above.

22. *But every man followed the imagination.*] "**And we walked every one in the imagination of his evil heart.**" The same phrase (διάνοια καρδίας) occurs in ii. 8, and in 1 Chr. xxix. 18, but apparently nowhere else in the LXX., and once only in the N. T. (Luke i. 51).

to serve.] The same Greek word (ἐργάζεσθαι, "to work") occurs below in ii. 21, 22, 24: "to serve the king of Babylon." The translator of Jeremiah alone appears to use it in the sense of "serving God" or "serving false gods" (xxx. 8, 9), though elsewhere he renders the Hebrew root (עָבַד) by its usual equivalent (δουλεύειν).

in the sight, &c.] Compare Jer. xxxii. 30.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 9, 17, 19.

9. *the captives.*] The Hebrew word (מַסְגֵּר), which is rendered in our A. V. "smiths," is originally a *Hiphil* participle, which means "shutting up," and is used as a noun in two senses: (1) *a prison*, Ps. cxlii. 7; Isa. xxiv. 22, xlii. 7. (2) *a smith*, i.e. locksmith, 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1, xxix. 2. In the first of these passages the LXX. have rendered it by συγκλείων, and by δεσμώτης in both passages of Jeremiah. These are, according to Fürst, the only places in which it occurs.

The active sense (συγκλείων) corresponds to the Hebrew, and is required by the context, in which מַסְגֵּר is associated with חָרָשׁ, "craftsmen" or "carpenters."

But the translator of Jeremiah took it in a passive sense—"one who is shut up," "a prisoner"—and the mistranslation is repeated in Baruch.

Reusch supposes that δεσμώτης is used by the translator in an active sense (*Schlosser* = locksmith), and thus substitutes ignorance of Greek for a mistaken rendering of the Hebrew.

The inference in any case is clear that the writer of the Greek text of Baruch was either the same person as the translator of Jeremiah, or at least had the Greek version of Jeremiah before his eyes.

In the Latin "cunctos potentes" is thought to be a corruption of "**vinctos** et potentes,"

the original word having been afterwards put in a wrong place—"duxit eos vinctos in Babylonem."

17. *ὧν ἡμάρτομεν.*] The construction of the relative is difficult, but there is no variation of reading: the conjecture *ἀνθ' ὧν* is therefore inadmissible, as having no support.

Fritzsche thinks that the relative, which should have been in the nominative (*οἱ ἡμάρτομεν*), is attracted to *ἡμῶν*, but such an attraction of the nominative is utterly inadmissible.

A better construction is found by referring *ὧν* back to *αἰσχύνη* for its government—"shame for the sins which we have committed." The distance, however, between the two words makes their connexion obscure, and in any case it must be admitted that the translator has given a very vague interpretation of the Hebrew (אֲשֶׁר).

Instead of *ὧν ἡμάρτομεν ἔναντι Κυρίου*, as in Baruch, the LXX. give in Dan. ix. 8 *οἵτινες ἡμάρτομέν σοι*. Some light is thus thrown on the composition of our book: for the different renderings of the relative shew that the Greek texts have different authors, while the further variation *ἔναντι Κυρίου* for *σοι* is more than a mere diversity of translation, and proves that there must have been a Hebrew text of Baruch differing here from the text of Daniel.

19. *ἐσχεδιάσαμεν.*] The word is used in the same sense, "to act carelessly," by Polybius, XII. iv. § 4, *ὑπὲρ ὧν Τίμαιος κακῶς καὶ παρέργως ἱστορήσας ἐσχεδίασεν*; and XXIII. ix. § 12, *οὗτοι μὲν ἐσχεδιακότες ἐφαίνοντο τοῖς κακοῖς πράγμασιν.*

CHAPTER II.

The prayer and confession which the Jews at Babylon made, and sent in that book unto the brethren in Jerusalem.

[a] Dan. 9 12, 13.

[a] THEREFORE the Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, and against our judges that judged Israel, and against our kings, and against our princes, and against the men of Israel and Juda,

2 To bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses;

3 That a man should [b] eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter.

[b] Deut. 28. 53. Lam. 2. 20. & 4. 10

4 Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection to [c] all the king-

[c] 2 Kings 24. 2.

CHAPTER II.

1. *Therefore the Lord made good.*] Lit., "And the Lord established."

The whole verse is taken, with slight variations and additions, from Dan. ix. 12, on which see the notes in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

his word.] The LXX. in Daniel render the Hebrew less exactly by *προστάγματα*.

judges that judged Israel.] The meaning of "judges" in Daniel *l. c.* is rightly expanded in the words which are here added by our compiler, "and against our kings and against our princes." For in Daniel we are not to think only of "the judges" specially so called, though in our passage the word is so limited. Compare 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17. The wider sense occurs in Ps. ii. 10; Hos. vii. 7.

2. *To bring upon us, &c.*] Explanation of the way in which God fulfilled His word. On this explanatory use of the Greek infinitive (with *τοῦ*) "in epexegesis, where the simple infinitive with or without *ὥστε* might have been used," see Winer, 'Greek Gr.' § xliv. p. 410, E. Tr. This construction is very common in the LXX., ל with the infinitive denoting both design and consequence.

great plagues, such as never happened, &c.] There is a sort of redoubled comparison resulting from a combination of two thoughts: (1) plagues such as never happened elsewhere, and (2) such plagues never happened elsewhere as happened at Jerusalem. There is a similar mode of expression in Col. i. 6.

under the whole heaven.] Deut. iv. 19; Dan. vii. 27; Baruch v. 3.

3. The reference is to Lev. xxvi. 29, and Deut. xxviii. 53—passages which are recalled in Jer. xix. 9; compare Lam. ii. 20 and iv. 10: "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children: they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people."

That a man should eat, &c.] More exactly, "That we should eat, each man the flesh of his son, and each man the flesh of his daughter." The Greek here follows closely the idiomatic use of the Hebrew word אִישׁ.

4. *Moreover he hath delivered them to be in subjection.*] "And he made them subject:"

doms that are round about us, to be
[d] Isai. 43. 28. [e] Jer. 25. 38. & 44. 6, 22.
as [d]a reproach and [e]desolation among all the people round about, where the Lord hath scattered them.

5 Thus we [f]were cast down, and not exalted, because we have sinned against the Lord our God, and have not been obedient unto his voice.

[f] Gr. *were beneath, and not above.* [f] Deut. 28. 43, 44.

[g] ch. 1. 15.
6 [g]To the Lord our God *apper-taineth* righteousness: but unto us and to our fathers open shame, as *appeareth* this day.

[h] Dan. 9. 11, 12. ch. 1. 20.
7 [h]*For* all these plagues are come upon us, which the Lord hath pronounced against us.

[i] Dan. 9. 13, &c.
8 [i]Yet have we not prayed before the Lord, that we might turn every one from the imaginations of his wicked heart.

9 Wherefore the Lord watched over us for evil, and the Lord hath brought it upon us: for the Lord is righteous in all his works which he hath commanded us.

10 Yet we have not hearkened unto his voice, to walk in the commandments of the Lord, that he hath set before us.

11 [k]And now, O Lord God of Israel, that hast brought thy people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power, and [l]hast gotten

[k] Dan. 9. 15.
[l] Neh. 9. 10.

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compare Gen. ix. 2, xiv. 20; Josh. xi. 8, &c., where the A. V. renders "delivered into the hand."

all the kingdoms that are round about us.] Egypt, Assyria, Babylon.

to be as a reproach.] Omit "as." The primary passage, Deut. xxviii. 37, is repeated in various forms in 2 Chr. xxix. 8; Jer. xxv. 9, 11, 18, xxix. 18, xlii. 18, xliv. 12, 22.

and desolation.] Rather, "and **an astonishment**." Compare Jer. xxix. 18: "I will deliver them to be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a curse and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among all the nations whither I have driven them." See the Additional Note.

where the Lord hath scattered them.] Compare Jer. xxix. 14, 18, xl. 12; Dan. ix. 7, in all which places the same Hebraism (*οὗ . . . ἐκεῖ*) is found in the LXX., as it is also in the original passage Deut. xxx. 3.

5. *Thus we were cast down.*] "**And they** were cast down." Compare Deut. xxviii. 13 (whence the words are taken, in converse order), and *v.* 43, "thou shalt come down very low," &c.

and have not been obedient unto his voice.] Better rendered by Ewald (E. Tr.): "**not to hearken** unto his voice."

6. See on i. 15, and compare Ezra ix. 7.

open shame.] "**confusion of face:**" literally, "the shame of faces."

7–17. This passage is taken in great part from Dan. ix. 13–18.

7. See the Additional Note. If we retain the reading of the chief MSS. (Vatican and Alexandrine), we may connect *vv.* 7–9 closely with *v.* 6, and render the whole passage thus: "**confusion of face**, as appeareth this day, (according to) **what** the Lord pronounced against us, all these **evils which** are come upon us, **and we did not entreat the face of** the Lord, that we **should** turn every one from the **thoughts** of his wicked heart, and **so** the Lord watched over **the evils**, and the Lord **brought them** upon us."

pronounced against us.] Compare Jer. xvi. 10, xix. 15, xxv. 13, xxxv. 17, xxxvi. 31: and observe the close dependence of our author upon Jeremiah as well as upon Daniel.

8. *prayed before the Lord.*] More literally, "**did not entreat the face of** the Lord." Compare the rendering given in the margin (E. V.) in 1 Kings xiii. 6; Ps. cxix. 58; Jer. xxvi. 19; and many other passages, including Dan. ix. 13, from which our verse is wholly taken. The corresponding Hebrew phrase is very expressive,—"stroke the face."

imaginations.] "**thoughts** (*νοημάτων*);" not the same word as in i. 22.

9. *watched over us for evil.*] "watched over **the evils**," as in Dan. ix. 14.

in all his works which he hath commanded us.] Dan. ix. 14, "which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice:" an acknowledgment of the justice of the chastisements inflicted. Our author refers it to what God has required of Israel, whose sin was aggravated because God required only what was right and good.

10. *set before us.*] See on i. 18.

11. The whole verse is taken literally from Dan. ix. 15, with the insertion of the words "and high arm, and with signs, and with wonders, and with great power," taken from Jer. xxxii. 21: compare Ps. cxxxvi. 12.

hast gotten thyself a name.] Compare Neh. ix. 10; Ex. xiv. 18; and margin, Dan. ix. 15.

thyself a name, as *appeareth* this day:

12 O Lord our God, we have sinned, we have done ungodly, we have dealt unrighteously in all thine ordinances.

13 [m] Let thy wrath turn from us: for [n] we are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us.

14 Hear our prayers, O Lord, and our petitions, and deliver us for thine own sake, and give us favour in the sight of them which have led us away:

15 [o] That all the earth may know that thou art the Lord our God, because [l] Israel and his posterity is called by thy name.

16 O Lord, [q] look down from thine holy [r] house, and consider us: [r] bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.

17 Open thine eyes, and *behold*; [s] for the dead that are in the graves, whose [l] souls are taken from their bodies, will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness:

[m] Dan. 9. 16, &c.
[n] Jer. 42. 2.
[o] Isai. 37. 20.
[l] Gr. *thy name is called upon Israel.*
[q] Dan. 9. 19.
[q] Deut. 26. 15. Isai. 63. 15.
[r] Dan. 9. 18.
[s] Ps. 6. 5. & 115. 17. Isai. 38. 18, 19. Ecclus. 17. 27, 28.
[l] Gr. *spirit*, or, *life.*

12. Compare Dan. ix. 15, 16.

in all thine ordinances (δικαιώμασι).] In Daniel the corresponding words are connected with the following verse: "O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger be turned away."

For "righteousness" the LXX. there read "mercy" (ἐλεημοσύνη), an admissible meaning, but one which shews that our compiler used not the Greek version, but the original Hebrew, to which his translator gave a meaning different from that given by the LXX.

13. *Let thy wrath turn from us.*] There is an evident abruptness and want of connexion, which is removed by the reading of Cod. A (ἀποστραφήτω δή), in which δή answers to the Hebrew particle of entreaty (נָא), rendered in the A.V. "now," or "I pray thee;" or as n Dan. ix. 16, "I beseech thee."

a few left among the heathen.] Compare Deut. iv. 27, "And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the Lord shall lead you;" Lev. xxvi. 33; Deut. xxviii. 62; Ps. xliv. 11; Jer. xlii. 2, xlix. 15; Obad. 2.

where thou hast scattered us.] Dan. ix. 7; compare *v.* 4, and *v.* 29 below.

14. *Hear our prayers, &c.*] "**Hearken unto** our **prayer**, O Lord, and our **supplication**:" Dan. ix. 17; 2 Chr. vi. 19.

for thine own sake.] Dan. ix. 19.

led us away.] "**carried us away captive**:" as in Jer. xxix. 14, and constantly.

15. *That all the earth may know.*] 1 Sam. xvii. 46; 2 Chr. vi. 33, &c.

called by thy name.] "And **that thy name is called upon Israel and upon his race.**" See the marginal notes in the A.V. on Dan. ix. 18; Jer. xiv. 9; 2 Chr. vi. 33, &c.

16. *from thine holy house.*] Deut. xxvi. 15: "Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven."

bow down thine ear, O Lord, to hear us.] "**and** hear;" as in Dan. ix. 18, "incline thine ear, and hear." The original is Isa. xxxvii. 17, the prayer of Hezekiah against Sennacherib.

17. Comp. Isa. xxxvii. 17: "Open thine eyes, O Lord, and see." The remainder of the verse is taken substantially from Isa. xxxviii. 18, Hezekiah's prayer after his recovery from sickness.

in the graves.] Literally, "in Hades:" "**in the unseen world.**" The *souls*, not the bodies of the dead, are of course meant. See the next note.

whose souls are taken.] "whose **spirit is** taken." The construction of the relative pronoun is closely copied from the Hebrew. See Introd. § v. p. 249.

from their bodies.] The Greek word (σπλάγχνα) rendered "bodies" means really the inner organs, especially the nobler organs, lungs, heart, and liver. The description strengthens the contrast between the living and the dead, who, being deprived of the "**spirit**," have no longer any living bodily powers wherewith *on earth* to praise God.

By "**spirit**" is here meant "the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7, vi. 17, &c.).

will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness.] "will **not** give unto the Lord **glory and** righteousness." The Gk. word (δικαίωμα) rendered "righteousness" in A.V. may mean, as in 2 Sam. xix. 28, a "right," a just claim, equivalent to "due honour." The corresponding Hebrew word (צְדָקָה) has the same sense also in Neh. ii. 20, but more usually means "justice" or righteousness shewn in act: compare Keil's note on Dan. ix. 16. The meaning of our passage therefore seems to be to "ascribe to God glory and justice." In the phrase "give glory to God" the Hebrew word always used (כָּבוֹד) means not mere "praise" or "recognition," but inherent glory. See notes on Rom. iii. 23 in the

18 But the soul that is greatly vexed, which goeth stooping and feeble, and the eyes that fail, and the hungry soul, will give thee praise and righteousness, O Lord.

19 [f]Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee, O Lord our God, for the righteousness of our fathers, and of our kings.

20 For thou hast sent out thy wrath and indignation upon us, as thou hast spoken by the servants the prophets, saying,

21 [u]Thus saith the Lord, Bow down your shoulders to serve the king of Babylon: so shall ye remain in the land that I gave unto your fathers.

[f] Dan. 9. 18.

[u] Jer. 27. 11.

'Speaker's Commentary.' Our interpretation is rendered certain by the corresponding passage in *v.* 18, where the more usual word (δικαιοσύνη) is employed.

The doctrine of the verse concerning the state of the dead does not differ from that which is found in the original passage (Isa. xxxviii. 18), and frequently in the Psalms. Compare the notes in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on Pss. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10–12, cxv. 17; and see the same thought expressed in Ecclus. xvii. 27, 28. The meaning of such passages is well stated by Cornelius à Lapide in his 'Commentary on Baruch,' quoted here by Reusch: "The dead, it is said, praise not God, (1) because in their state as dead they cannot praise Him with bodily organs, the mouth and tongue. (2) They do not praise God for new mercies received from Him day by day in wonderful deliverance from troubles as happens to the living (Ps. lxxxviii. 11: 'Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? . . . Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?'). (3) They praise not God with such praise as the living praise Him withal, nor with such praise as the living can hear; wherefore *in respect of the living* there is from the dead no praise, even as there is no voice, no life. . . .

"For the Old Testament understands by the praise of God an outward and perceptible praise, which may edify others and encourage them to join in the same, such as the praise of penitents entreating and imploring God's mercy, as was this praise of Baruch and the Jews, which is properly called 'giving glory:' for 'glory' is praise and renown made *public*, whereas praise and honour may be private and secret."

18. *greatly vexed.*] The Greek means literally "vexed at the greatness" (ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος); and this reading is fully supported in the MSS. But there is almost certainly some corruption, or error of translation: for the following clause, "which goeth stooping and feeble," is descriptive of the body, not of "the soul."

Ewald (reading καὶ for ἐπί) renders: "the grieving soul, and *the pride* which goeth along bowed and fainting;" but neither this, nor any other possible meaning of μέγεθος, is satisfactory. The whole verse is imitated from Deut. xxviii. 65: "Neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind." See the Additional Note, and Introd. § v. p. 249.

the eyes that fail.] Compare Deut. xxviii. 65: "The Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind." The words of Deuteronomy were evidently in our author's mind here as in so many other passages of this chapter.

the hungry soul.] Compare Jer. xxxi. 25: "For I have satiated the weary soul, and I have replenished every sorrowful soul." For "sorrowful soul" the LXX. there have "hungry soul;" the Hebrew word there and in Deut. xxviii. 65 ("sorrow of mind") meaning literally to "pine" or "waste away."

19. *Therefore we do not make our humble supplication before thee.*] Literally, "For we do not cast down our supplication before thy face." Compare Jer. xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 20, xxxviii. 26, xlii. 2; Dan. ix. 20.

for the righteousness.] Literally, "upon the righteous deeds," as a ground or foundation for our petition. Compare for the thought Deut. ix. 4–6. Ewald thinks that an additional clause, such as that in Daniel, "but for thy great mercies," has been omitted here; but our author postpones that plea till *v.* 27.

20. *thou hast sent out.*] Omit "out."

and indignation.] "and **thine** indignation."

by thy servants.] Literally, "by the hand of thy servants," following the Hebrew closely.

21. The verse is compiled from Jer. xxvii. 11, 12.

Bow down your shoulders.] "**shoulder.**" The Greek words used here (ὦμος) and in *v.* 33 (νῶτος) are both different from the word (τράχηλος, "neck," Hebrew עֹרֶף) used by the LXX. in the corresponding passages of Jeremiah (xxvii. 2, 8, 11, 12; xxviii. 12, 14); another Hebrew word (עֹל) is represented

22 But if ye will not hear the voice of the Lord, to serve the king of Babylon,

x Jer. 7. 34. & 16. 9. & 25. 10. 23 x I will cause to cease out of the cities of Juda, and from without Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of joy, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride: and the whole land shall be desolate of inhabitants.

24 But we would not hearken unto thy voice, to serve the king of Babylon: therefore hast thou made

y Jer. 8. 1, 2. good y the words that thou spakest by thy servants the prophets, namely, that the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers, should be taken out of their places.

25 And, lo, z they are cast out to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night, and they died in great miseries by famine, by sword, and by pestilence.

z Jer. 36. 30.

26 And the house which is called by thy name hast thou laid waste, as *it is to be seen* this day, for the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house of Juda.

27 O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us after all thy goodness, and according to all that great mercy of thine,

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throughout, as also in the epithet "stiff-necked" (συληροτράχηλος) in *v.* 30.

In Jeremiah the command to bring the neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon was enforced by the prophet's symbolical action in putting bonds and yokes upon his own neck.

to serve.] Literally, "to work for," as in i. 22. Compare Jer. xxviii. 14, xl. 9.

so shall ye remain in the land.] "**and abide upon** the land:" *i.e.* do not attempt to escape into Egypt. Compare Jer. xlii. 10, 13.

23. The verse is taken very literally from Jer. vii. 34, which passage is in part repeated in xvi. 9, and in Jer. xxv. 10, a context already quoted by our author: the translation, however, is independent of the LXX.

desolate of inhabitants.] See notes on *v.* 4; and compare Jer. xxxii. 43, xlviii. 9.

24. *But we would not hearken.*] "**And we hearkened not.**" The prophecy especially meant is Jer. viii. 1: "They shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of the princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem out of their graves."

places.] "**place.**"

25. Instead of continuing the quotation from Jer. viii. 2, "And they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved," &c., the author passes to another prediction of similar import.

to the heat of the day, and to the frost of the night.] Or, "to the heat **by** day, and to the frost **by** night." The Greek words are the same as in Jer. xxxvi. 30, where they refer to the dead body of Jehoiakim. This obvious reference of the passage is overlooked by Ewald, who imagines that there is an omission in the text, which he would supply thus: "and now are they cast out *of their graves; and thy surviving ones are exposed* to the heat," &c.

they died.] This refers to the people generally, as in Jer. xxi. 9.

in great miseries.] A free but good rendering of the Greek (πόνοις πονηροῖς).

by pestilence.] The Greek word (ἀποστολή) means properly "a sending forth;" but here, and in Jer. xxxii. 36, with which our passage closely corresponds, it is used as an equivalent to the Hebrew word meaning "pestilence." See the fuller explanation at the end of the chapter.

26. *which is called by thy name.*] Literally, as in Dan. ix. 18, "upon which thy name has been called:" compare *v.* 15.

hast thou laid waste, as it is to be seen this day.] The Greek means simply, "hast thou **made as it is this day.**" See note on i. 15.

house of Israel.] "The evil of the house of Israel" is in like manner called to remembrance in Jer. xi. 17, a passage written more than a hundred years after the fall of the kingdom of Israel. Compare ii. 1.

27. *O Lord our God, thou hast dealt with us.*] "**And yet,** O Lord," &c.

goodness.] The Greek word (ἐπιείκεια), in its form as a substantive, seems to occur only here and in the books which were written originally in Greek (The Song of the Three Children, *v.* 19, "loving-kindness;" Wisdom ii. 19, "meekness;" xii. 18, "equity;" 2 Macc. ii. 22, "favour;" x. 4, "mercy"). The adjective, however, is used by the LXX. to render the Hebrew word meaning "ready to forgive" in Ps. lxxxvi. 5.

according to all that great mercy of thine.] See the note on *v.* 19, and compare Dan. ix. 18.

28 As thou spakest by thy servant Moses in the day when thou didst command him to write thy law before the children of Israel, saying,

29 [a] If ye will not hear my voice, surely [‖] this very great multitude shall be turned into a small *number* among the nations, where I will scatter them.

30 For I knew that they would not hear me, because it is a stiff-necked people: but [b] in the land of their captivities they shall [‖] remember themselves,

31 [c] And shall know that I am the Lord their God: for [d] I will give them an heart, and ears to hear:

32 And they shall praise me in the land of their captivity, and think upon my name,

33 And return from their stiff [‖] neck, and from their wicked deeds: for they shall remember the way of their fathers, which sinned before the Lord.

34 [e] And I will bring them again into the land which I promised with an oath unto their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they shall be lords of it: and I will increase them, and they shall not be diminished.

35 And [f] I will make an everlasting covenant with them to be their God, and they shall be my people: [g] and I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land that I have given them.

[a] Lev. 26. 14, &c. Deut. 28. 15, 62.
[‖] Gr. *this great swarm.*
[b] Lev. 26. 32, &c.
[‖] Or, *come to themselves.*
[c] Ps. 9. 16.
[d] Deut. 30. 6. Jer. 24. 7. & 32. 39.
[‖] Gr. *back*
[e] Jer. 16. 15.
[f] Jer. 31. 31, &c. & 32. 38, 40.
[g] Lam. 4. 22.

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29. *surely.*] Greek εἰ μήν, on which see Winer, 'Grammar of N. T.,' pp. 553, 627, and the commentators on Heb. vi. 14.

this very great multitude shall be turned, &c.] "this **swarm so great and so many** shall **turn**," &c. The nation is compared to a great swarm of bees, the Greek word being an imitation of their humming. As a substantive it is apparently only used here, but the verb (βομβεῖν) occurs in Jer. xxxi. 35; 1 Chr. xvi. 32; and in Plato, 'Rep.' viii. 564, D. See more in the Additional Note.

30. *I knew that they would not hear me.*] "I **know** that they **will** not," &c. The same tense (ἔγνων) is used by the LXX. in Jer. xiv. 20, xviii. 23, xxxiii. 3, xlviii. 30; in all which places the A. V. has the present.

captivities.] "**captivity**," as in *v.* 32. The Greek word (ἀποικισμοῦ) is used by the LXX. only in Jeremiah.

shall remember themselves.] Literally, "will return to their heart." Similar phrases occur in 1 Kings viii. 47; 2 Chr. vi. 37; Dan. iv. 34, 36.

31. *an heart.*] *I.e.* "a heart to know me" (Jer. xxiv. 7), "an understanding heart" (as some MSS. here read); or else "a new heart" (Ezek. xviii. 31). Compare Jer. xxxii. 39, where for "one heart" the LXX. read "another heart."

ears to hear.] Literally, "hearing ears:" compare Prov. xx. 12, "the hearing ear and the seeing eye."

33. *stiff neck.*] See note on *v.* 21.

wicked deeds.] See note at the end of the chapter.

the way of their fathers.] *I.e.* their evil course of conduct, as in Ezek. xvi. 61; xx. 43; xxxvi. 31, 32.

34. The promise of restoration is already given in Lev. xxvi. 42–45; Deut. xxx. 1–5.

the land which I promised with an oath.] See Deut. xxxiv. 4.

35. *I will make an everlasting covenant with them.*] In Lev. xxvi. 44, 45, God promises to "remember the covenant of their ancestors." Here the "everlasting covenant," as in Jer. xxxii. 40 and frequently, is the "new covenant" of Jer. xxxi. 31–33.

I will no more drive my people of Israel out of the land.] This corresponds to Jer. xxxii. 41, "I will plant them in this land assuredly with my whole heart, and with my whole soul;" xxiv. 6, "I will plant them, and not pluck them up;" and xlii. 10, "I will plant you, and not pluck you up."

Some modern interpreters, while acknowledging that these passages express a Messianic hope, deny the accomplishment of that hope in Jesus of Nazareth, and say that the promise has never been fulfilled: they see in it nothing more than a promise of material prosperity made to Israel after the flesh. Grotius gives rather a different view: "This covenant with Israel continued until Messiah came, and would have continued afterwards if they had received the Messiah,—a condition which is sometimes expressed, sometimes to be understood."

But both these views are directly opposed to the distinguishing characteristic of the "new covenant," that it shall never be broken, as the old covenant was (Jer. xxxi. 32, &c.). The description of the "new covenant" in Jeremiah as one which shall be written upon the heart can only apply to the spiritual

covenant which God has made with the true Israel in Jesus Christ (Isa. lv. 3; Heb. viii. 6).

The Messianic hope had its material as well as its spiritual side, and the two are often combined in one view by the prophets, looking forward to the restoration of Israel and redemption in Christ as one event. In the former, however, the material aspect of the promise had its temporal and symbolical fulfilment: in the latter, the spiritual fulfilment in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 4, 7, 18, 25, 29, 33.

4. *desolation.*] Gr. *ἄβατον.* The corresponding Hebrew word (שְׁמָמָה) meant originally, according to Fürst, "astonishment," and then "desolation." It is translated by many different words in the Septuagint, as will be seen by referring to Deut. xxviii. 37; 2 Kings xxii. 19; 2 Chr. xxix. 8, xxx. 7; Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8, xxv. 9, xlii. 18.

Passages in which *ἄβατος* is used as the translation of שְׁמָמָה are Jer. xxv. 18, 38; xliv. 22; xlviii. 9; xlix. 13, 17.

It is only in Jeremiah, apparently, that either שְׁמָמָה or its cognate שִׁמָּמוֹן is rendered by *ἄβατος*; a circumstance which favours the conjecture that Baruch and Jeremiah were translated into Greek by the same person. But see the note on *v.* 21.

7. The received reading (Vat. and Alex.) is as follows:—*ἃ ἐλάλησε Κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα ἃ ἦλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.* To avoid the apparent difficulty of construction, the second *ἃ* is omitted in Codd. XII., 26, 33, 36, 49, &c.; while *διότι* is substituted for the first *ἃ* in Codd. 22, 48, 51, supported by the Lat. *quia* [and Syr.: Fritzsche].

The latter reading, though an evident gloss, points to the true explanation, the first *ἃ* being a bald translation of אֲשֶׁר, which may be construed in two ways. Either it is simply the relative, referring to *v.* 6; or it has here, as in other places, the force of a conjunction "as" (Ewald), or "because." On this use of אֲשֶׁר see Gesenius, 'Hebr. Gr.,' § 155, 1 and 3. Ewald begins a new sentence with *v.* 7: "*As* the Lord spake all the evils concerning us which came upon us, but we did not entreat the face of the Lord . . . *so* the Lord watched over the evils," &c.

18. The Received Text (*ἀλλ' ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ λυπουμένη ἐπὶ τὸ μέγεθος ὃ βαδίζει κύπτον καὶ ἀσθενοῦν*) is supported by all the MSS., except that some cursives omit *ὅ*, and others, with Theodoret, insert *πνεῦμα* before *βαδίζει*. Neither of these corrections would remove the difficulties of the passage. No help is given by the free paraphrases of the Latin Versions.

Most of the modern commentators suppose that the Hebrew text was itself corrupt, or was misunderstood by the translator.

Reusch and Kneucker, referring to the original passage Deut. xxviii. 65, suggest that here also there was a similar antithesis between the soul and the body, or some part of it, *e.g.* the foot.

All that can be said with certainty is that the passage gives strong evidence of a Hebrew original.

25. *pestilence.*] That the word *ἀποστολή* is here used in this peculiar sense is clear from the parallel passage (Jer. xxxii. 36), where it is employed by the LXX. to translate the Hebrew word (דֶּבֶר), which is commonly used for "destruction," "death," "pestilence" (*θάνατος*, Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, &c.). As to the origin of a meaning so remote from the etymological sense of *ἀποστολή*, "a sending forth," Fritzsche suggests that it arose from the frequent use of the phrase *ἀποστέλλειν θάνατον* (Lev. xxvi. 25; 2 Chr. vii. 13; Jer. xxiv. 10; Ezek. xiv. 19, 21, xxviii. 23; Amos iv. 10).

29. *multitude.*] The Greek substantive *βόμβησις*, "buzzing," is said to be used nowhere else: the Hebrew word (הָמוֹן) to which it corresponds (as *βομβεῖν* to המה in Jer. xxxi. 35; xlviii. 36) occurs in 1 Kings xx. 13; 2 Kings xxv. 11; Isa. xiii. 4, xvii. 12; Ezek. xxx. 15, and is variously rendered by the LXX. as *ὄχλος, ἔθνη, πλῆθος.*

From this frequent use of הָמוֹן for "multitude," Kneucker argues that "the Greek translator here certainly misses both the sense and the right word, and is guilty of a mis-translation." But an examination of the passages quoted above from Isaiah will shew that in his use of the word the idea of "multitude" is derived from that of a "humming noise." Our author's attempt to represent this original meaning of the Hebrew by the new but rightly formed word *βόμβησις* cannot justly be called a mis-translation. It is, however, a strong proof of a Hebrew original.

33. *wicked deeds.*] For *πονηρῶν πραγμάτων*, which is the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, the Vatican has *πονηρῶν προσταγμάτων*, and this is adopted by Fritzsche in the same sense as "statutes that were not good" (Ezek. xx. 25). But there the "statutes" are represented as given in anger by God: here, if the word (*προστάγματα*) is retained, it should be compared with Deut. xxviii. 20 (*πονηρὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα*, "the wickedness of thy doings"); Jer. xxiii. 2, 22, xxv. 5, xxvi. 3. A better word than "deeds" or "doings" would be "**practices**;" *i.e.* habitual deeds,—customs recognised and, as it were, prescribed (*προστάγματα*).

CHAPTER III.

3 *The rest of their prayer and confession contained in that book, which Baruch writ, and sent to Jerusalem.* 30 *Wisdom was shewed first to Jacob, and was seen upon the earth.*

O LORD Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish, the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.

2 Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us, because we have sinned before thee.

3 For [a]thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly. [a] Ps. 102. 26.

4 O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites, and of their children,

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CHAPTER III.

1–8. An earnest prayer for deliverance, founded upon God's ancient promise recited in ii. 18–35.

Some commentators regard this as a separate prayer composed by Baruch for the exiles independently of the preceding chapters, alleging that "every link of transition, and still more every indication pointing to the preceding promise, is wanting" (Reusch).

No link of transition is needed, for the prayer follows quite naturally upon the promise.

The indications pointing to the preceding promise are numerous, as will at once appear by comparing *v.* 6 with ii. 31, 32, 35; *v.* 7 with ii. 31–33; *v.* 8 with ii. 29, 33.

Besides these references to the promise (ii. 28–35), Kneucker has shewn that every verse has some phrase or thought connecting it with the preceding portion of the book, i. 15—ii.

This will be the more evident if, instead of quoting the parallel passages in the notes on each verse, we bring together a few of the more striking into one view.

Compare iii. *v.* 1 with ii. 18.
iii. *v.* 2 „ ii. 14, 27.
iii. *v.* 3 „ ii. 13, 29.
iii. *v.* 4 „ i. 20; ii. 7, 10.
iii. *v.* 5 „ ii. 11, 15, 19.
iii. *v.* 6 „ i. 15, 18, 21, &c.
iii. *v.* 7 „ i. 16–19; ii. 6, &c.
iii. *v.* 8 „ i. 15, 19, 20; ii. 4.

While thus closely connected with the preceding chapters, the whole prayer is more independent of other books of Scripture; more forcible, tender, and earnest. By whomsoever and whenever composed, it expresses the genuine feelings of the writer.

1. *the soul in anguish.*] "a soul in anguish;" literally, "in straits" (ἐν στενοῖς). Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Susanna 22. Our English rendering of this word, and the equivalent (στενοχωρία, Isa. xxx. 6; Wisd. v. 3), is derived from the Vulgate (*in angustiis*). See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' ii. 20.

the troubled spirit.] "and a troubled spirit." The Greek word (ἀκηδιάω) means originally "to be without care or sorrow," and hence in its later use "to be insensible to pain," "to be past feeling," "dependent," "heavy." It is used by the LXX. in Isa. lxi. 3, "spirit of heaviness;" Ps. cxix. 28, "my soul melteth away for very heaviness."

2. As the verse stands in the A.V., two reasons are urged why God should shew mercy to Israel: (1) His own nature as "a merciful God" (Deut. iv. 31, &c.); and (2) the suppliants' confession of sin, as in Ps. xli. 4, "I said, Lord, be merciful unto me: heal my soul; for I have sinned against thee."

On the omission of the words "for thou art merciful: and have pity upon us," in the Vatican MS., see the note at the end of the chapter.

3. A further twofold motive to compassion lies in the contrast between the eternal majesty of God and the helplessness of His perishing creatures: Isa. lvii. 15, 16.

endurest.] "**sittest (in the throne).**" Compare Ps. ix. 4, xxix. 10; Lam. v. 19.

perish utterly.] "**are perishing for ever.**" The A.V., though it misses the force of the repetition "**for ever,**" seems to apply the words rightly to Israel *as a nation:* We, the remnant of Thy people, left few in number among the heathen, are perishing in exile, and with us Thy people Israel will perish "**for ever.**" Compare Jer. xl. 15, "the remnant in Judah perish;" Lev. xxvi. 38 f.; Deut. xxx. 18; Jer. xxvii. 10, 15.

4. *hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites.*] This strange expression—"the **prayer** of the dead **of Israel**"—has given rise to much discussion. "Some ancient interpreters understood by it, what seems to be the most obvious meaning, that the pious ancestors *in limbo patrum* prayed for their nation" (Reusch): and an appeal is made to such passages as Ps. xcix. 6; Jer. xv. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 43 ff., xv. 12, 13, to shew that such a view concerning the state of the dead is not without support in the O. T. A glance at these passages will shew how little they support the view in question: but even if their testimony were stronger, it could not be set against our author's own statement in ii. 17: "The dead . . . will give unto the Lord neither praise nor righteousness."

which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God: for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.

5 Remember not the iniquities of our forefathers: but think upon thy power and thy name now at this time.

6 For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, O Lord, will we praise.

7 And for this cause thou hast put thy fear in our hearts, to the intent

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Another opinion is that the phrase refers to the prayers which righteous men, *now dead*, such as Moses or Samuel or Solomon, had offered during their life (Ex. xxxii. 32; 1 Kings viii. 25 ff.): but this explanation is very far-fetched, and inconsistent with the plain meaning of the words "Hear the prayer of the dead," which can hardly be understood of prayers offered many centuries before.

A third view, held by many commentators (Maldonatus, à Lapide, Calmet, Grotius, Luther, Ewald, Reusch), is that by "the dead of Israel" are meant the suppliants themselves, who in their misery speak of themselves hyperbolically as "the dead." It is true that in *v.* 3 they speak of themselves as "perishing," and in *v.* 11 as "counted with them that go down into the pit;" but those expressions are evidently metaphorical, and can only apply to the living, while here it seems equally clear that the perfect participle (*τῶν τεθνηκότων*, as in ii. 17) can only apply to those who are actually dead.

It is, in short, impossible to find a satisfactory explanation of the words "prayer of the dead:" their meaning is clear, but quite inadmissible in this context, and directly opposed to our author's statement in ii. 17.

There is no various reading in the Greek text, except "prayers" for "**prayer**," which gives no help. But if proof were needed that the Greek text is not the original, we may find it in these words.

In Hebrew the difference between "the dead of Israel" (מֵתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) and "the **men** of Israel" (מְתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) lies only in the vowel-points of the first letter, and is no greater than the difference between *mêthêy* and *m'thêy*. In the Hebrew original of Baruch, written, as it must have been, without vowel-points, there could not have been any sign at all of the two meanings of מתי. This at once makes it probable that a translator from the Hebrew may have put "the dead of Israel" instead of "the **men** of Israel," which latter reading removes the difficulty of our passage.

The probability of this explanation is raised almost to certainty, when we consider the frequent mistakes which Greek translators have made in rendering the Hebrew word (מתים, "men"), and especially when we find that in Isa. v. 13 the Seventy, and in Isa. xli. 14 Aquila and Theodotion, give it the meaning "dead," as our translator does here.

For a fuller discussion of the subject, see the critical note at the end of the chapter.

and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God.] Render, "and **sons of the sinners** before thee, **which hearkened not**," &c. "**The sinners**" meant are spoken of in the relative clause which follows in the 3rd person, and clearly distinguished from the suppliants who speak of themselves in the 1st person (*ἡμῖν*). Thus in the former part of the verse they give a twofold description of themselves: (1) as the remnant of Israel, and (2) as sons of the sinners whose disobedience has brought evil upon their children. This interpretation is confirmed by *vv.* 5, 7, 8, in which the fathers only are mentioned as sinners before God. The present participle (*τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων*) makes no difficulty, as it answers to the Hebrew participle, which has no distinction of tense: in both languages the participle is often a timeless substantive; see Winer, 'Gr.' § xlv. 7.

for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.] "**and so the evils clave** unto us." Compare i. 20. It was a characteristic tendency of the Jews to trace the misfortunes of the children to the sins of their fathers: Ezek. xviii. 2; Lam. v. 7; Jer. xxxi. 29; Tobit iii. 3, 4.

5. *forefathers.*] "**fathers.**"

think upon thy power.] "**remember thy hand**:" compare ii. 11; Isa. li. 9.

and thy name.] Ps. lxxix. 9, cvi. 8; Isa. lxiii. 12; Jer. xiv. 21.

6. *thee, O Lord, will we praise.*] The inverted order of the words produces an emphasis which is not in the original: "**we will praise thee, O Lord.**"

7. *And for this cause.*] "**for therefore,**" *i.e.* that we should praise Thee, as is explained below.

to the intent that we should call upon thy name.] Or, according to the Vatican MS.,—"**and** (made us) **to call**,"—a second thing put into the heart by God.

and praise thee.] "**and we will** praise thee;" namely, because through Thy grace we have repented, according to Thy promise:

that we should call upon thy name, and praise thee in our captivity: for
[b] Deut. 30. 1. [b]we have called to mind all the iniquity of our forefathers, that sinned before thee.

8 Behold, we are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse, and to be subject to payments, according to all the iniquities of our fathers, which departed from the Lord our God.

9 Hear, Israel, the commandments of life: give ear to understand wisdom.

10 How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, that thou art waxen old in a strange

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compare ii. 31, 32. For this we will praise thee even now, while yet in exile.

called to mind.] "**put away from our heart**:" see the note at the end of the chapter, on the reading.

8. *captivity.*] More literally, "place of exile" (ἀποικίᾳ). Compare ii. 13.

and to be subject to payments.] "and **a penalty**" (Ewald). The Greek word (ὄφλησιν) does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint, and its meaning here is not very clear. The A. V. seems to refer it to "paying tribute;" Grotius understands it of "debt," referring to Deut. xxviii. 44; others of the guilt and penalty of sin (Reusch); Kneucker thinks that the Greek translator misread or misunderstood the Hebrew word. But, instead of resorting to uncertain conjecture, it is better to take the Greek word in its proper sense of "paying a penalty," and to connect it closely with the words which follow. We thus get a thought perfectly appropriate to the context, that God has scattered the Israelites among the heathen to be an object of reproach and of cursing, and "**to pay the penalty for** [literally, "according to"] all the iniquities" of their fathers. Compare ii. 4, and the notes there.

iii. 9—iv. 4. ISRAEL ADMONISHED TO RETURN TO THE FOUNTAIN OF WISDOM.

9. *Hear, Israel.*] An echo of Deut. v. 1, or rather of Deut. vi. 4, "the beginning of what is termed the *Sh'ma* ("Hear") in the Jewish services" ('Speaker's Commentary').

commandments of life.] The genitive expresses the effect or purpose, as in Rom. v. 18, "justification of life." Compare Rom. vii. 10, "the commandment which was **unto life**," and the note there. The same thought is more fully expressed by our author in iv. 1.

give ear to understand.] The Greek word (ἐνωτίσασθε) is common in the LXX.; *e.g.* in Ex. xv. 26, "give ear to his commandments." Here, as in Ps. xlix. 1, it refers to what has gone before: **Ponder them in your ears**, to understand wisdom.

10. *How happeneth it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land?*] "**Why is it**, Israel, **why is it**, that thou," &c. The same construction (τί ὅτι) is found in 1 Sam. i. 8, Isa. xxii. 1 (Septuagint), and in Mark ii. 16, Luke ii. 49, Acts v. 4, 9. Much of the vivacity of the question is lost in the Authorized Version by omitting the second interrogative with Codex A and other MSS. The attention is first roused, then quickened by the repetition, as in Prov. xxxi. 2: "What, my son? And what, the son of my womb? And what, the son of my vows?"

The question includes *vv.* 10, 11, and is answered in *vv.* 12, 13: its four clauses form a climax of misery, completed in the words "counted with them that go down into the grave."

thine enemies' land.] This cannot possibly mean, as Ewald supposes, "the ancient native land of Israel here called a *foreign* land (*v.* 10)," because "the most utterly foreign nations and rulers marched over its soil, as if it were entirely lost to Israel." This verse is in its plain and obvious meaning fatal both to Ewald's theory, that the Section iii. 9—v. 9 is "A prophetic Liturgy on the basis of the Law," "intended to be used at a public service of humiliation in the Temple at Jerusalem;" and to Nöldeke's view (mentioned by Kneucker) that it is an address of "consolation for the Israelites *left behind* in misery after the destruction of Jerusalem."

waxen old.] Compare Ps. vi. 7, xxxii. 3; Lam. iii. 4; and especially Dan. xi. 33, where, instead of "fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days," the Vatican text of the LXX. means "they shall fall upon the sword, and wax feeble [lit. "old"] by it, and by captivity," &c. Compare also Ps. xviii. 45, "The strangers shall fade away" (ἐπαλαιώθησαν), where, as in Ps. vi. 7, the idea of *decay* is more prominent than that of *age*.

Hence Reusch and Kneucker argue that the phrase "waxen old" does not necessarily point to a late period of the Captivity: but see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

defiled with the dead.] Not "*by* the dead," but "*equally with* the dead." This meaning

country, that thou art defiled with the dead,

[c] Ps. 28. 1. 11 That thou art [c]counted with them that go down into the grave?

12 Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom.

[d] Ps. 81. 13, 14. 13 [d]For if thou hadst walked in the way of God, thou shouldest have dwelled in peace for ever.

14 Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding; that thou mayest know also where is length of days, and life, where is the light of the eyes, and peace.

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is required by the Greek (*συνεμιάνθης*), and agrees better with the parallel clause which follows. The defilement meant is probably the contact with idolatry, as in Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. xx. 31. The meaning suggested by Grotius, that the Jews in Babylon were made to serve in burying the dead, is a mere conjecture, having no support either in the context or in history.

11. *counted with them that go down into the grave.*] The language is taken exactly from Ps. lxxxviii. 4, except that "Hades" is substituted for "the pit." Compare *v.* 19 below.

Ewald interprets the passage metaphorically of "the *dead*, i.e. such as were without the true pure life mentioned in *v.* 9, *i.e.* among heathen and under their rule," so that Israel is "itself, as it were, dead and polluted by the dead." But the true meaning is that which is more fully developed in the Psalm from which the clause is quoted, Ps. lxxxviii. 3–6, where the suppliant describes himself as one brought down by extreme misery, as it were, to the very edge of the grave, and cast aside like a neglected corpse.

12. The speaker who addresses Israel now answers his own question. It is because "Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom," *i.e.* God Himself, as in Jer. ii. 13, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," xvii. 13, and Ps. xxxvi. 9, "With thee is the fountain of life."

In Ecclesiasticus i. 5 the Authorized Version gives, "The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom;" but the verse is not found in the Vatican Codex, and is generally regarded as spurious. Also in 2 Esdras xiv. 47 (A. V.) it is said of certain books: "In them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom" (*fons sapientiae*): this Book of Esdras does not exist in Greek.

In our passage it is certainly best to interpret "the fountain of wisdom" of God Himself, according to Ecclus. i. 1: "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever." Israel had forsaken God by ceasing to walk in His way, as is explained in the next verse.

13. *For if.*] Omit "for."

"The way of God" is the way in which God teaches man to walk: compare Ps. xxvii. 11, "Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path;" Micah iv. 2. On the reading see the Additional Note.

14. *Learn where is wisdom.*] Since the cause of thy misery is that "thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom" (*v.* 12), learn now once more who possesses and imparts her (*vv.* 15, 27, 32). Compare Job xxviii. 12 ff.

wisdom.] "**prudence**" (*φρόνησις*). "The Divine Principle which alone produces true life and happiness is here personified, and characterised in three distinct elements as *φρόνησις*, 'insight,' 'prudence;' *ἰσχύς*, 'strength,' and *σύνεσις*, 'understanding.' . . . But the same Principle is also characterised simply as *φρόνησις* (*v.* 28), *σοφία* (*v.* 23), and *ἐπιστήμη*, *vv.* 20, 27, 36." (Fritzsche.)

See further, on the distinction between these words, in the Additional Note.

strength.] *I.e.* the moral and spiritual power which belongs essentially to godly wisdom. Compare Mic. iii. 8, "Truly I am full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression;" Job xii. 13, "With him is wisdom (*σοφία*) and strength (*δύναμις*), he hath counsel and understanding (*σύνεσις*)." See also Prov. ii. 2, 3, 6 in the Greek.

also.] "**at the same time.**"

length of days.] The Greek substantive (*μακροβίωσις*) seems to occur only here. Kneucker remarks that the Semitic maxim, "With the ancient is wisdom; and in length of days understanding" (Job xii. 12), takes from the religious standpoint of the Jews the converse form: "The fruit of wisdom (as revealed in God's law) is long life and happiness: Ex. xx. 12; Deut. iv. 6; Prov. iv. 10." See also Prov. iii. 16, "Length of days is in her right hand."

life.] True "life" (*ζωή*), as in *v.* 9, is more than mere "length of days;" it is life in its essence as a spiritual force, "the strength, freshness, and bloom of life." (Reusch.) For this emphatic sense of "life," compare Ps. xvi. 11; Prov. iv. 13: "Keep her (instruction), for she is thy life."

the light of the eyes.] *I.e.* cheerfulness, happiness: see note on i. 12.

peace.] Prov. iii. 17: "all her paths are peace."

15 [e]Who hath found out her place? or who hath come into her treasures?
16 Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth;
17 They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air, and they that hoarded up silver and gold, wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting?

[e] Job 28. 12, 20.

15. The question, Where is Wisdom to be found? is repeated under various forms, and many imaginary answers are rejected, but the true answer is not given till *v.* 32 ff.

Compare Job xxviii. 12, 20, "Whence then cometh wisdom (*σοφία*), and where is the place of understanding (*ἐπιστήμης*)?" *v.* 23, "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof," *i.e.* her dwelling-place (Ps. xxxvii. 10). "Wisdom" is here used in its comprehensive sense as that which exists in God as its source, and must be sought by man from Him.

It is regarded (in the question) as something hidden and hard to find: as in Job xxviii. 21, "It is hid from the eyes of all living." Its place is known to none but God (Bar. iii. 32).

into her treasures.] "**treasuries**," or "treasure-houses." Compare Job xxxviii. 22, "Hast thou entered into the treasures of the snow?" Ps. cxxxv. 7, "He bringeth the wind out of his treasuries."

16. *Where are the princes of the heathen become.*] Omit "become."

The author first brings examples to prove that none but God hath found the place of Wisdom. The enumeration of the different conditions, ages, and races of men serves to magnify the incomparable worth of wisdom.

the princes of the heathen.] These princes or rulers (*ἄρχοντες*) stand first, as the types of human grandeur, pride, and arbitrary power: compare Ecclus. x. 14. Some find here an allusion to the great kings of Babylon, and to Nebuchadnezzar in his madness (Kneucker). But the past tenses, and the whole context, shew that in words at least the author refers to the mighty rulers of past ages; such, for example, as Nimrod, the "mighty hunter before the Lord." That there may at the same time be a veiled allusion to Nebuchadnezzar seems not improbable when we look at such passages as Jer. xxvii. 6: "And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant: and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him."

The same thought concerning the dominion over the beasts of the field as given to Nebuchadnezzar is found also in Jer. xxviii. 14; Dan. ii. 38; Judith xi. 7.

such as ruled the beasts.] "**they that had dominion over** the beasts:" compare Jer. xxvii. 6; Dan. ii. 38.

17. *They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air.*] Job xli. 5: "Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? Or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?"

The Seventy seem to have understood Ps. civ. 26 in the same way: "There is that leviathan whom thou hast formed to take thy pastime with him (*δράκων οὗτος ὃν ἔπλασας ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ*)." On this traditional Jewish interpretation, adopted by some modern commentators, see the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

The meaning of the allusion to "the beasts" and "the fowls of the air" in connexion with the search after Wisdom is seen by referring to such a passage as Job xii. 7: "Ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee: and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee." These mighty rulers in all their pride could find nothing better to do than to amuse themselves with such trifles, and yet they have not learned wisdom from the birds who have travelled so far and seen so much: compare Job xxxv. 11: "But none saith, Where is God my Maker, . . . who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven?"—a passage which may otherwise be rendered: "Who teacheth us by the beasts of the earth, and maketh us wise by the fowls of heaven." See Delitzsch and the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting.] Literally, "wherein men **trusted, and there is** no end of their getting." In the former clause the Greek translator has rightly given the past tense: in the latter, which represents a common Hebrew phrase that has no verb expressed, he seems inadvertently to have used the present (*ἐστί*). In Isa. ii. 7 the LXX. rightly use the past tense (*οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός*). The sense and connexion are clearly shewn in the A.V.: "they that hoarded up silver and gold, . . . and made no end of their getting." Neither their absolute power, nor their boundless riches, could give wisdom to those princes of the heathen. On the Hebraisms of this and the next verse, see the Introd. § v. p. 250.

18, 19. There is some difficulty in determining the sense and construction of these verses, and their relation to the preceding context. Much depends upon the meaning of the first clause, which in the Vulgate (*qui argentum fabricant*) and A.V. is referred to the silversmiths, and more particularly (as Kneucker thinks) to the makers of silver

18 For they that wrought in silver, and were so careful, and whose works are unsearchable,

19 They are vanished and gone down to the grave, and others are come up in their steads.

20 Young men have seen light, and dwelt upon the earth: but the way of knowledge have they not known,

21 Nor understood the paths thereof, nor laid hold of it: their children were far off from that way.

22 It hath not been heard of in Chanaan, [f] neither hath it been seen in Theman. [f] Jer. 49. 7.

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idols, the value of "whose works" is "unsearchable" from their number and excellence. Taken in this sense, and in connexion with *vv.* 16, 17, the general meaning of the passage will be, that not only the mighty and the rich, but the skilful artists whose works were so precious,—all are gone.

On the other hand, it must be considered that the Greek word (τεκταίνω), though not uncommon in the Septuagint, seems never to be there used of *material*, but only of *moral* working. With the usual meaning "contrive" or "devise," *i.e.* how to get, the whole passage, *vv.* 16–19, may be thus rendered: "Where are the **rulers** of the **nations**, and **they that had dominion over** the beasts upon the earth; they that **played with the birds of heaven**, and hoarded up silver and gold wherein men **trusted**, and **there was** no end of their getting?—For they that wrought **to get** silver, and were **full of care**, and whose works are **past finding out**, they are vanished," &c.

See the Additional Note for a fuller discussion of the sense and connexion of the whole passage.

18. *so careful.*] The same word as in Matt. vi. 34.

whose works are unsearchable.] The probable meaning is, "whose labours are infinite." Compare in the Greek Isa. xl. 28: "there is no searching of his understanding."

20, 21. One generation after another has failed to find wisdom.

20. *Young men have seen light.*] "**Younger** men have seen light;" *i.e.* have been born and lived. Compare Job iii. 16: "infants which never saw light."

By "the way of knowledge" and "the paths thereof" is meant the way that leads to knowledge (ἐπιστήμη, "science," Aristot.): so in *vv.* 23, 27, 31, 36.

21. *nor laid hold of it.*] These words should begin a new sentence: "**Nor did their sons lay hold of her**, they **wandered** far," &c.

from that way.] Literally, "from the way of them" (αὐτῶν), which De Wette explains as meaning "the way of their fathers" (ii. 33): the children wandered away far beyond their fathers.

It would be simpler to refer αὐτῶν to the children themselves—"**they wandered far out of their way**," *i.e.* out of the right way in which they should have sought Wisdom. Compare Job xvii. 9, "The righteous also shall hold on his way;" Prov. v. 8, "Remove thy way far from her;" x. 10, "He that perverteth his ways shall be known;" xi. 5, "The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way;" xix. 3, "The foolishness of man perverteth his way;" xx. 24, "Man's goings are of the Lord: how can a man then understand his own way?"

Even this rendering may be questioned on the ground that throughout the whole passage it is "the way of knowledge" that is mentioned: *vv.* 23, 27, 31, 36. Fritzsche, Reusch, and Kneucker prefer the various reading (αὐτῆς for αὐτῶν), which has little authority.

22, 23. "He enumerates the nations that prided themselves on wisdom" (Theodoret).

22. *Chanaan.*] According to the later usage of the name, Canaan refers to the Phœnicians who dwelt on the sea-coast (Zeph. ii. 5; Matt. xv. 22), "whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth" (Isa. xxiii. 8). Compare 2 Chr. ii. 7, and Ezek. xxviii. 3–5, where of "the prince of Tyre" it is said: "Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee: with thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom, and by thy traffic, hast thou increased thy riches," &c. Compare Zech. ix. 2, 3.

"Theman," or Teman, a district and city in the south of Edom, was as famous for wisdom in counsel, and for proverbial sayings, as Canaan for arts and commerce. Jer. xlix. 7: "Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts, Is wisdom no more in Teman? Is counsel perished from the prudent? Is their wisdom vanished?" Compare Obad. 8, 9.

23. *The Agarenes.*] "**The sons also of Agar**," *i.e.* the Ishmaelites (Gen. xvi. 15; xxxvii. 25; Ps. lxxxiii. 6).

that seek wisdom upon earth.] Gen. xxxvii. 25: "Behold a company of Ishmaelites came

23 The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran and of Theman, the [1]authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding; none of these have known the way of wisdom, or remember her paths.

24 O Israel, how great is the house

[1] Or, *expounders.*

from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." These travelling merchants are here represented as "seeking wisdom upon earth" on the principle that knowledge is increased by travel. The same word (*σύνεσις*) is in this verse first rendered "wisdom," and then (as in *v.* 14) "understanding:" the latter should be used in both places, though there is no emphasis on the special sense.

On the reading see the Additional Note.

the merchants of Meran.] The name "Meran" is not found elsewhere, and is thought to be a corruption, though there is no various reading. The most probable conjecture is that ר has been substituted for ד in the Hebrew form of the name "Medan," which in Gen. xxxvii. 36 is supposed to be applied to the Midianites (*v.* 28) or Ishmaelites who bought Joseph. "The different names given to the traders do not shew that the account has been drawn from different legends, but that these tribes were often confounded, from the fact that they resembled one another so closely, not only in their common descent from Abraham (Gen. xvi. 15; xxv. 2, 'Medan and Midian,' both sons of Keturah), but also in the similarity of their mode of life and constant change of abode, that strangers could hardly distinguish them, especially when they appeared, not as tribes but as Arabian merchants, such as they are here described as being, 'Midianitish men, merchants'" (Keil and Delitzsch on Gen. xxv. 2). Thus "the merchants of Medan" who were sons of Keturah are very naturally mentioned in connexion with the "sons of Agar" or Ishmaelites, as in Genesis.

and of Theman.] This is not necessarily the name of the same people as in *v.* 22. The Greek name (Θαιμάν) represents two different Hebrew names: "Theman" or "Teman" (Gen. xxxvi. 11), grandson of Esau; and "Tema," son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15), mentioned in Job vi. 19, Jer. xxv. 23, Isa. xxi. 13, 14. The modern name is Teymâ ('Dictionary of the Bible').

the authors of fables.] The Greek word (*μυθολόγοι*) is not found elsewhere in the Greek Scriptures, and *μῦθος* only in Ecclus. xx. 19, followed by *παραβολή* in *v.* 20.

Various meanings are here proposed. Ewald writes: "This undoubtedly refers to a literature of legends and stories, much read at that time, and which spread from this people over the whole earth, a precursor of the later 'Thousand and One Nights,' &c."

The older commentators think that it means those who in Oriental fashion clothed their thoughts in fables, parables, or proverbs: *e.g.* Ezek. xvii. 2; xviii. 2, 3. Compare Ps. xlix. 4, "I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon the harp;" lxxviii. 2, "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old; which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us," &c. On the full meaning of Mashal, compare Lowth ('Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews,' sect. iv. p. 43): "The Persians, the Arabs, and many of the most ancient of the Eastern nations, preserved in verse their history and politics, as well as the principles of religion and morals."

searchers out of understanding.] This additional description confirms the view which we have taken of the preceding clause. If, as Bishop Lowth suggests, the legendary lore included under the name Mashal embraced "all science, human and divine," these mythologists might well be called inquirers after wisdom, or "searchers out of understanding."

none of these have known.] Literally, "**but the way of wisdom they have not known.**" The construction is irregular, but the meaning not obscure: The sons of Agar and merchants of Medan and Teman have been diligent searchers after knowledge about earthly things, yet they have not found the way that leads to true wisdom (*σοφία*).

On the construction and reading, see the Additional Note.

24–28. In this third part of the answer to the question, Who hath found out the place of Wisdom (*v.* 15)? the author passes from the consideration of particular classes of men, the mighty and rich (16–19), the ancients and their descendants (20, 21), nations most famous for enterprise, commerce, and intelligence (Phœnicians and Arabians), and rises to a higher thought that in the whole created world, great as it is, Wisdom is nowhere to be found, except in Him who is "the fountain of wisdom" (*v.* 12).

"Hitherto he has said that earthly might and riches, and human study and search, cannot bring men to the attainment of wisdom; the thought now takes the turn that human strength (*Kraft*) gives no claim to the reception of wisdom,—that in imparting it God has no regard to power and might." (Reusch.)

of God! and how large is the place of his possession!

25 Great, and hath none end; high, and unmeasurable.

26 There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.

27 Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them:

28 But they were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness.

29 ε Who hath gone up into heaven, and taken her, and brought her down from the clouds? ε Deut. 30. 12, 13. Rom. 10. 6, 7.

30 Who hath gone over the sea, and found her, and will bring her for pure gold?

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24. *O Israel.*] The motive of this appeal is explained by *v.* 36. The thought that God has made His wisdom known to Israel only is already passing through the writer's mind.

the house of God.] This phrase, which first occurs in Gen. xxviii. 17, is always applied in the O. T. to some place or building where God grants His presence. But here its meaning cannot be limited to an earthly sanctuary, which would neither suit the description in *v.* 26, nor the mention of the giants in *v.* 27. Nor does *v.* 27 allow us to apply it to "the heavens" as God's dwelling-place. (Comp. 'De Mundi opif.,' § 7.) It must have the wider meaning in which Philo-Judaeus ('de Incorr. Mundi,' § 21, *θεῖον δέ τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ αἰσθητῶν*) applies it to the whole created universe. It is, however, possible that this idea of "the universe" is expressed by combining the two clauses of the verse, the heaven being "the house of God," and earth "the place of his possession." The latter phrase is illustrated by Ps. civ. 24: "The earth is full of thy riches" (*κτήσεως*, the word here rendered "possession").

25. This thought of the immensity of the world serves to render God's favour to Israel the more conspicuous: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: the world, and they that dwell therein" (Ps. xxiv. 1); and yet "He hath chosen Jacob unto himself, and Israel for his peculiar treasure" (Ps. cxxxv. 4).

26. *There were the giants, &c.*] The author follows the Septuagint version of Gen. vi. 4 more closely than is here shewn in the A.V. "There were the giants **born, who were** from the beginning **men of renown,** of great stature, expert in war." Other references to Gen. vi. 4 are found in Ecclus. xvi. 7; Wisdom xiv. 6.

27. *Those did not the Lord choose.*] "**Not these did God** choose." Reusch refers to Deut. iv. 37: "Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, . . . to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art;" and argues that our author is thinking especially of the giant sons of Anak, and the Rephaim, because it was more directly to them that Israel was preferred. But the allusion to the giant race of the world before the Flood is more in accordance with the wide scope of the whole passage (*vv.* 24–30), and the grandeur of the thoughts which it borrows from the ancient Scriptures.

28. *But they were destroyed, &c.*] "**So they perished,** because they had no **prudence** (*φρόνησιν*); they perished **because of** their foolishness." The language is not so well suited to the Canaanites who *were destroyed* by Israel, as to the flood of waters "in the old time, when the proud giants perished" (Wisdom xiv. 6).

29, 30. The language is borrowed from the description of the Divine commandment in Deut. xxx. 12: "Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us? . . . Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us?"

But the language is not used by our author to enforce the same argument as in Deuteronomy. *There* the purpose is to make Israel feel that the wisdom of God has been brought very near to them, even in their heart and conscience, and therefore need not be sought far off, "in heaven," or "over the sea." *Here* the meaning is, that man can never find wisdom for himself, not even if he could mount up to heaven or cross over the sea. Our author's use of the passage thus falls far short of that deep significance which St. Paul discerned in it (Rom. x. 5–9). The addition of the words "brought her down from the clouds" rather points to a connexion of our passage with Ecclus. xxiv. 3,—where Wisdom says of herself: "I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud. I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep." The conclusion of that passage, as of our own, is that Wisdom could find no resting-place except in Israel. Compare also Job xxviii. 14.

30. *pure gold.*] Literally, "**choice** gold:" compare Job xxviii. 15–19.

31 No man knoweth her way, nor thinketh of her path.

32 But he that knoweth all things knoweth her, and hath found her out with his understanding: he that prepared the earth for evermore hath filled it with fourfooted beasts:

33 He that sendeth forth light, and it goeth, calleth it *again*, and it obeyeth him with fear.

34 The stars shined in their watches, and rejoiced: [h] when he calleth them, they say, Here we be; and so with cheerfulness they shewed light unto him that made them.

35 This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him.

36 He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto

[h] Ps. 147. 4.

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31. *No man knoweth.*] **There is none that** knoweth."

her path.] *I.e.* the path that leads to Wisdom.

32. *But he that knoweth all things knoweth her.*] The comparative poverty of our language makes it almost impossible to reproduce the distinction between the two Greek words: one of which (εἰδώς) represents the ever-present knowledge of Him "that knoweth all things;" while the other (γινώσκει) ascribes to God the same mental process by which man *gets to know* what was not previously known to him. See the Additional Note. The latter idea is developed in a still more anthropomorphic fashion in the following words: "and hath found her out with his understanding."

The description of God's creative action as extending over all His works serves to confirm the truth that He must know fully the way of wisdom, for only by wisdom hath He made them all. This argument also is taken from Job xxviii. 23, 24 ff. It serves to exalt the glory of Him, who is in an especial sense the God of Israel, by whom the chosen nation has been so highly favoured (*vv.* 35, 36).

for evermore.] Compare Eccles. *i.* 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever." Thus the earth may be called eternal in comparison with man and his works, but the statement must not be taken in an absolute sense. The duration of God's works exalts His power.

33. By "light" some here understand the light of the sun, and others lightning. In favour of the former they refer to Job xxxi. 26: "If I beheld the sun (margin, "light") when it shined." This seems to be the only passage in which the Hebrew word for "light" (אוֹר) is translated "sun" (ἥλιον, LXX.), though of course it often means the light of the sun.

On the other hand, "light" (אוֹר) is used for "lightning" in Job xxxvi. 30, 32, xxxvii. 3, 11, 15; from which passages the description seems to be taken. Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings that they may go?"

with fear.] The lightning is personified, and described as conscious of God's power and command.

34. *The stars shined in their watches.*] Compare Ecclus. xliii. 10: "At the commandment of the Holy One they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches."

"A metaphor from soldiers keeping watch: for the stars are the host of heaven" (Cornelius à Lapide). The old commentator in this good note anticipates the poet's thought:

"The sentinel stars set their watch in the sky."

and rejoiced.] Compare Job xxxviii. 7, "The morning stars sang together;" and Ps. cxlviii. 3, "Praise him, all ye stars of light;" and Shakspeare's allusion to the former passage ('Merchant of Venice,' v. 1):

"There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims."

when he calleth them.] Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.

Here we be.] Compare Job xxxviii. 35: "Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?" Judith ix. 6. "They spake not by word, but by deed" (Cornelius à Lapide).

35. Compare Ps. xlviii. 14, "This God is our God for ever and ever;" and cxiii. 5, "Who is like unto the Lord our God?"

This mighty God, the Maker of the world, to whose power and wisdom all things in heaven and earth bear witness, is in an especial sense our God, whom alone we worship, and who has chosen us to be His peculiar people.

36. The question of *v.* 15 now receives its full answer. God alone has "found out all the way [or rather "**every** way"] of knowledge."

Compare Job xxviii. 23: "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof;" *i.e.* of wisdom.

Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved.

37 [i] Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men. [i] Prov. 8. 31. John 1. 14.

and hath given it unto Jacob his servant.] Ps. cxlvii. 19: "He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for his judgments they have not known them." Compare also Isa. xliv. 1, "Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen;" and Deut. iv. 5.

beloved.] See Deut. xxxii. 15, in the LXX. (ἐλάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος).

37. *Afterward did he shew himself upon earth.*] "Afterward **she was seen** upon earth." No subject is expressed in the Greek, but there can be no doubt that the statement refers to "knowledge" (ἐπιστήμη, *v.* 36), not as in A. V. to God. Compare Ecclus. xxiv. 8: "So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment. . . . Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel . . . and so was I established in Sion" (*v.* 10).

and conversed with men.] In Prov. viii. 31 Wisdom speaks thus of herself: "Rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth: and my delights were with the sons of men."

On the supposed reference of this verse to the Messiah, see the Additional Note.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 2, 4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23, 32, 37.

2. The Vatican MS. omits the words ὅτι θεὸς ἐλεήμων εἶ· καὶ ἐλέησον, which are found in the Alexandrine and most other MSS. and Versions. They are rejected by some modern commentators, and Kneucker argues that the superfluity of words does not suit the deep emotion of the suppliant; a criticism which is not convincing.

4. The great difficulty of the expression "Hear the prayers of the dead Israelites," the complete removal of the difficulty by the proposed emendation "the **prayer** of the **men of Israel**," and the striking proof which the supposed mistake affords of a Hebrew original,—all make it desirable to examine carefully the way in which the LXX. render the word מֵתִים, and its construct מְתֵי.

The word first occurs in the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, "men of number," *i.e.* "few in number" (A.V.), men easily counted (εὐαρίθμητοι τινες). This formula occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 30 (ὀλιγοστὸς ἐν ἀριθμῷ); in Deut. iv. 27 (ὀλίγοι ἀριθμῷ); 1 Chron. xvi. 19 (ὀλιγοστοὺς ἀριθμῷ); Ps. cv. 12 (ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖς ὀλιγοστούς). We see that in the Greek translation no trace appears of the original meaning "men;" and we shall find further reason to doubt whether the translators had any knowledge of this meaning.

In Deut. xxxiii. 6, "Let not his men be few" (literally, "a number"), the LXX. give καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ. In Deut. xxvi. 5 and xxviii. 62 we find another combination, בְּמְתֵי מְעָט; meaning literally "with men of fewness," and rendered in both places by the LXX. ἐν ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖ.

In all these passages the idea of a "small number" is expressed by the words with which מְתֵי is combined, but was apparently attached by the Greek translators to that word itself. Thus in Isa. xli. 14, "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel," the LXX. have ὀλιγοστὸς Ἰσραήλ, and the margin of the A. V. gives as an alternative "few men of Israel."

The mistaken notion of the LXX. becomes apparent when we turn to passages in which there is no idea of number in the Hebrew. Thus in Job xi. 3, "Should thy lies put men (מְתִים) to silence?" they seem to wander in total darkness, writing εὐλογημένος γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος, and still clinging in the last word to their error. Still more remarkable is their rendering of Ps. xvii. 14: "From men which are thy hand, O Lord, from men of the world." Here מִמְתִים is first translated ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν, and the second time ἀπ' ὀλίγων (of which ἀπολύων, Cod. Vat., is a manifest corruption).

The same ignorance of the true meaning of the word appears in other passages: Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6; Job xi. 11, xix. 19, xxii. 15, xxiv. 12, xxxi. 31; Ps. xxvi. 4; Isa. iii. 25, v. 13. These are all the passages in which the word occurs, according to Fürst's Concordance; and the only one of them in which the Greek translators may be thought to have known its meaning is Job xxii. 15, where they turn "wicked men" (A. V.) into ἄνδρες δίκαιοι.

In Isa. v. 13 they have confounded מְתֵי, "men," with מֵתֵי, "dead" (νεκρῶν), having turned "men of famine" into "dead through famine."

It is remarkable that the same confusion is seen in the Latin rendering of another passage quoted above—Isa. xli. 14, "ye men of Israel,"—for which we find, *qui mortui estis ex Israel*, which is derived from the Greek version of Aquila (τεθνεῶτες) or Theodotion (νεκροί).

With these proofs of the confusion of the two words, it seems impossible to doubt that here also a translator's mistake has given us

"the dead of Israel" instead of "the men of Israel."

Mr. Cheyne, in a critical note on Isa. iii. 25, observes that מְתִים "implies dependence or weakness." Hence he renders it in xli. 14, "ye petty folk of Israel." But in fact the idea of "weakness" seems to be quite excluded by the parallelism of the two clauses in Isa. iii. 25: Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. Compare Job xi. 3. There is no need to assume, as some do, that the Hebrew word itself has come to connote "fewness" from its frequent occurrence in the combination מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, "men of number," *i.e.* "few." See Delitzsch, and Rosenmüller on Isa. xli. 14; and on Baruch iii. 4, Welte, Hitzig, Kneucker, and Reuss.

7. The A.V. ("*called to mind*") represents the reading of Cod. Alex. and other MSS., *ἀπεστρέψαμεν ἐπὶ καρδίαν*, for which Cod. Vat. has *ἀπὸ καρδίας*. The Vulgate gives *convertimur ab iniquitate patrum.*

12, 14. The author uses three synonyms in this section, which may be thus distinguished: "understanding" (*σύνεσις*) is a purely critical faculty; "prudence" or "discretion" (*φρόνησις*) is practical and directive; and these both have as their object things human and temporal; while "wisdom" (*σοφία*) is "the perfect combination of science (*ἐπιστήμη*) and intelligence (*νοῦς*), having for its object the highest natures" (Hampden, 'Fathers of Greek Philosophy,' p. 145). Compare Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' vi. 6: *εἴη ἂν ἡ σοφία νοῦς καὶ ἐπιστήμη, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν ἔχουσα ἐπιστήμη τῶν τιμιωτάτων.* Schol. *τιμιώταται δὲ αἱ ἀρχαί.*

13. *for ever.*] The Alexandrine and many other MSS. read *τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*, as in *v.* 32; Isa. xiii. 20, xiv. 20. For such adjectival use of *αἰῶνα*, see Matth., 'Gk. Gr.,' ii. § 429, 4.

18. *For they that wrought in silver.*] Use of *τεκταίνω* (*-ομαι*) in the LXX.:—

Prov. iii. 29.	*μὴ τέκταινε ἐπὶ σὸν φίλον κακά.*
vi. 14.	*τεκταίνεται κακά.*
xii. 20.	*δόλος ἐν καρδίᾳ τεκταινομένου κακά.*
xiv. 22.	*πλανώμενοι τεκταίνουσι κακά· ἔλεον δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν τεκταίνουσιν ἀγαθοί.*
Ps. cxxix. 3.	The ploughers ploughed (*ἐτέκταινον οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί*) upon my back.
Ezek. xxi. 36.	*τεκταινόντων διαφθοράν.*
Sirach xi. 32.	*πονηρὰ γὰρ τεκταίνει.*
xxvii. 22.	*τεκταίνει κακά.*

In none of these passages is there any support for the A.V. "wrought in silver."

In classical authors the verb is found only in the Middle Voice, and its meaning ("to build") is expressly distinguished from the notion of *working in metal* by Plato, 'Legg.' viii. 846 E: *μηδεὶς χαλκεύων ἅμα τεκταίνεσθω, μηδ' αὖ τεκταινόμενος χαλκευόντων ἄλλων ἐπιμελείσθω μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης.*

We thus seem to be driven to adopt the metaphorical use of the word, which alone is found in the Septuagint: in this sense it is rendered "devise" in Prov. iii. 29, vi. 14, xiv. 22; and in the last of these passages it is immediately followed by *μεριμνῶντι*, as here by *μεριμνῶντες*. The meaning will then be—"they that did devise *to get* silver, and were so careful;" and this is the meaning generally adopted by modern commentators, as Fritzsche, Reusch, Ewald, and Reuss.

But another question remains concerning the connexion of *vv.* 16, 17 with *vv.* 18, 19. Fritzsche supposes that the answer to the questions in *vv.* 16, 17 is not expressed but understood after *v.* 17: "Where are the mighty and the rich?" "They are gone." And then the proof of this suppressed answer follows in *v.* 18, where we have a very irregular construction, a nominative absolute, followed by an apodosis introduced by a superfluous *καί*: "For they who devised to get silver, and were so careful—their works are nowhere to be found." Then *v.* 19 forms a separate sentence. It is obvious that this entire separation of *v.* 19 makes the construction of *v.* 18 very harsh, and the general connexion is better represented in the A. V.

23. The reading of the chief MSS. (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) gives no satisfactory sense. Fritzsche and Reusch omit the *οἱ*, with six or seven cursives: its presence in the older MSS. is probably due to an ancient error of transcription, caused by the previous occurrence of the same word in the earlier part of the verse.

In *ὁδὸν δέ . . .* the omission of *δέ* by the Alexandrine and other MSS. is a manifest attempt to correct a supposed error of construction. But this use of *δέ* in apodosis is not uncommon in good Greek authors, and is here justified by the implied contrast of the sentence: "the searchers after wisdom yet have not learned." See Schäfer, 'Appar. Demosth.,' iii. p. 448; Winer, 'Gramm.,' p. 694. This idiomatic use of *δέ* is not likely to have been introduced into a translation from Hebrew.

32. Kneucker argues that *εἰδώς* is here an error of translation for *ἰδών*, because the latter would have expressed more correctly the meaning of the Hebrew in Job xxviii. 24 ("seeth"): but the argument is not conclusive, since the author may have taken *εἰδώς* from the finite verb (*οἶδεν*), which the LXX. employ in *v.* 23 to translate the Hebrew יֹדֵעַ, which "includes the action of knowing both as commencing, and as completed" (Gesenius).

"The analysis of the Divine wisdom is here pushed to an excess: God *finds* wisdom *by means of* His intelligence: instead of saying

simply that He alone possesses that which is denied to men." (Reuss.)

37. *Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men.*] This passage, understood of God as its subject, is constantly used by the Greek and Latin Fathers as a distinct prophecy of the Incarnation, and a proof that Christ is God. One example may suffice: "The prophet also, amazed at His great solicitude on behalf of the world, cried out clear and loud in these words, 'Our God was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.'" (Chrysost. 'Ecloga,' Hom. xxxiv.)

Augustine quotes the passage for the same purpose, ascribing it to Jeremiah ('c. Faustum,' xii. cap. 43).

Kneucker adopts this hyper-orthodox interpretation in order to turn it into an argument against the genuineness of the verse, which he regards as a spurious interpolation added by some Christian for a dogmatic purpose.

Against the more natural interpretation of the verse as referring to the abiding and progressive revelation of Divine truth to Israel, Kneucker argues (p. 312): "How could the author describe this as 'Wisdom appearing and walking among men'? If ὤφθη means anything at all, it means a *visible* form (against which even an appeal to *v.* 22 cannot avail), and indeed by virtue of the words 'conversed among men,' *a human form* (Phil. ii. 7), and nothing to the contrary is proved by such passages as Lev. xxvi. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 7."

In answer to this it is enough to say with Bishop Horsley ('Biblical Criticism,' ii. 64) that "Divine knowledge is personified in this discourse;" and "that 'knowledge' is the true subject of the verbs in this 37th verse, appears indisputably from the 1st verse of the following chapter, which explains how Knowledge was seen upon earth by means of her conversation with men under the Jewish Dispensation."

When a personification is employed, the language *must necessarily* be such as would apply to a *visible human* form: and the evidence of this afforded by *v.* 22 (ὤφθη) cannot be set aside by mere assertion, however confident.

It may be well to refer to the views of some of the best Roman Catholic commentators, as represented by Reusch. "Maldonatus, Corn. à Lapide, and Calmet, although they agree with this (the Messianic) interpretation, yet remark that ὤφθη and συνεστράφη *may* also be referred to Wisdom; and according to the context it seems to me quite inadmissible to give them any other reference: the whole preceding section treats of Wisdom; σοφία is equally the general subject of the whole section; it is professedly a discourse concerning Wisdom, for it is of her that the inquiry was made in *v.* 15; God is mentioned only on account of the connexion in which Wisdom stands to Him. Moreover we read immediately in the following verse πάντες οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτήν, sc. σοφίαν, where again the subject of discourse is Wisdom; and a connexion with what follows can scarcely be established, unless we refer this verse to Wisdom."

While thus rightly defending the true grammatical interpretation, Reusch holds that there is still an implicit reference to the Messiah, in whom "in the fullest sense Wisdom appeared upon earth and walked among men."

CHAPTER IV.

1 *The book of commandments is that wisdom which was commended in the former chapter.*
25 *The Jews are moved to patience, and to hope for the deliverance.*

THIS is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endureth for ever: all they that keep it *shall come* to life; but such as leave it shall die.

CHAPTER IV.

The new chapter ought to begin with *v.* 5, for it is evident that *vv.* 1–4 are closely connected with the description of "Wisdom" in the preceding chapter, and form the proper conclusion of the argument introduced in iii. 9. For while in iii. 36, 37 the thought has been stated in a general form, that Israel is the nation which God has distinguished by the gift of Wisdom, the practical application of the whole argument lies in the fact that this Divine Wisdom is identified with the Law of Moses, and that Israel can be restored to true happiness and prosperity only by faithful observance of the Law (*vv.* 1–4).

1. *This is the book, &c.*] *This* Wisdom or Knowledge (iii. 36), which God has given to Israel, "is the book of the commandments of God." For the mode of expression compare Ecclus. xxiv. 23, where Wisdom herself speaks: "All these things are the book of the covenant of the most High God, even the law which Moses commanded," &c. The book of the Law is the actual expression of the Wisdom given by God to Israel. This was the foundation of all religion for the Jews, and by none of them was the book of the Law

2 Turn thee, O Jacob, and take hold of it: walk [1]in the presence of the light thereof, that thou mayest be illuminated.

3 Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation.

4 O Israel, happy are we: for things that are pleasing to God are made known unto us.

5 Be of good cheer, my people, the memorial of Israel.

6 [a]Ye were sold to the nations, not for [your] destruction: but be-

[1] Gr. *to the shining before the light thereof.*

[a] Isai. 50. 1. & 52. 3.

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more highly reverenced or more diligently studied than by the Babylonian Dispersion. "When the Law had fallen into oblivion, it was restored by Ezra of Babylon; when it was a second time forgotten, Hillel the Babylonian came and recovered it; and when yet a third time it fell into oblivion, Rabbi Chija came from Babylon and gave it back once more." (*Succoth* 20 *a*, quoted by Dr. Edersheim, 'Jesus the Messiah,' i. 12.)

the law that endureth for ever.] Compare Ecclus. i. 15: "She (Wisdom) hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed." It is no doubt true, as Fritzsche observes, that the Jewish belief "in the eternal duration of the Law was a result of their Theocratic mode of viewing it:" but this does not affect the truth on which their belief was founded.

Reusch quotes with just approval the distinction drawn by Aquinas, and after him by Cornelius à Lapide, that "the Law is in its moral precepts absolutely eternal, but in its ceremonial ordinances eternal only in so far as they are completed and fulfilled in their Antitype: for in the new Law, that is in the mysteries of Christ and of His Church, the figures which foreshadowed them continue and are fulfilled." Compare Ps. cxix. 44, 52, 89, 96, 144, 152; Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17.

they that keep it.] "they that **keep hold of her:**" Ps. lxxiii. 23, "Thou didst hold me by my right hand" (ἐκράτησας, LXX.).

but such as leave it.] "but **they that forsake her:**" compare iii. 12.

2. *of it.*] "of **her.**"

that thou mayest be illuminated.] This clause is misplaced, and very freely paraphrased. Render the passage thus: "**direct thy way towards her shining,** in the presence of **her light.**" The two clauses are parallel, as in Isa. lx. 3: "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." The figure of walking by the light of a torch or lamp is applied in a similar way in Job xxix. 3: "When his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness."

3. *thine honour.*] "thy **glory;**" *i.e.* the special privilege of Israel in being the sole possessor of God's law (iii. 36): compare Deut. iv. 6, "This is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations;" Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20; Ecclus. i. 19.

4. Compare Deut. xxxiii. 29: "Happy art thou, O Israel."

for things.] "for **the** things," &c. Compare for the thought Ps. cxix. 1, 2; Ex. xv. 26; Wisdom ix. 18, "Men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom."

iv. 5—v. 9. Consolation and Encouragement for Israel.

5–8. Let the people be of good courage, for their captivity is not meant for their destruction, but for chastisement.

5. *Be of good cheer.*] The Greek word (θαρσεῖτε) is the same which is thus translated in the New Testament: it is used sometimes by the LXX. to represent the Hebrew which is more exactly rendered in the A. V. "Fear not."

my people.] God is here the speaker.

the memorial of Israel.] The remnant which keeps alive the remembrance of the nation is here called its "memorial." This meaning of the word (μνημόσυνον) follows very naturally from its use in such passages as Ps. ix. 6, xxxiv. 16, cix. 15, in which the utter destruction of a people is described as cutting off their "memorial." In this latter way the word is used very often in Ecclesiasticus. The sacrificial sense of "memorial" (Lev. ii. 2, &c.) is less appropriate here, though adopted by Ewald, whose explanation is rather fanciful: "*Thou incense-offering Israel:* thus a poet or bold speaker might denominate that nation whose whole life (and therefore itself in a certain sense) ought to be continually a sweet odour for the true God."

6. *Ye were sold to the nations.*] "Ye were sold to the **heathen,**"—*i.e.* given over into bondage or captivity, as in Lev. xxv. 39; Deut. xxviii. 68; and metaphorically in Rom. vii. 14, "sold under sin."

not for [your] destruction.] Omit "your." This additional thought clearly shews that the author has borrowed his language from Esther vii. 4, "we are sold to be destroyed," —literally, "**for destruction,**" the Greek words being the same as here (ἐπράθημεν . . εἰς ἀπώλειαν).

cause ye moved God to wrath, ye were delivered unto the enemies.

7 For ye provoked him that made you by [b] sacrificing unto devils, and not to God.

8 Ye have forgotten the everlasting God, that brought you up; and ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.

9 For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said, Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion: God hath brought upon me great mourning;

10 For I saw the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting brought upon them.

11 With joy did I nourish them; but sent them away with weeping and mourning.

[b] Deut. 32. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 20.

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but.] The conjunction (δέ), though omitted in the Textus Receptus (Tischendorf), is undoubtedly genuine, and strengthens the antithesis to the negative clause, "not for destruction." It is thus clearly implied that the Captivity is meant to be only a temporary chastisement.

delivered unto the enemies.] "delivered **over to your adversaries**" (ὑπεναντίοις, as in Josh. v. 13; Isa. i. 24).

7, 8. Proof of the charge that Israel had "moved God to wrath." The description of God as "him that made you," and in *v.* 8 as him "that brought you up," or nurtured you (τὸν τροφεύσαντα), serves to aggravate the ingratitude of His people. The language of the two verses is chiefly taken from Deut. xxxii. 15–18: "He forsook God which made him . . . they provoked him to jealousy . . . they sacrificed unto devils, not to God . . . thou hast forgotten God that formed thee."

7. *unto devils, and not to God.*] Besides Deut. xxxii. 17, compare Ps. xcvi. 5, "For all the gods of the nations are idols" (δαιμόνια, LXX.); cvi. 37, "Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils;" 1 Cor. x. 20, on which passage see the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' The true meaning of the original passage of Deuteronomy is given in the margin of the A. V., "devils which were not God," and placed beyond doubt by *v.* 21, "that which is not God" (בְּלֹא־אֵל, ἐπ' οὐ θεῷ). Render therefore here—"unto **daemons and no God**." The substitution of "**daemons**" for "devils" is required by the fact that "devil" (ὁ διάβολος) is a name appropriated to "the Prince of the **daemons**," and the Greek word is never used as a substantive in the plural. Compare Archbp. Whately, 'Good and Evil Angels,' p. 88. See the Additional Note.

8. *the everlasting God.*] Isa. xl. 28; Sus. *v.* 42.

that brought you up.] Literally, "nursed you:" the LXX. use the Greek word (τροφεύω) only in Ex. ii. 7, of Moses' nurse.

ye have grieved Jerusalem, that nursed you.] Jerusalem is personified as the mother and nurse of her people: compare Isa. liv. 1–6, 13; Lam. i. 5, 16; Tobit xiii. 9. She mourns over the sins which have driven her children into captivity, and made her desolate.

9–16. Jerusalem appeals to her neighbours for pity.

9. *For when she saw the wrath of God coming upon you, she said.*] "**For she saw** the wrath of God **which had come** upon you, **and** said." The cause of the grief of Jerusalem is stated in the principal sentence "**for she saw** the wrath of God:" this therefore must not be reduced to a subordinate clause, as in the A. V.

Hearken, O ye that dwell about Sion.] Compare *v.* 14, and *v.* 24 where the same words (αἱ πάροικοι) are translated "the neighbours of Sion." In this its original and simple meaning the word is used by classical writers, and by Aeschylus ('Persae,' 869) is applied, exactly as it is here, to neighbouring cities or states: compare Jer. xlix. 18; l. 40, "Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbour cities thereof." The more common meaning of the word (πάροικος) in the LXX. is "stranger" or "sojourner."

God hath brought upon me great mourning.] Most of the MSS. and versions insert "for" (γάρ) to mark more expressly the *cause* of the appeal, which Jerusalem makes to her neighbours for sympathy. But the conjunction is not necessary, and is very frequently omitted after "Hearken" or "Hear." Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 2;—2 Chron. xiii. 4, 5; xv. 2; xviii. 18;—Isa. xxviii. 22; xxxii. 9, 10; xxxix. 5;—Jer. vi. 19;—Amos iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1; vii. 16, &c.

10. *For I saw, &c.*] "For I **have seen** the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the **Eternal hath brought** upon them." Here, as in the last clause of *v.* 9, the aorists referring to events supposed to be recent are better rendered by the perfect.

The Alexandrian Codex and the Vulgate insert "my people" (τοῦ λαοῦ) before "my sons and daughters,"—a needless gloss.

11. *With joy.*] "**For** with joy."

12 Let no man rejoice over me, a widow, and forsaken of many, who for the sins of my children am left desolate; because they departed from the law of God.

13 They knew not his statutes, nor walked in the ways of his commandments, nor trod in the paths [1]of discipline in his righteousness.

14 Let them that dwell about Sion come, and remember ye the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting hath brought upon them.

15 For [c]he hath brought a nation upon them from far, a shameless nation, and of a strange language, who neither reverenced old man, nor pitied child.

16 These have carried away the dear beloved children of the widow, and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.

[1] Or, *of his discipline in righteousness.*

[c] Deut. 28. 49, 50.

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sent them away.] *I.e.* into captivity: compare *v.* 23.

12. *rejoice over me.*] *I.e.* exult in my misfortunes, as in *v.* 31; Mic. vii. 8; Obad. *v.* 12.

a widow.] The Greek word (χηρά) sometimes has, both in classical and biblical usage, a general meaning, "desolate" or "bereft." It is thus applied to Jerusalem in Isa. xlix. 21: "I have lost my children, and am desolate" (χηρά); compare *vv.* 16 and 19, Lam. i. 1, and the opening lines of Heber's 'Palestine:'

"Reft of thy sons, amid thy foes forlorn,
Mourn, widow'd Queen; forgotten Zion, mourn."

It is not necessary therefore to press the meaning "forsaken of God."

who . . . am left desolate.] "For the sins of my children am I left desolate." The proper connexion of this with the following clause preserves the parallel arrangement of the original.

departed.] "**turned aside:**" Job xxxi. 7; Ps. cxix. 51, "declined." The clause is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, where A. V. has "turned back."

13. *knew not.*] "**considered** not" (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν); *i.e.* did not give heed to understand and observe them. This clause, like the last, is taken word for word from Job xxxiv. 27, except that there the LXX. have ἐπέγνωσαν, "would not consider," A.V. Here the reading of Cod. A (ἐφύλαξαν, "kept") is a gloss.

his commandments.] "**the** commandments **of God**," according to the better reading.

trod in the paths.] Omit "in."

of discipline in his righteousness.] The words may be connected in two ways: "of his discipline in righteousness" (Gaab), or "of discipline, in his righteousness." The former might be justified by Ecclus. l. 27, "The instruction (παιδείας) of understanding and knowledge," but it is simpler to connect "in his righteousness" with the verb "trod."

discipline.] The Greek word (παιδεία), like the Hebrew (מוּסָר) to which it answers, is applied to the "correction" of children by their parents (Prov. xxii. 15; xxiii. 13) and of men by God (Jer. ii. 30); but also has the meaning "instruction" (Prov. i. 2, 7, and very frequently).

Thus "the paths of discipline" are the paths in which God's instruction and correction should teach men to walk.

14. A renewed appeal to the neighbouring cities, beginning in the 3rd person, passes by a lively and not unusual transition to the 2nd person. The remainder of the verse is repeated from *v.* 10.

15. Taken from Deut. xxviii. 49: "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far."

a shameless nation.] This answers to "a nation of fierce countenance," in Deut. xxviii. 50, which is literally "a nation strong of face," and is rendered by the LXX. ἀναιδὲς προσώπῳ, "shameless of face." Compare Dan. viii. 23.

of a strange language.] The LXX. use the same word (ἀλλόγλωσσον) in Ezek. iii. 6: it is rather a paraphrase than a literal rendering of the Hebrew in Deut. xxviii. 49, "whose tongue thou shalt not understand" (A. V.).

who neither reverenced.] "**For** they neither reverenced." With "**for**," the reading of the Vatican MS., this sentence gives the reason for the description "a shameless nation." In Deut. xxviii. 50 it is—"which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young:" but according to the LXX. "nor pity the young."

16. *These have carried away.*] "**And they** have carried away,"—a continuation of the statement, "he hath brought a nation upon them from far" (*v.* 15).

the dear beloved children.] "the beloved **sons:**" the mention of daughters separately shews that "**sons**" are here meant.

and left her that was alone desolate without daughters.] "and **robbed the lone woman of her** daughters." Codex A reads μονογενῆ,

17 But what can I help you?

18 For he that brought these plagues upon you will deliver you from the hands of your enemies.

19 Go your way, O my children, go your way: for I am left desolate.

20 I have put off the clothing of peace, and put upon me the sackcloth of my prayer: I will cry unto the Everlasting [d]in my days.

21 Be of good cheer, O my children, cry unto the Lord, and he shall deliver you from the power and hand of the enemies.

22 For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you; and joy is come unto me from the Holy One, because of the mercy which shall soon come unto you from the Everlasting our Saviour.

23 For I sent you out with mourning and weeping: but God will give you to me again with joy and gladness for ever.

24 Like as now the neighbours of Sion have seen your captivity: so shall they see shortly your salvation from our God, which shall come upon you with great glory, and brightness of the Everlasting.

25 My children, suffer patiently the wrath that is come upon you from God: for thine enemy hath persecuted thee; but shortly thou shalt see his destruction, and shalt tread upon his neck.

[1] Or, *prosperity.*

[2] Or, *in the time of mine affliction.*

[d] Ps. 116. 2. & 137. 7.

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which word is used by the LXX. in the sense of "desolate" in Ps. xxv. 16.

17–29. After appealing to the neighbouring cities, Jerusalem now speaks to her children, as they are being led away into captivity.

17. *But what can I help you?*] "But I—**in what am I able to** help you?" There is strong emphasis on the pronoun, the meaning being made clear by the next verse: "It is not I, but God that must help you."

18. *hands.*] "**hand**," in the sense of "power," the common Hebrew idiom. See the Introd., § vi. p. 250.

20. *the clothing of peace.*] "the **robe** of peace;" *i.e.* the beautiful garment worn in times of prosperity. The word (στολή) is generally used by the LXX. for a priestly, royal, or festal robe: compare Luke xv. 22, xx. 46; John xix. 2, 5; Rev. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14.

the sackcloth of my prayer.] "the sackcloth of my **supplication**," *i.e.* the sackcloth which I wear as a suppliant in my distress. But in Ps. xxii. 24 the LXX. use δέησις for "affliction;" and a comparison of v. 1 makes it probable that we should adopt the same meaning here,—"the sackcloth of my **affliction**." Compare Esther (Apocr.) xiv. 2.

I will cry unto the Everlasting in my days.] "I will cry unto the **Eternal all the days of my life**." Compare Ps. cxvi. 2, "I will call upon him as long as I live," where the margin gives "in my days," and the Greek is the same as here, and in Isa. xxxix. 8.

21. *unto the Lord.*] "unto **God**."

22. *For my hope is in the Everlasting, that he will save you.*] "For **I hope in the Eternal for your salvation**." See the Additional Note. By "**salvation**" is here meant a happy return from exile (see *vv.* 24, 29, 37), with all the blessings which Prophecy connected with it.

the Holy One.] This, as a title of God, is repeated in *v.* 37 and v. 5: compare Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xl. 25, &c.

shall soon come.] Compare *vv.* 24, 25, and see Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

the Everlasting our Saviour.] "the **Eternal your** Saviour;" see Appendix at the end of the Introduction, p. 253. The words are partly taken from Ps. xxiv. 5, which may be rendered, according to the LXX., "He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour." Ps. cvi. 21: "forgat God their Saviour." The phrase "God of (our) salvation" in the A.V. of the Psalms is in the LXX. "God our Saviour." Compare Isa. xliii. 3, &c.

24. *Like as now.*] "**For** like as now." By "the neighbours of Sion" are meant the neighbouring cities, as in *v.* 9.

By "brightness" is meant the moral splendour of God's attributes, which will be displayed in the deliverance and restoration of His people.

25. *suffer patiently.*] The verb is properly intransitive, "be long-suffering," and seems to be nowhere else followed by an accusative.

for thine enemy hath persecuted thee.] Omit "for," which is not found in the Vatican MS. "The shorter and more abrupt reading is better suited to the impassioned tone of the context." (Fritzsche.)

tread upon his neck.] "tread upon **their necks**." Taken from the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxiii. 29. The frequent interchanges of the singular and plural are

26 [1]My delicate ones have gone rough ways, and were taken away as a flock caught of the enemies.

27 Be of good comfort, O my children, and cry unto God: for ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you.

28 For as it was your mind to go astray from God: so, being returned, seek him ten times more.

29 For he that hath brought these plagues upon you shall bring you everlasting joy again with your salvation.

30 Take a good heart, O Jerusalem: for he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.

31 Miserable are they that afflicted thee, and rejoiced at thy fall.

32 Miserable are the cities which thy children served: miserable is she that received thy sons.

33 For as she rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall: so shall she be grieved for her own desolation.

34 For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude, and

[1] Or, *My darlings.*

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characteristic of the speaker's emotion. For examples in the N. T., see Winer, § lxiii.

26. *My delicate ones.*] Mic. i. 16; Deut. xxviii. 56; Isa. xlvii. 1, 8. "He calls them delicate who lived in ease and plenty, as having no experience of hardships." (Theodoret.)

and were taken away.] "**they** were taken away."

a flock caught of the enemies.] "**a flock ravaged by** enemies."

27. Repeated from *v.* 21.

that brought.] "that **bringeth**," Cod. Vat.

28. *so, being returned, seek him ten times more.*] "so **tenfold more return and** seek him."

29. *everlasting joy again with your salvation.*] Omit "again," to which there is nothing answering in the Greek. "Your salvation" —*i.e.* your restoration from exile—shall be accompanied with the enduring joy "which goes hand in hand with righteousness and the fear of God: see *v.* 36; v. 1–4." (Fritzsche.) See above on *v.* 22.

iv. 30—v. 9. Jerusalem now ceases to address her children, and herself receives comfort from the prophet.

30. *he that gave thee that name will comfort thee.*] The etymology of the name Jerusalem is much disputed: according to Gesenius and Fürst it means "Foundation of peace." Here the allusion is to the latter part of the name, "peace." It is, however, doubtful whether there is any allusion to the name "Jerusalem" at all. The A. V. needs correction, thus: "he that **called thee by** name."

Many names are suggested: "the holy city" (Isa. xlviii. 2; lii. 1); "the city of God" (Pss. xlvi. 4; xlviii. 1, 8; lxxxvii. 3); "the city of the Lord" (Isa. lx. 14); "the city of righteousness" (Isa. i. 26); "the throne of the Lord" (Jer. iii. 17). Other commentators refer to such passages as ii. 15; Jer. xxv. 29, "the city which is called by my name;" and Isa. lxii. 2, "Thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name," and *v.* 4, "Thou shalt be called Hephzibah."

It is not necessary to the argument to determine what particular name, if any, is intended: "The fact that God has '**called thee by name**' is itself a pledge that He will comfort thee."

31. *Miserable.*] The word (δειλαιοι) expresses contempt as much as pity: it is the opposite to μακάριοι, *v.* 4.

32. *which thy children served.*] "**to** which thy children **became bondsmen.**"

she that received thy sons.] The verb (δέχομαι) seems hardly appropriate to receiving captives, yet Babylon is evidently meant here; and though the preceding descriptions are more vague, they also point to Babylon, as is clear from comparing *v.* 31 with *v.* 33. The cities mentioned in *v.* 32 are the cities of Babylonia among which the Jewish exiles were distributed.

33. Kneucker (who in this follows Schürer and Volkmar) finds in these verses allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans A.D. 70, and to the great triumph of Titus. But see Introduction, § vi. p. 250.

rejoiced at thy ruin, and was glad of thy fall.] In the Greek the words of the latter clause (εὐφράνθη, πτῶμα) are stronger than those of the former (ἐχάρη, πτῶσις). The case is exactly the reverse in our A.V., which borrows the strong word "ruin" from the Latin. A more correct rendering would be: "**was glad at thy falling, and rejoiced over thy ruin.**"

34. According to the frequent custom of the prophets, God is introduced for a moment as speaking in the first person.

For I will take away the rejoicing of her great multitude.] "**And** I will take away

her pride shall be turned into mourning.

35 For fire shall come upon her from the Everlasting, long to endure; and she shall be inhabited of devils for a great time.

ch. 5. 5. 36 [e]O Jerusalem, look about thee toward the east, and behold the joy that cometh unto thee from God.

37 Lo, thy sons come, whom thou sentest away, they come gathered together from the east to the west by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the glory of God.

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from her the rejoicing," &c. The latter words may describe either the rejoicing of the city over her great population (genitive of the object, πολυοχλίας) or the joy of the great multitude itself. This latter is the usual construction of ἀγαλλίαμα in the LXX. See Ps. xlviii. 2, cxix. 111; and, for the thought, Isa. xxiv. 8–12.

35. Here the prophet speaks again. There is an allusion to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, to which the destruction of Babylon is compared also by Isaiah, xiii. 19.

long to endure.] Literally, "for long days," *i.e.* "**for many days.**"

devils.] "**daemons:**" see on *v.* 7, and compare Isa. xiii. 21: "Owls (σειρῆνες) shall dwell there, and satyrs (δαιμόνια) shall dance there;" namely, in Babylon.

for a great time.] See note on Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch vi.), *v.* 3. "The expression shews that he did not predict that she should be always utterly uninhabited, but for a long time: and she is inhabited now by a few Jews." (Theodoret.)

36, 37. Prophecy of the return of the captives from Babylon. The author in the assumed person of Baruch, professing to predict the return from captivity, *sets himself in the very time of that return*,—a proof that such was the well-known style of the real prophets, and therefore a refutation of the main objection which modern critics have urged against Isaiah's authorship of the latter portion of the book which bears his name. See Introduction, § iii. p. 244.

36. *the joy that cometh unto thee from God.*] That is the joy foretold in *v.* 22.

37. *from the east to the west.*] *I.e.* from all quarters. The phrase is repeated below v. 5. Compare Isa. xliii. 5; Zech. viii. 7. "When the exiles in Babylon had returned, those also came back who had fled at the time of the war, and occupied the western and southern regions; and this is why he made mention of those who came from the west." (Theodoret.)

rejoicing in the glory of God.] "Because it is not in their own power that they have got the better of their enemies, but God, who gave them up, restored their liberty." (Theodoret.)

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO VERSES 7, 8, AND 22.

7, 8. Kneucker regards the whole passage from "him that made you" (*v.* 7) to "forgotten" in *v.* 8 as an interpolation on the following grounds, which appear to be quite erroneous:

(1) In Deut. xxxii. 18, "God that formed thee," the participle stands in apposition to a preceding subject; and the omission of the subject by our author is not in accordance with Hebrew usage. But a similar use of the Hebrew participle, not in apposition to a preceding subject, is often found, as, for instance, in Job xxxi. 15, xl. 19; Isa. xvii. 7, xii. 11.

(2) "Forgotten" is very weak after "provoked," to which the only proper parallel is "ye have grieved." But "forgotten" is taken exactly from the original passage, Deut. xxxii. 18.

7. *devils.*] Fritzsche and Reuss find here in the word δαιμονίοις an imaginary proof that the author held the later Alexandrine doctrine concerning devils. "According to the prophets, the false gods are purely imaginary beings, but they were regarded later as evil spirits who had induced men to worship them" (Reuss).

The supposed proof is at once confuted by the fact that the LXX. use δαιμονίοις in Deut. xxxii. 17, from which our author is evidently borrowing his language. The acceptance of a word already employed in the Septuagint version is no proof that the writer holds the Alexandrine doctrine.

22. The peculiar construction—ἐπὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ ἤλπισα τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν—is explained by Fritzsche as being made up of the two usual constructions ἐλπίζειν τι and ἐλπίζειν ἐπί τινι. But Reusch and Kneucker regard it as a close imitation of a Hebrew construction such as is found in Ps. xxxvii. 5, "Commit thy way unto the Lord," and Prov. xvi. 3, "Commit thy works unto the Lord," in both which passages the Hebrew verb means literally "roll," *i.e.* "devolve."

CHAPTER V.

1 *Jerusalem is moved to rejoice,* 5 *and to behold their return out of captivity with glory.*

PUT off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever.

2 Cast about thee a double garment of the righteousness which cometh from God; and set a diadem on thine head of the glory of the Everlasting.

3 For God will shew thy brightness unto every country under heaven.

4 For thy name shall be called of God for ever The peace of righteousness, and The glory of God's worship.

5 Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand

CHAPTER V.

A Promise of lasting Happiness and Blessing to Jerusalem.

1. *the comeliness of the glory.*] The same Greek words (εὐπρέπεια δόξης) are used by the LXX. in Jer. xxiii. 9, but are there an evident mistranslation. The metaphor here is the same as in iv. 20 (where see note), and is frequent in Isaiah, *e.g.* lii. 1, "put on thy beautiful garments" (τὴν δόξαν σου); lxi. 3, "the garment of praise" (δόξης); lxi. 10, "the garment of salvation." Compare Psalm of Solomon xi. 8, "Put on, O Jerusalem, thy garments of glory, make ready thy robe of holiness."

2. *a double garment.*] "the double garment" (διπλοΐδα); *i.e.* a large mantle or cloak. When Samuel appears to the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14), "he is covered with a mantle." In Ps. cix. 29 it is said concerning the wicked, "Let them cover themselves with their own confusion as with a mantle;" and in Job xxix. 14, "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me," the LXX. render the last clause "like a mantle" (ὡσεὶ διπλοΐδι).

Fritzsche remarks: "It is to be observed that here 'righteousness,' *i.e.* right conduct in all respects, is in the most general sense traced back to God as its source from whence it proceeds: . . . and from *v.* 4 it is quite clear that 'righteousness' as a virtue is intended."

This sense of the word (δικαιοσύνη) is acknowledged by all in *v.* 4, but here the meaning appears to be the same as in *v.* 9, —namely, "goodness," "kindness," "mercy." The word often has this meaning in the Septuagint, as will be seen by comparing the following passages in which it is employed in the Greek with the A. V., which renders the Hebrew word (חֶסֶד) by "mercy" or "kindness:" Gen. xix. 19, xx. 13, xxi. 23, xxiv. 27, xxxii. 10; Ex. xv. 13, xxxiv. 7; Prov. xx. 28; Isa. lxiii. 7.

a diadem.] "the diadem" (τὴν μίτραν), the same word which the LXX. use in Isa. lxi. 10: compare Judith x. 3, xvi. 8, "a tire." In these passages it means the turban or tiara worn by women, but it is also frequently used of the High Priest's "mitre," as in Ex. xxviii. 37. Jerusalem, decked once more as a bride, is to be crowned with "the glory of the **Eternal**."

3. *unto every country under heaven.*] For the Greek phrase, which means literally "the whole region under heaven," compare Ex. xvii. 14, Deut. xxv. 19, and especially Luke xvii. 24.

4. *called of God.*] See note on iv. 30.

The peace of righteousness.] *I.e.* the peace which is the fruit of righteousness: compare Isa. xxxii. 17; James iii. 18.

The glory of God's worship.] The Greek word (θεοσέβεια) means in the Septuagint "the fear of God" (Gen. xx. 11; Job xxviii. 28), or "godliness" (Ecclus. i. 25); and thus in 1 Tim. ii. 10 differs from εὐσέβεια in the same chapter, *v.* 2, only in being expressly limited to the reverence and piety which are shewn towards God. (See Trench, 'N. T. Synonyms,' i. 202.)

The meaning, therefore, of the second name here promised to Jerusalem is, "*The glory* which is the fruit *of* **godliness**." The A.V. seems to fix the thought chiefly upon the glory of outward worship, as (many suppose) in Ps. xxix. 2.

Reusch, who regards the book as a genuine prophecy of Baruch, argues that the promises of this verse extend to a moral renewal and perfecting of Israel; and that this having been only partially and imperfectly realized by the Jews after their return from captivity, the complete fulfilment is only seen "in the Jerusalem to which the Jerusalem of the Old Testament is transfigured by the Messiah in the Church." But the Messianic tone is sufficiently accounted for by the author's intimate knowledge and free use of the prophetic books, without our assuming that the writer was Baruch, and Baruch a prophet.

5. *Arise, O Jerusalem.*] Isa. li. 17, "Stand up, O Jerusalem."

ch. 4. 36. on high, and [a]look about toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the west unto the east by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God.

6 For they departed from thee on foot, and were led away of their enemies: but God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom.

7 For God hath appointed that [b] every high hill, and banks of long continuance, should be cast down, and vallies filled up, to make even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the glory of God.

8 Moreover even the woods and every sweetsmelling tree shall overshadow Israel by the commandment of God.

9 For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.

[b] Isai. 40. 4.

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and stand on high.] "and stand **upon the height:**" compare Isa. xl. 9.

look about, &c.] Isa. lx. 4: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far," &c. See on iv. 37, and compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 3, "Stand upon high, O Jerusalem, and see thy children gathered from the east and from the west."

in the remembrance of God.] "in **God's** remembrance:" the obvious reference to iv. 27, "Ye shall be remembered of him that brought these things upon you," leaves no room for the ambiguity contained in the A.V.

6. *For they departed, &c.*] "For they **went out** from thee on foot **led away by enemies,** but God bringeth them **in** unto thee **lifted up** with glory as **a royal throne.**" Compare Isa. xlix. 22, "They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders;" lxvi. 20, "And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem."

The comparison to "**a royal throne,**" literally "throne of the kingdom" (1 Kings i. 46; 2 Chron. vii. 18), has been regarded by most interpreters as unusual, and by some as inadmissible. The origin of the various reading "as sons of a kingdom" (Cod. A, &c.) is probably to be traced to this supposed difficulty. But the use of a "moving throne" among the Persians, and of litters or palanquins by the Egyptians, makes it probable that what is here meant is such a seat or throne either carried on men's shoulders or as a horse-litter. The figure is then most appropriate to the triumphant return of the captives in regal state. See Delitzsch on 'The Song of Solomon,' iii. 7–9; and Kitto, 'Biblical Cyclopædia,' LITTER.

7. *God hath appointed.*] An evident reference to Isa. xl. 4, the language of which passage is closely followed here.

every high hill and banks of long continuance.] "every high **mountain** and **lasting hills:**" Deut. xxxiii. 15, and xii. 2 (*θινῶν*).

cast down.] "**made low.**"

to make even.] Mic. vii. 12 (*εἰς ὁμαλισμόν*). Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 5, "The high mountains hath he brought down to make even ground (*εἰς ὁμαλισμόν*) for them." The LXX. use the word only in Mic. vii. 12, and there it is a mistranslation.

go safely in the glory of God.] The allusion here, as in *v.* 9, "in the light of his glory," is to the light that guided Israel in the wilderness. See Ps. of Solom. xi. 7, quoted below on *v.* 8. For the construction compare Job xxix. 3 (*ὅτε τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορευόμην*), "when by his light I walked."

8. *and every sweetsmelling tree.*] The Greek words (*πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας*) are not found in the Septuagint, but only in Ps. of Solomon xi. 7, "Every sweetsmelling tree did God cause to spring up for them, that Israel might pass on in charge of the glory of their God."

shall overshadow Israel.] "**made a shade for** Israel" (Ewald): compare Jonah iv. 6. In the liveliness of his description the author writes as if the return were already past. Compare Ps. of Solomon xi. 6, "The forests made a shade for them."

9. *God shall lead Israel.*] Ex. xiii. 21 (*ἡγεῖτο*).

in the light.] "**by** the light:" see on *v.* 7.

the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him.] The goodness of God towards His people is called "mercy," as being unmerited, and "righteousness," as being a faithful adherence to His promises. See note on *v.* 2.

THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. CONTENTS.

VERSES 1–7: PREFATORY STATEMENT.—The "Epistle of Jeremy" professes to be a copy of a letter sent by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews who were about to be carried away captives to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He tells them, by God's command, that their captivity is the punishment of their sins, and that it will be long before they shall be brought back in peace (*vv.* 1–3).

Meanwhile they must keep themselves free from the idolatry which they will see in Babylon, and remain true to the Lord, whose angel will protect them (*vv.* 4–7).

VERSES 8–72: THE VANITY OF IDOLS. —From this point onward the whole Epistle is occupied in setting forth at large the vanity of idols and the folly of idol-worship.

There is no clear logical arrangement of the thoughts, but the divisions are marked by the recurrence of a *refrain*, which is apparently intended to give a sort of rhythmical air to the whole composition.

This refrain occurs first at *v.* 16, "they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not:" it is repeated with slight variations at *vv.* 23, 29, 65, and 69; which verses may therefore be taken as marking the divisions of the Epistle. The question, "How can they be called gods?" also recurs in slightly varied forms at *vv.* 30, 40, 44, 46, 49, 52, 56.

Most of the thoughts are found in Ps. cxv. 4–8 (cxxxv. 15–18); Isa. xliv. 9–19; Jer. x. 3–9; Wisdom xiii. 10–19, xv. 13–17.

§ II. THE SUPPOSED AUTHOR.

The occasion described in *vv.* 1, 2 seems to be that on which Nebuchadnezzar, "in the eighth year of his reign" (2 Kings xxiv. 12), carried away Jechoniah and all the chief men of Judah, with great treasures, to Babylon.

At that time (B.C. 597) Jeremiah sent a letter "from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders which were carried away captives . . . from Jerusalem to Babylon, after that Jeconiah the king and the queen . . . were departed from Jerusalem" (Jer. xxix. 2).

The fact that Jeremiah had written one such letter to the captives seems to have suggested the idea of dignifying by his name another letter not written in reality till many ages after his death.

The purport also of this second letter, as an argument against the folly of idolatry, was appropriate to the character and position of Jeremiah, and to the spirit of his genuine writings. It is in fact little more than an enlargement of the prophet's warning against idolatry in

chap. x. 1–16, from which passage, and from Ps. cxv. 4–8 and Isa. xliv. 9–19, much of the argument, and even of the language, is freely borrowed.

The assumption of the name of Jeremiah does not necessarily imply an intention to deceive: it was in accordance with the literary usage of the later centuries B.C., and was probably understood to mean nothing more than that the author had endeavoured to imitate the manner and spirit of the elder prophet, and to write for his own generation as he supposed Jeremiah might have written under the same circumstances.

That the imitation is not very successful, may be judged from the admissions even of those who try to maintain the actual authorship of Jeremiah: thus Reusch (p. 78), in describing the composition, says: "There is a long series of facts brought forward, from which it may be clearly seen that the gods have no power nor life. There is no strict logical arrangement prevailing in the development of the subject, but the facts are simply placed one after another, some of them repeated several times in a slightly modified form, and sometimes also facts wholly different in character are set side by side. The enumeration of them is only interrupted by the statement—ten times repeated as a sort of refrain at varying intervals and in varied form—'whence it is seen, that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.'"

It is strange that a scholar who sees so clearly and describes so fairly the character of the writing can yet believe that Jeremiah was its author. It has none of the grace or power of Hebrew poetry, nor even its outward form,—nothing but a monotonous repetition of one prosaic sentence as a sort of refrain. From first to last we feel not a breath of the genuine spirit of prophecy; no spark of the fire which burned so fiercely in the words of Jeremiah, and made him so terrible to the sinners of his day; not one sound of the sorrowful sighing of his soul over the sins and calamities of his country.

The inferiority of style is admitted: how is it to be explained? When Ewald says that the author writes like an orator who proves and exhausts his subject from every point of view, and shews not the remotest movement towards prophetic flight ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), Reusch can only reply that "the Jews who were carried into captivity with Zedekiah belonged for the most part to the lower classes; and the fact that the letter was intended chiefly for the great mass of the people, explains its popular form and the mode of representation which is characterised by Ewald quite correctly. For such readers it was very proper to draw attention to the multitude of tangible facts which shew the nothingness of the false gods. This also explains why the letter agrees in the thoughts with other passages in which Jeremiah speaks of idolatry, especially with chap. x., but differs in its mode of expression from his prophecies. Its particular and temporary aim also helps to explain why it was not adopted into the collection of the prophet's predictions."

Unhappily for this argument, the author professes to write to the Jews who were carried into captivity, not with Zedekiah, but previously with Jechoniah; and these belonged for the most part not to the lower, but to the higher classes (2 Kings xxiv. 14–16).

When an able and zealous advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle is reduced to so feeble a defence, based upon a palpable error, it is needless to discuss the question of Jeremiah's authorship any further.

§ III. The original Language.

An advocate of the genuineness of the Epistle must of necessity maintain that it was written at first in Hebrew. This opinion, though still defended by some Roman Catholic commentators, as Welte and Reusch, is rejected without hesitation by the great majority of competent and impartial critics. The general judgment is thus expressed by Fritzsche (p. 206): "If any one of the Apocryphal books was composed in Greek, this certainly was. The style, it is true, bears traces of the Hellenistic dialect, but, for Hellenistic Greek, it is very pure, and contains many rare forms and combinations. Of Hebraism there are but rare and slight reminiscences."

The facts upon which this judgment is based cannot be denied: and Reusch, in reply to it, can only plead that "This character of the writing is far from proving that the letter *could not possibly be* a translation from the Hebrew. The translator, who perhaps is not the same as the translator of the book Baruch, might possibly translate freely and in seemingly good Greek style; and in the explanation of the Epistle occasion will often be presented for pointing to passages which a Greek author would certainly have expressed otherwise, and which betray a translator who in some particulars did not perfectly understand the original, or know how to render it, and did not confine himself so closely to the letter of the original as we could have wished."

The instances quoted by Reusch from Welte in support of this answer are the following:—

(*a.*) *Inconsistencies of Greek construction.* —Verse 6: προσκυνεῖν with the accusative, and with the dative in the very next verse.

The worthlessness of this objection is apparent from Reusch's own note on *v.* 6: "Προσκυνεῖν is construed sometimes with the dative, sometimes with the accusative: the latter is more in accordance with the Greek usage, the former with the Hebrew."

In John iv. 23 we find the same variation in a single verse: it is therefore no evidence of a Hebrew original.

Verses 8, 68: "The neuter plural with its verb in the singular, and in the plural in the same verse."

Again we refer to Reusch himself on *v.* 8 for an answer: "Ἐστί and δύνανται; after the subject in the neuter plural the singular is admissible, and the plural."

The transition in the same verse from singular to plural, both referring to the same subject, is found also in John x. 4.

Verse 38: "εὖ ποιεῖν with the accusative, and in *v.* 64 with the dative."

Reusch's note on *v.* 38 is: "εὖ ποιεῖν here, as is usual, with the accusative; in *v.* 64, Hebraistically with the dative." The classical usage with the accusative is most common in the LXX. But the dative occurs in Ex. i. 20, Josh. xxiv. 20, and five times in Ecclesiasticus: it also occurs in Mark xiv. 7 with εὖ ποιεῖν, and in Luke vi. 27 with καλῶς ποιεῖν. It may therefore rightly be called Hellenistic, but does not give evidence of a Hebrew original.

(*b.*) "The use of the future in a thoroughly Hebraistic manner in *vv.* 33, 34, 67." On *v.* 33 Reusch writes: "The future ἐνδύσουσιν is here especially harsh, and in this and other passages is only to be explained from a close adherence to the Hebrew."

But there is no need to assume "a close adherence to the Hebrew;" for the future is better explained as expressing a general truth (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16), or probable event. See Winer, 'Gr. of N. T. Greek,' III. xl. 6; Bernhardy, 'Syntax,' p. 377.

(*c.*) "The construction βουλεύεσθαι πρός τινα (*v.* 48) is not found in classical Greek, but answers closely to the Hebrew נוֹעַץ אֶל."

In Tromm's Concordance the Greek construction is cited only thrice (2 Kings vi. 8; Isa. xl. 14; Jer. xxxvi. 16), and only in the first instance is it a translation of the Hebrew phrase quoted by Reusch. Its occurrence in the Epistle only shews that the author was familiar with the style of the Septuagint.

(*d.*) Welte notices also the use of the singular τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν in *vv.* 13, 21 for the plural, as shewing that there stood in the Hebrew text פְּנֵיהֶם.

The inference is quite unwarranted. In *v.* 22 we find in like manner τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν, as in 1 Cor. vi. 19 (τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν); and this use of the singular, to express an object which belongs to each of several individuals, is not at all uncommon. See Matt. xvii. 6, xxii. 16; Luke ii. 31; 2 Cor. viii. 24, passages in which πρόσωπον is so used.

If these supposed traces of Hebraism be compared with the instances found in the first part of Baruch (Introduction to Baruch, § V.), it will be evident that they are quite insufficient to give even a show of *probability* to the theory of a Hebrew original.

When Reusch replies that there is no proof "that a Hebrew original is *impossible*," he makes an unreasonable demand for such demonstrative evidence as the nature of the case excludes.

We may safely accept Ewald's judgment ('Prophets of the O. T.,' v. 139, E. Tr.), that the author's "Greek language seeks occasionally [as in *v.* 4, ἀφομοιωθέντες ἀφομοιωθῆτε] to assume the peculiarities of the Hebrew: but even in this respect he only partially succeeds."

Schürer also (in his 'History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ,' Leipsic, 1886) decides that the Greek is certainly original.

§ IV. Object of the Epistle.

Though the author writes under an assumed name, his work is not on that account to be put aside as a mere literary forgery: it has a serious practical purpose which cannot be overlooked.

The writer is evidently making an earnest appeal to persons actually living in the midst of heathenism, and needing to be warned and encouraged against temptations to apostasy (*vv.* 5–7). He shews an intimate knowledge of the details of idol-worship such as could hardly be possessed by any but an eye-witness: and thus, as Ewald observes ('History of Israel,' v. 479, E. Tr.), "the numerous close allusions to idolatrous usages confer on this composition a high historical value." The condition of the readers thus indicated corresponds with that of the Jewish communities descended from those captives who, after the destruction of Babylon, instead of returning to Jerusalem, chose to remain in the country where they had made themselves a home. These, who were by far the greater portion of the Captivity, formed the nucleus of those numerous colonies throughout the East "from India unto Ethiopia" (Esther viii. 9), which were included under the general title of "The Dispersion" (James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1).

Thus, whether the letter was intended for the common benefit of "the Dispersion among the Greeks" (John vii. 35), or for some particular community, the local colouring is with perfect propriety borrowed from the position of their ancestors, the original captives in Babylon.

That position is admirably described by Ewald ('History of Israel,' v. 24): "The very closeness of this contact (with heathenism), and the accuracy of the knowledge thus obtained, must have created a profound repulsion in all the deeper minds; and the fact that the genius of heathenism had been developed by the Babylonians of this very period to the highest point of art and science of which it was susceptible, but had become utterly corrupt as a rule of life, necessarily increased the horror with which it was regarded. Thus the rejection, in the most contemptuous manner conceivable, of every feature of heathenism kept pace with the deepening consciousness of the eternal truth of their own religion: and never before had all the senseless and therefore intrinsically ridiculous notions involved in idol-worship been pursued and exposed in detail as they were now."

Though the historian is here speaking of the actual period of the Captivity, and grounding his remarks, according to his own well-known theory, upon the writings of Jeremiah and the so-called Deutero-Isaiah or "Great Unnamed," his description is quite as appropriate to the circumstances of "the Dispersion" several centuries later, and especially to the Epistle of Jeremy.

The author was certainly a Hellenistic Jew, and possibly, as Fritzsche thinks, a Jew of Alexandria: but, whether living in Egypt or elsewhere, he doubtless had good reason for laying the scene in Babylon, and veiling his fierce attack on idol-gods under the venerable name of Jeremiah, instead of openly deriding in his own name the religion of the people among whom he dwelt.

§ V. Approximate Date.

Attempts have been made to find a relative date for the Epistle of Jeremy from a supposed allusion to it in 2 Macc. ii. 1, 2, where it is said to have been "found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away . . . not to forget the commandment of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, when they see images of silver and gold with their ornaments."

The language of the last clause is very similar to that of the Epistle in *vv.* 4–6;

and Ewald, who recognises the allusion, observes that "there is no reason why the writer of 2 Maccabees should not have been acquainted with our little book" ('Prophets,' v. 141, E. Tr.). Herzfeld takes the opposite view, that the coincidence of language proves the Epistle to be the later work. Fritzsche however, with better judgment, thinks that the similarity of language is not such as to afford a safe criterion.

At all events, the supposed allusion to our Epistle seems to be excluded by the statement in 2 Macc. ii. 4: "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with him, as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God." The Epistle contains no such reference to the tabernacle and the ark, nor to the command "to take of the fire" (*v.* 1).

Another supposed note of time is the frequent reference to offending, resisting, setting up, and putting down kings (*vv.* 18, 34, 53, 56, 59, 66), in which Ewald finds an indication of the times of the last Seleucidae and Ptolemies, and so fixes the date of the Epistle "about the beginning of the last century before Christ." "The Grecian kings had then already greatly fallen in estimation and power, and were easily deposed."

This date, 100 B.C., differs little from that which is usually assigned to the Epistle,—namely, the later period of the Maccabees, the last of whom, John Hyrcanus, died about 106 B.C.

§ VI. Text.

The Epistle of Jeremy is found in the same Greek MSS. which contain the Book of Baruch, except a few cursives. "The character of the MSS. in relation to each other is very much the same as in Baruch, only more invariable here" (Fritzsche). On this point see the Introduction to Baruch, § VII. pp. 251, 252.

§ VII. Place in Canon.

In some Greek MSS. the Epistle of Jeremy is included in the Book of Baruch, but in Cod. Vat. and Cod. Alex. it is separated from Baruch, and follows the Lamentations of Jeremiah. It has, in fact, no connexion with Baruch, except through the author's assumption of the name of Jeremiah, and his imitation of parts of his prophecy.

THE

EPISTLE OF JEREMY.

(BARUCH, CHAPTER VI., IN A. V.)

1 *The cause of the captivity is their sin.* 3 *The place whereto they were carried is Babylon: the vanity of whose idols and idolatry are set forth at large in this chapter.*

A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.

BECAUSE of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians.

3 So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence.

4 [a]Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear.

[a] Ps. 115. 4. & 135. 15. Isai. 44. 8, 9, 10. & 46. 5, 6, 7. Wisd. 13. 10. 2 Mac. 2. 2.

VERSES 1–7. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF THE ALLEGED AUTHORSHIP AND OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE.

On the general contents of these verses, see the Introduction, § I.

The superscription is counted as *v.* 1 in the E. V., but not in the Greek.

1. *were to be led.*] From this expression and from *vv.* 2, 3 we see that the letter professes to have been written at a time when the captives had been removed out of Jerusalem, but had not yet left their own country for Babylon. This agrees with the occasion described in Jer. xxix. 2.

to certify them.] "to announce," or "to tell them." This message from God to the captives is evidently suggested by Jer. xxix. 4: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives."

2. *Because of the sins which ye have committed.*] Compare the answer given in Jer. xvi. 10–13 to the question of the people: "Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this great evil against us?"

The remembrance of the sins which had led to the Captivity should cause it to be borne with patience.

3. *remain there . . . for a long season.*] "be there . . . a long time." Compare Jer. xxxii. 14, and Bar. iv. 35. The false prophet Hananiah, having foretold a speedy return from Babylon, was rebuked by Jeremiah (xxviii. 2–17), who in his letter to the captives bade them look for a long continuance of their exile: "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them: take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters . . . And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." (Jer. xxix. 5–7.)

namely, seven generations.] "even unto seven generations." See the Additional Note.

I will bring you away peaceably from thence.] "I will bring you out thence in peace:" Ezek. xxxiv. 13, "I will bring them out from the people." It is the same word (ἐξάγειν) which is constantly used of bringing out the people from Egypt.

4. *Now shall ye see.*] "But now ye will see:" *now*, i.e. for the present, and as long as your captivity shall last.

gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood.] The Vulgate changes the order, and reads: "gods of gold and of silver and of stone and of wood." The addition may have been suggested by the original passage (Deut. iv. 28): "There ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell."

Tertullian ('Scorpiace,' c. 8) quotes the words in the order in which they stand in the A.V. His version of the passage (*vv.* 4–6) is quite independent of that given in the Vulgate: he cites the whole passage as from Jeremiah.

5 Beware therefore that ye in no wise be like to strangers, neither be ye afraid of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshipping them.

6 But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee.

7 For mine angel is with you, and I myself caring for your souls.

8 As for their tongue, it is polished by the workman, and they themselves are gilded and laid over with silver; [b] yet are they but false, and cannot speak. [b] Ps. 135. 16.

9 And taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their gods.

10 Sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon themselves.

11 Yea, they will give thereof to

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borne upon shoulders.] The custom of carrying the images of the gods in procession upon festival days is often ridiculed by the Hebrew prophets, as by Isaiah (xlvi. 7), "They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place;" and by Jeremiah (x. 5), "They must needs be borne, because they cannot go."

which cause the nations to fear.] "which **strike terror into the heathen;**" literally, "shewing terror to the heathen:" compare Ps. lx. 3, "Thou hast shewed thy people hard things;" and Ps. lxxi. 20, "Thou which hast shewed me great and sore troubles."

5. *that ye in no wise be like to strangers.*] "**lest ye also become altogether like unto the aliens.**" The repetition (ἀφομοιωθέντες . . . ἀφομοιωθῆτε) is employed, like the corresponding Hebrew idiom, to give emphasis. Compare for the thought Deut. xii. 30, xviii. 9; Jer. x. 2.

neither be ye afraid of them.] "**and lest fear of them take hold of you.**" Compare (A. V.) Ps. xlviii. 6: "Fear took hold upon them there."

6. *in your hearts.*] Literally, "to your mind" (τῇ διανοίᾳ): compare Gen. xxvii. 41; Jer. v. 24. Cyprian ('On the Lord's Prayer,' c. 5, E. Tr.), less correctly, connects these words with the clause which follows: "The Holy Spirit, moreover, suggests these same things by Jeremiah, and teaches, saying, In the heart, O God, ought we to worship Thee."

O Lord, we must worship thee.] "**Thou,** O Lord, **art he whom we ought to** worship." The emphasis excludes the worship of any other god.

The whole verse is omitted in the Alexandrine Codex.

7. God is here introduced as speaking. The thought is connected with *vv.* 5, 6, thus: "Fear them not, but worship Me only, for mine angel is with you." Compare Ex. xxiii. 23, xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, 3, 14, 15, and notes on these passages in the 'Speaker's Commentary.'

and I myself.] Our A.V. follows the Latin (*exquiram*) in understanding this clause in the 1st person as referring to God. It is simpler to refer it to the angel, instead of introducing a new subject: "Mine angel is with you, and **he careth** for your souls." This construction is confirmed by a similar use of the pronoun in *v.* 8: "and they themselves" (αὐτά τε). The phrase (ἐκζητῶν τὰς ψυχάς), literally, "seeking out your souls," is sometimes used of seeking to destroy life (2 Sam. iv. 8; Ps. liv. 3). Here, however, it evidently has the same meaning as in Ps. cxlii. 4, "No man cared for my soul" (margin: "sought after"); and in Prov. xxix. 10, "The bloodthirsty hate the upright: but the just seek his soul," *i.e.* watch over, and protect his life.

VERSES 8–16. IDOLS ARE THINGS WITHOUT LIFE, THE WORK OF MEN'S HANDS, SENSELESS AND HELPLESS.

8. Reasons for not fearing the idols. The conjunction (γάρ) which shews the connexion with *v.* 5 should not have been omitted in the A. V.

As for their tongue.] "**For** as for their tongue." Ps. cxv. 4: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not;" repeated in Ps. cxxxv. 15.

false.] Compare *vv.* 48, 59. The substantive (ψεῦδος) is used for an idol in Isa. xliv. 20: "Is there not a lie in my right hand?" Compare Jer. xiii. 25, xvi. 19; and Rom. i. 25.

9. *that loveth to go gay.*] Literally, "fond of ornament" (φιλοκόσμῳ), a word used by late Greek writers,—Plutarch, Aelian, and Lucian,—but not found elsewhere in the LXX. or N. T.

for the heads of their gods.] "**to set upon** the heads," &c.

10. *convey.*] This word means "to remove secretly," as in John v. 13; or "to steal," a sense in which it is commonly used by our older writers: "*Convey* the wise it call" (Shakespeare). This is also the meaning of the Greek word (ὑφαιρούμενοι).

the [1]common harlots, and deck them as men with garments, [being] gods of silver, and gods of gold, and wood.

12 Yet cannot these gods save themselves from rust and moths, though they be covered with purple raiment.

13 They wipe their faces because of the dust of the temple, when there is much upon them.

14 And he that cannot put to death one that offendeth him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were a judge of the country.

15 He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an ax: but cannot deliver himself from war and thieves.

16 Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not.

17 For like as a vessel that a man useth is nothing worth when it is broken; even so it is with their gods: when they be set up in the temple, their eyes be full of dust through the feet of them that come in.

18 And as the [2]doors are made sure on every side upon him that

[1] Or, *which prostitute themselves openly.*

[2] Or, *courts.*

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bestow.] "**consume.**" The LXX. use the same Greek word in Deut. iv. 24 and ix. 3: "The Lord thy God is a consuming fire."

Arnobius ('Adversus Gentes,' vi. 21) repeats some amusing tales of robberies from the images of the gods.

11. *and deck them.*] *I.e.* the gods. This clause should be preceded by a fuller stop than in A.V. After the digression concerning the thievish priests in *vv.* 10, 11 a, the author resumes his account of the false gods: "And **they** deck them with their **vestments** as men."

and gods of gold.] The repetition of the word "gods" strengthens the expression of scorn.

12. *Yet cannot these gods.*] The word "gods" is not in the Greek, but the addition agrees well with the scornful irony of the passage: so also "cannot" is better than the more exact "do not."

moths.] Literally, "parts eaten away" (*βρωμάτων*), corrosion, or "**decay:**" a similar word (*βρῶσις*) is used in Matt. vi. 19.

Compare for the thought Arnobius (vi. 16): "Do you not see that these images, which seem to breathe, whose feet and knees you touch and handle when praying, at times fall into ruin from the constant dropping of rain, at other times lose the firm union of their parts from their decaying and becoming rotten (*putredinis modo carie relaxari*) . . . and are eaten away with rust?"

though they be covered with purple raiment.] The construction of the Greek (genitive absolute) shews that this clause should rather be joined with the following verse, as in the Latin and Arabic Versions.

13. *They wipe their faces.*] Compare *v.* 24. Here the Middle Voice (*ἐκμάσσονται*) is remarkable, but may perhaps imply that the priests do not themselves wipe off the dust, but get it done.

when there is much.] "**which is thick.**"

14. *he that cannot put to death.*] Here, as in *v.* 11 and frequently in the Epistle, the future expresses as certain what the author thinks likely. See Introduction, § III. *b.* Though "cannot" is not actually expressed in the Greek (*οὐκ ἀνελεῖ*), it is correct in sense. Perhaps also, as Reuss thinks, there is a touch of irony in the future.

The author here passes to the singular, which makes the description more lively, as though he had some particular idol before his eyes.

as though he were a judge.] "**like a man that is a judge.**"

15. *He hath also in his right hand a dagger.*] "**And he holds a dagger in his right hand.**" The dagger and axe were not likely to be placed both in the same hand, as might be supposed from the A.V. The same Greek word for "dagger" (*ἐγχειρίδιον*) is used by the LXX. in Jer. l. 42, where A.V. has "lance," and in Ezek. xxi. 3, 4, 5, where A.V. has "sword."

thieves.] "**robbers**" (*λῃστῶν*), as in *v.* 18: the more exact rendering agrees with the idea of defence against violence.

16. *Whereby.*] "**Whence:**" the verse draws the conclusion from the whole paragraph, *vv.* 8–15, and also forms an introduction to the next paragraph.

fear them not.] Jer. x. 5.

VERSES 17–23. THE IDOLS ARE USELESS AND HELPLESS.

17. Compare Jer. xxii. 28: "Is this man Coniah a despised broken idol? Is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure?"

the temple.] Literally, "**their houses,**" as in *v.* 55.

18. *upon him that offendeth the king.*]

offendeth the king, as being committed to suffer death: even so the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, and bars, lest *their gods* be spoiled with robbers.

19 They light them candles, yea, more than for themselves, whereof they cannot see one.

20 They are as one of the beams of the temple, yet they say their hearts are ‖gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them and their clothes, they feel it not.

21 Their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple.

22 Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also.

23 By this ye may know that they are no gods: therefore fear them not.

24 Notwithstanding the gold that is about them to make them beautiful, except they wipe off the rust, they will not shine: for neither when they were molten did they feel it.

25 The things wherein there is no breath are bought for ‖a most high price.

‖ Or, *any price.*

Render: "**And as when one hath wronged a king the courts are made close around him**," &c.

"**the courts**" (*αὐλαί*) are the courts of a prison, as in Jer. xxxii. 2, xxxiii. 1. Suidas gives this explanation of the word: "*αὐλή*, that which is now called *ἀρχεῖον*, where the condemned are led away, and the attendants there were called *αὐλικοί*."

as being committed.] A various reading (*ἢ ὡς*), "or as around one who has been led away to death," makes little difference in the sense.

their temples.] "their **houses**."

with robbers.] "**by the** robbers."

19. *candles.*] "**lamps**." There is probably an allusion to the Egyptian "Festival of Lamps" at Saïs (Herod. ii. 62). Compare Lactantius ('Institut.' vi. 2): "They burn lights as for one in the dark. Can a man be considered sane who presents candles and wax lights to the author and giver of light?"

they cannot see.] "Eyes have they and see not" (Ps. cxv. 5).

20. *They are.*] "**He is**." The singular "one of the beams" shews that the thought is here directed to one idol.

yet they say their hearts are gnawed upon by things creeping out of the earth; and when they eat them, &c.] Render: "Yet **men** say their hearts are **eaten out: when the creeping things** out of the earth eat them and their **raiment**, they feel it not."

21. *through.*] "**from**" (*ἀπό*). Ewald ('Prophets of the O. T.' v. 144) adopts the reading of the Alexandrine MS. (*τοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς καιομένου*), and renders: "They observe not how they are blackened in the face with the smoke which burneth out of the earth."

22. *Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, &c.*] "Upon their bodies and **upon their** heads bats **and** swallows **alight**."

and birds, and the cats also.] "and **other** birds, and **likewise** cats also." Compare Lactantius ('Inst.' ii. 4): "The very birds alight upon their images . . . and build their nests, and befoul them."

23. *By this.*] "**Whence:**" compare *v.* 16.

VERSES 24–29. THE COSTLY BUT HELPLESS IDOLS ARE DISHONOURED BY THEIR OWN PRIESTS.

24. *Notwithstanding the gold.*] "**For as to** the gold." The sentence, if completed as it begins, would have been—"For the gold will not shine." But the plural subject, introduced in the relative clause—"**with which they are set about for beauty**"—is carried on into the principal sentence—"they will not shine."

that is about them.] The construction is thoroughly classical (*ὃ περικεῖνται*), but is found also in 4 Macc. xii. 3 (*τὰ δεσμὰ περικείμενον*) and in Acts xxviii. 20, and Heb. v. 2.

they wipe.] "**one** wipe."

rust.] Gold is, in fact, remarkable for its freedom from rust, but here the style is popular and rhetorical, as in S. James v. 3: "Your gold and silver is cankered: and the rust of them shall be a witness against you."

neither.] "**not even**."

25. *bought for a most high price.*] It is better to retain the order of the Greek words: "**They have been** bought at **all cost**—things wherein is no breath." Compare Jer. x. 14, "There is no breath in them;" and Ps. cxxxv. 17, "Neither is there any breath in their mouths," and Hab. ii. 19, quoted below on *v.* 39.

[c] Isai. 46. 7. ver. 4.

26 [c]They are borne upon shoulders, having no feet, whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth.

27 They also that serve them are ashamed: for if they fall to the ground at any time, they cannot rise up again of themselves: neither, if one set them upright, can they move of themselves: neither, if they be bowed down, can they make themselves straight: but they set [1]gifts before them, as unto dead men.

[1] Or, *offerings.*

28 As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and [1]abuse; in like manner their wives lay up part thereof in salt; but unto the poor and impotent they give nothing of it.

[1] Or, *spend.*

29 Menstruous women and women in childbed [d]eat their sacrifices: by these things ye may know that they are no gods: fear them not.

[d] Lev. 22. 4.

30 For how can they be called gods? because women set meat before the gods of silver, gold, and wood.

31 And the priests sit in their temples, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads.

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26. The clauses should be transposed: "Having no feet, they are borne upon shoulders." See on *v.* 4.

whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth.] "**displaying** unto men **their own worthlessness**;" *i.e.* that they cannot walk, but must be carried. But a different meaning is suggested by the use of the Greek word (*ἀτιμία*, "shame") in Jer. xiii. 26; Nah. iii. 5.

27. *for, &c.*] "**because**, if they fall to the ground, they **never** rise up again of themselves."

set them upright, &c.] "set **it** upright," &c. There are frequent changes from the plural to the singular throughout the description of the idols.

be bowed down.] "be **laid** down."

make themselves straight.] "**set** themselves **upright**."

but they set gifts before them, as unto dead men.] "**but the offerings are set beside them as beside the dead.**" Compare Ps. cvi. 28: "They joined themselves unto Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead." Ecclus. xxx. 18, 19: "Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave. What good doeth the offering unto an idol? for neither can it eat nor smell." Tobit iv. 17: "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked;" or, according to the Vatican Codex, "Pour out thy wine and thy bread over the tombs of the just."

For the custom of setting a feast before an idol, see Bel and the Dragon, *vv.* 3–15. The same custom is said to remain among the Arabs of Barbary ('Dict. of the Bible:' MOURNING, p. 437 *b*).

28. *As for the things that are sacrificed unto them, their priests sell and abuse.*] "**But their sacrifices** their priests," &c.

in like manner their wives.] "**and** in like manner their wives **also**."

but unto the poor, &c.] "but **give no part either to the poor or to the feeble.**"

29. *eat.*] "**touch**," and thereby defile: compare Lev. xii. 4, "she shall touch no hallowed thing."

by these things ye may know.] "**Knowing then from** these things."

30. *how can they be called.*] The Vatican MS. preserves the true reading (*κληθείησαν*, the optative without *ἄν*), meaning, "How could they be called?" "How could such a thing be thought of?"

because women, &c.] "**for** women," &c. A reason why the Jews could not regard the idols as gods; for among the Jews women had no share in the service of the Tabernacle or Temple.

31. The idolatrous priests assume in their worship all the signs of mourning because (as Grotius observes) those whom the Babylonians, like the Egyptians, regarded as gods, were in reality dead men. Among the Jews, on the contrary, the priests of the living God were expressly forbidden to defile themselves for the dead (Lev. xxi. 1–11; Ezek. xliv. 25).

sit.] Compare 1 Sam. i. 9: "Eli the priest sat upon a seat (*ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου*, 'upon **the** seat,' LXX., the Hebrew also having the article) by a post of the temple." The Greek word (*διφρεύουσιν*) is rightly rendered "sit" in the A.V., as in the Latin and Syriac Versions: but its more special meaning, "to sit in a chariot," is more common; and interpreters, assuming this to be the only meaning, have adopted various readings which are quite inadmissible.

having their clothes rent.] Lev. xxi. 10: "The high priest . . . shall not uncover his head, nor rend his clothes."

32 They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead.

33 The priests also take off their garments, and clothe their wives and children.

34 Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, they are not able to recompense it: they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.

35 In like manner, they can neither give riches nor money: though a man make a vow unto them, and keep it not, they will not require it.

36 They can save no man from death, neither deliver the weak from the mighty.

37 They cannot restore a blind man to his sight, nor help any man in his distress.

38 They can shew no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the fatherless.

39 Their gods of wood, and which are overlaid with gold and silver, are like the stones that be hewn out of the mountain: they that worship them shall be confounded.

40 How should a man then think and say that they are gods, when even the Chaldeans themselves dishonour them?

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and their heads and beards shaven.] Lev. xxi. 5: "They (the priests) shall not make baldness upon their head: neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard." Compare Jer. xlviii. 37.

32. *They roar and cry before their gods.*] Ezek. xxiv. 17: "Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead."

at the feast when one is dead.] **"at a feast for the dead"** (ἐν περιδείπνῳ νεκροῦ). Compare Jer. xvi. 7: "Neither shall men tear themselves for them (marg. 'break bread for them') in mourning to comfort them for the dead: neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother." St. Jerome, in his comment on the passage, compares the Jewish custom to "the feasts which the Greeks call περίδειπνα, and the Latins *parentalia*."

33. *The priests also, &c.*] **"From their raiment the priests will take part to clothe,"** &c. On this use of the future see above, *v.* 14. Reusch sees in it a close imitation of the Hebrew, but without reason.

VERSES 34–38. CONTRAST BETWEEN THE IDOLS AND THE LORD.

34. *Whether it be evil that one doeth unto them, or good, &c.*] **"if they be evil entreated of any, nor if they be entreated well,"** &c.

they can neither set up a king, nor put him down.] The recurrence of this and the like ideas in *vv.* 53, 56, 66, has been thought to indicate a time in which kings were often deposed. See Introduction, § V. The general thought of the passage, *vv.* 34–38, is that the idols have not the attributes of the true God: for "He putteth down one, and setteth up another" (Ps. lxxv. 7). Compare Job xii. 18; Ps. cxiii. 7, 8; Dan. ii. 21.

35. *money.*] Literally, "brass" or "copper," a common term for small money: Matt. x. 9; Mark xii. 41. Observe the contrast to 1 Sam. ii. 7, "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich."

they will not require it.] The thought and language are evidently taken from Deut. xxiii. 21: "When thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God, thou shalt not slack to pay it: for the Lord thy God will surely require it of thee."

36. *They can save no man from death.*] Deut. xxxii. 39, "There is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive;" 1 Sam. ii. 6, "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up."

37. *to his sight.*] Omit "his." Compare Ps. cxlvi. 8: "The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down."

38. Ps. cxlvi. 9: "He relieveth the fatherless and widow."

39. Read: **"They are like unto the stones from the mountain, these wooden things, and things overlaid with gold and silver."** Compare Hab. ii. 19: "Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise, it shall teach! Behold, it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath at all in the midst of it."

shall be confounded.] **"and** they that **serve** them shall be **put to shame."** The reference is to the priests who **"serve"** (θεραπεύοντες) the idols, rather than to the worshippers in general.

40. Here, as in *v.* 30, the refrain, according to the A.V., forms the conclusion of one section, and the introduction to the next. But the last clause should more properly be joined with the next verse.

41 Who if they shall see one dumb that cannot speak, they ‖bring him, and intreat Bel that he may speak, as though he were able to understand.

‖ Or, *bid him call upon Bel.*

42 Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them: for they have no ‖knowledge.

‖ Or, *sense.*

43 The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.

44 Whatsoever is done among them is false: how may it then be thought or said that they are gods?

VERSES 41–44. THE IDOLS ARE PUT TO DISHONOUR BY THE CHALDEANS THEMSELVES.

when even the Chaldeans, &c.] A new sentence begins here, but its apodosis must be supplied from the preceding,—thus: "**And moreover**—(how can a man think them to be gods)—when even the Chaldeans dishonour them?"

Their own worshippers put their idols to disgrace, "by continually demanding from them what they know cannot be performed" (Grotius).

41. *Who if they shall see one dumb.*] "Who **when they see a dumb man.**"

bring him.] *I.e.* the dumb man, whom they bring to the idol: according to another construction, it may mean "they bring Bel and entreat him."

as though he were able to understand.] By entreating Bel, who cannot even hear (*αἰσθέσθαι*) their prayer, to make a dumb man speak, they put their idol to open shame.

42. *Yet they cannot understand this themselves, and leave them.*] This is much better than the rendering which some commentators adopt: "And though they are themselves aware of this, they cannot leave them;" for the next clause states that they, the worshippers themselves, "have no knowledge" (*αἴσθησιν*, "perception," or, as in the margin, "**sense**"), and *therefore* cannot forsake their foolish idolatry.

43. Compare Herodotus, i. 199: "The most disgraceful of the customs among the Babylonians is the following. Every woman of the country must once in her life go and sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some strange man . . . Sitting in the temple-court of Aphrodite with a wreath of cord (*θώμιγγος*) round their heads are many women, for some are coming and others going: and ropes stretched to form passages in every direction keep a thoroughfare among the women, along which the strangers pass through and choose for themselves. And when a woman takes her seat there, she is not allowed to go away to her home until one of the strangers throws a piece of money into her lap and takes her with him outside the temple."

Strabo (lib. xvi. c. 1) gives a similar account, and states that the practice was instituted in consequence of some oracle.

The goddess called by Herodotus Mylitta, and identified with Aphrodite, seems to be the same with Milta, Bilta, or Beltis, the wife of Bel or Bil: see Rawlinson, 'Herodotus,' i. 199.

Selden ('de Diis Syris,' ii. 8) supposes this custom to be the same which is mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 30, "The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth," where the last words mean literally "booths of daughters." See, however, the note in the 'Speaker's Commentary' on Kings, where the words are differently explained.

with cords about them.] Literally, "**having put ropes round about them**" (*σχοινία περιθεμέναι*): this does not refer to wearing girdles of cord, nor to a wreath of cord round the head (*θώμιγξ*, Herod.; *θώμιγγι δ' ἔστεπται ἑκάστη*, Strabo), but to the roped passages (*σχοινοτενέες διέξοδοι*, Herod.), each woman being enclosed within a rope, which must be broken that she might be led away.

burn bran for perfume.] "burn bran **as incense**,"—namely, to the goddess, that through her favour a paramour may be found. Compare Theocritus, 'Idyl.' ii. 33 and 161; Virg. 'Ecl.' viii. 82: "sparge molam."

but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him.] "**and when one of them has been dragged off by one of them that pass by to** lie with him."

was not thought as worthy as herself.] "**has not been** thought worthy, **like** herself."

her cord.] "her **rope.**"

44. *done among them.*] "done **on** them;" it refers to the idols (*ἐν αὐτοῖς*, Vat.), rather than to the worshippers or priests (*παρ' αὐτοῖς*, Alex.).

Isai. 44. 12, 13, &c.

45 [e] They are made of carpenters and goldsmiths: they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.

46 And they themselves that made them can never continue long; how should then the things that are made of them be gods?

47 For they left lies and reproaches to them that come after.

48 For when there cometh any war or plague upon them, the priests consult with themselves, where they may be hidden with them.

49 How then cannot men perceive that they be no gods, which can neither save themselves from war, nor from plague?

[f] Ps. 115 4. Wisd. 13. 10.

50 [f] For seeing they be but of wood, and overlaid with silver and gold, it shall be known hereafter that they are false:

51 And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings that they are no gods, but the works of men's hands, and that there is no work of God in them.

52 Who then may not know that they are no gods?

53 For neither can they set up a king in the land, nor give rain unto men.

54 Neither can they judge their own cause, nor redress a wrong, being unable: for they are as crows between heaven and earth.

VERSES 45–52. IDOLS ARE MERE WORKS OF MEN'S HANDS.

45. *made of carpenters.*] "made by carpenters." Isa. xl. 19; Jer. x. 3, &c.

they can be nothing else than the workmen will have them to be.] So Horace (1 Sat. viii. 1) scoffs at the statue of Priapus in his garden:—

"Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Quum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
Maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego."

Lactantius quotes the same passage ('Instit.' ii. c. 4).

46. *be gods.*] These words (εἶναι θεοί) are found in many MSS. and Versions, but not in the Vatican Codex. Without them the meaning will be: "The makers themselves do not continue, and how then is it likely that their works should be of long continuance? for what they have left to those that come after them are lies and disgrace."

47. *lies.*] *I.e.* false gods: see note on *v.* 8.

48. *any war or plague.*] "For whenever war or troubles come upon them."

49. *from war, nor from plague.*] "from wars nor from troubles."

51. *And it shall manifestly appear to all nations and kings.*] "To all the heathen and to their kings it shall be manifest."

there is no work of God in them.] *I.e.* They cannot do any work such as a god can do.

52. *Who then may not know.*] "To whom then shall it not be known." The Vatican Codex omits the negative particle, which is necessary to the sense. Without it we should have the inappropriate question — "Whereby then shall it be known that they are not gods?" The other reading is also confirmed by the form of the questions in *vv.* 49, 56, &c.

53. *a king in the land.*] "a king of the land." See note on *v.* 34.

give rain unto men.] Compare Deut. xi. 14; Ps. cxlvii. 8; Acts xiv. 17; Jas. v. 7.

54. *their own cause.*] Compare *v.* 14. Some would render: "they cannot judge men's causes." But there is a keener reproach in the A.V.

nor redress a wrong.] Or, as in Isa. i. 17, "relieve the oppressed." See the note at the end of the chapter on the various reading.

being unable.] "impotent as they are."

for they are as crows, &c.] The Alexandrine and other MSS. connect this with the preceding clause, omitting γάρ: "being helpless as the crows that are between heaven and earth." This does not affect the sense, which, however, the commentators have failed to discover. Thus Reuss: "This seems to be a proverbial saying. Anyhow the comparison is to the feebleness of the crow, not to its position. Yet the animal is much less feeble (!) than the idol."

Certainly a *living* crow does not appear to be feeble, especially when flying "between heaven and earth." But what is more impotent than a *dead* crow hung up "between heaven and earth," to scare his fellows. The same thought recurs in *v.* 70.

55 Whereupon when fire falleth upon the house of gods of wood, or laid over with gold or silver, their priests will flee away, and escape; but they themselves shall be burned asunder like beams.

56 Moreover they cannot withstand any king or enemies: how can it then be thought or said that they be gods?

57 Neither are those gods of wood, and laid over with silver or gold, able to escape either from thieves or robbers.

58 Whose gold, and silver, and garments wherewith they are clothed, they that are strong do take, and go away withal: neither are they able to help themselves.

59 Therefore it is better to be a king that sheweth his power, or else a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of, than such false gods; or to be a door in an house, to keep such things safe as be therein, than such false gods; or a pillar of wood in a palace, than such false gods.

60 For sun, moon, and stars, being bright, and sent to do their offices, are obedient.

61 In like manner the lightning when it breaketh forth is easy to be seen; and ‖after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country. ‖ Or, *the same wind.*

62 And when God commandeth the clouds to go over the whole world, they do as they are bidden.

63 And the fire sent from above to consume hills and woods doeth as it is commanded: but these are like unto them neither in shew nor power.

64 Wherefore it is neither to be supposed nor said that they are gods, seeing they are able neither to judge causes, nor to do good unto men.

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55. *Whereupon when.*] "**For even** when."

burned asunder.] "burned **through and through**" (μέσοι).

56. *thought or said.*] "**admitted or supposed.**"

VERSES 57–59. IDOLS MOST HELPLESS AND USELESS EVEN OF MEN'S WORKS.

57. *Neither are those gods of wood, &c.*] There is more force in the proper order: "**Neither** from thieves **nor from** robbers **can they escape,—these** gods of wood," &c.

58. *Whose gold and silver . . . they that are strong do take.*] Here, again, the force is better preserved by retaining the order of the Greek: "**From whom the strong will strip off the gold and the silver and the raiment that is about them.**"

neither are they able.] "**and they will not be able to defend themselves.**"

59. *power.*] "**courage**" (ἀνδρείαν).

a profitable vessel in an house, which the owner shall have use of.] "**a vessel in a house useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it.**" See Additional Note on the various reading.

such false gods.] "**the** false gods." The same words are repeated thrice in this verse, like a new refrain.

or to be a door.] "**or even** a door," &c.; *i.e.* is better than they.

VERSES 60–63. GOD'S WORKS ARE ALL USEFUL IN THEIR SEVERAL OFFICES.

60. *sent to do their offices.*] Literally, "sent forth for needful purposes."

61. *easy to be seen.*] "**brilliant**" (εὔοπτος), or, "**fair to see.**"

and after the same manner the wind bloweth in every country.] This version, with a slight addition, represents correctly the Received Text: "the wind **also** bloweth," &c. As sun, moon, stars, and lightning are all useful in their several offices, "after the same manner the wind **also**" everywhere does its work.

On the marginal rendering, "the same wind bloweth in every country," see the Additional Note.

62. *And when God commandeth, &c.*] "And when **the clouds are commanded by God.**"

they do as they are bidden.] "they **fulfil his bidding.**"

63. *And the fire, &c.*] "And the fire **when** sent **forth** from above to consume **mountains and forests doeth that which is appointed.**"

but these.] "but these (**idols**)."

65 Knowing therefore that they are no gods, fear them not.

66 For they can neither curse nor bless kings:

67 Neither can they shew signs in the heavens among the heathen, nor shine as the sun, nor give light as the moon.

68 The beasts are better than they: for they can get under a covert, and help themselves.

69 It is then by no means manifest unto us that they are gods: therefore fear them not.

70 For as a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing: so are their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold.

71 And likewise their gods of wood, and laid over with silver and gold, are like to a white thorn in an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body, that is cast into the dark.

72 And ye shall know them to be no gods by the ‖bright purple that rotteth upon them: and they themselves afterwards shall be eaten, and shall be a reproach in the country.

‖ Or, *purple and brightness.*

73 Better therefore is the just man that hath none idols: for he shall be far from reproach.

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66. Compare Jer. x. 5: "They cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good." But God's curse or blessing affects even kings.

67. Compare Jer. x. 2: "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven."

68. *get under.*] "**escape into.**"

69. *by no means.*] "**in no wise.**" These words may be connected with the close of the sentence, thus: "**In no wise** then, it is manifest unto us, **are they gods.**"

therefore.] "**wherefore.**"

70. *a scarecrow.*] Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) quotes this passage and a Scholiast's note upon it: "The prose writers of the Greeks give the names προβασκάνια and κερέμβηλα to things which the watchmen in a field set up to frighten birds or even men. But these latter are called μορμολυκεῖα."

in a garden of cucumbers.] Compare Isa. i. 8, with S. Basil's comment on the word: "A place that produces quick-growing and perishable fruits." On the form of the word, see the Additional Note.

keepeth nothing.] "**that** keepeth nothing." "He compares the idols to these scarecrows, which do not in reality protect the fruits but in the imagination of the birds, which suppose them to be real men, while they are only imitations of men: so also the idols are not gods, but images" (Corn. à Lap.).

71. *And likewise.*] "**In the same manner also.**"

like to a white thorn.] The idols are as senseless and helpless as a thorn-bush ("Rhamnus:" 'Dict. of the Bible'), which cannot drive away the birds that settle on it: see *v.* 22.

cast into the dark.] "The dark" (ἐν σκότει) does not here mean "the grave," as Reusch supposes, nor "sheol." The idols are as senseless and as little respected as a corpse cast out *unburied* in some dark place. The same Greek word (ἐρριμμένος) is used in Judges iv. 22 of the corpse of Sisera, and in 1 Macc. xi. 4: compare Bar. ii. 25.

72. *by the bright purple, &c.*] "by the **purple also, and by the brightness** that rotteth upon them," &c. The word rendered in the margin "brightness" (μαρμάρου) means properly "marble," so called in Greek from its *brightness*. Marble was no doubt sometimes used to overlay and adorn wooden images, but the idea of rotting (σηπομένης) does not agree very well with marble, which moreover has not been mentioned in the preceding descriptions of the idols. Other words have been suggested, but the reading is not doubtful, and it is best to accept the general sense of "brightness" with the margin.

a reproach in the country.] Compare *vv.* 27 and 47.

73. *the just man that hath none idols.*] "**a righteous** man that hath **no** idols." The author breaks off rather abruptly with the general reflection that it is better to have nothing to do with idols, which bring only disgrace upon their worshippers.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VERSES 3, 27, 54, 59, 61, 70.

3. *seven generations.*] The Greek word (γενεά) usually meant a space of about thirty years: and if it has this meaning here, the duration assigned to the Captivity is just thrice as

long as in Jer. xxix. 10: "For thus saith the Lord, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place."

The commentators on the Epistle attempt in various ways to reconcile or explain the apparent discrepancy. Some refer to Suidas, who observes that *γενεά* was used in medical language for a period of *seven years:* but that was evidently an exceptional use, which would be quite inappropriate here. Just as little help can be gained from a very doubtful passage in which Diogenes Laertius is *supposed* to use *γενεά* for a period of *ten years.* Reusch, a Roman Catholic commentator, who maintains that the Epistle is a genuine work of the prophet Jeremiah, supposes that *γενεά* is the translation of the Hebrew word (דּוֹר), which, "where it is used as a definition of time, signifies only in a general way 'a period of time,' 'a succession of years:' and why should not Jeremiah have said *here* 'many' years and a long time even unto seven periods,' and *there* have recalled the more exact determination which he had already given elsewhere (xxv. 12)?" Other suggestions, such as *δεκάδων* for *γενεῶν* (Houbigant), or *three* for *seven* (i.e. *γ'* for *ζ'*) (Welte), are still less probable.

Modern commentators, including the Roman Catholics, have for the most part given up the genuineness of the Epistle, and hold that it must have been written several centuries after the death of Jeremiah. A Jew of that later period, seeing that so large a portion of his nation was still scattered among the heathen in Babylon and in many other lands, might well think that the promised restoration of God's people, with all the great and glorious blessings which were to accompany it, could not have been fulfilled by the return of a small part of the exiles from Babylon. Unable to discern the spiritual meaning of the promises, and looking still for a more complete restoration of the greatness and glory of the nation, he might be inclined to extend the duration of the exile from "seventy years" to the longer and more indefinite period of "seven generations."

This view is held, with various modifications, by Fritzsche, Lange, Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' v. 140, E. Tr.), and is on the whole the most probable.

27. (*a.*) The Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. both read *διὰ τὸ μήποτε ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν πέσῃ δι' αὐτῶν ἀνίστασθαι.* If this be retained, the sense will be that the attendants are ashamed "because (the idols), lest they should fall to the ground, are set up by them." The construction is perfectly regular, but the sense not satisfactory.

A better reading is suggested by the variations in the two following clauses, which both begin in the Codex Alex. with *μήποτε ἐάν,* but in the Cod. Vat. with *μήτε ἐάν.* The *μήποτε* is evidently wrong in these two clauses, but seems to have been transferred from the first clause, so that the true reading would be *διὰ τὸ μήποτε, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν πέσῃ, δι' αὐτῶν ἀνίστασθαι, μήτε ἐάν τις κ. τ. λ.*

(*b.*) *ἐάν τις αὐτὸ ὀρθὸν στήσῃ κ. τ. λ.* In the two following clauses Fritzsche says that "the author in *μήτε κ. τ. λ.* speaks out his own opinion (*von sich*) positively." But if so, he must have written *οὔτε,* not *μήτε.* The true explanation of his using *μήτε* seems to be that he is still expressing the *thought* of the attendants, but, instead of continuing the construction with the infinitive (*διὰ τὸ μήποτε . . . ἀνίστασθαι, μήτε . . . κινηθήσεσθαι*), passes over at the end of the sentence to the indicative.

(*c.*) *ὥσπερ νεκροῖς.* The comparison of the idol-gods to corpses occurs in several of the very early Christian writings: Pseudo-Clemens Rom. 2 Cor. iii.: *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν.* Epist. ad Diognetum, c. ii.: *οὐ κωφὰ πάντα; οὐ τυφλά; οὐκ ἄψυχα; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα; οὐκ ἀκίνητα; . . . ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε κ. τ. λ.* The same comparison is also found in the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ιβ' ἀποστόλων* (published by Bryennius at Constantinople, 1883), cap. vi.: *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.*

54. Οὐδὲ *μὴ ῥύσωνται ἀδίκημα.* Instead of this reading of the Vatican MS., which is adopted in the Received Text (Tisch.), the Codex Alex., with many Cursives and Versions, has *ἀδικούμενον.*

ά. Fritzsche suggests different explanations of *ἀδίκημα.*

'(1) "Nor can they rescue a thing stolen from them." Plato, 'Republ.' ii. 365 E.: *ἀδικητέον καὶ θυτέον ἐκ τῶν ἀδικημάτων.* But this sense of *ἀδίκημα* is not found in biblical Greek, and in the passage quoted its meaning is in part defined by the context.

(2) "Nor can they hold back (from themselves) an injury." In Homer, 'Odyss.' xxiii. 243:—

Ἠῶ δ' αὖτε
ῥύσατ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ χρυσόθρονον,

the meaning is simply to "hold back," not to "repel" from oneself.

Fritzsche is himself not satisfied with these explanations, and as an alternative suggests a purely conjectural emendation, *ἐρύσωνται.*

β'. The other reading (*ἀδικούμενον*) is well authenticated, and gives a better sense: The idols can neither judge their own cause, **"nor relieve the oppressed."** This is the common use of *ῥύεσθαι,* both in the LXX. (Isa. i. 17: *ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον*) and

in the N. T. (Rom. vii. 24; 2 Cor. i. 10; 2 Tim. iii. 11, &c.).

59. *which the owner shall have use of.*] The reading χρήσεται (Alex.) has probably been substituted for the less usual· κεχρήσεται (Vat.), and a feeble tautology thus introduced into the passage. As χρῆσθαι is, apparently, never found with ἐπί and a dative, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐφ' ὅ, ὅ, or ᾧ, which last form is represented in the Authorized Version.

Neither of the changes is required. That κεχρήσεται means "shall need," rather than "shall use," is probable from the use of κεχρημένος in this sense (Homer, 'Od.' i. 13, xiv. 155; Soph. 'Phil.' 1264, &c.). If we then understand ἐφ' ᾧ in the usual sense of *purpose*, the meaning of the passage is clear: "a vessel useful for the purpose for which the owner shall have need of it." The Latin Version (*gloriabitur*) represents a reading καυχήσεται, and so confirms the form κεχρήσεται.

61. The Vatican text of this verse has τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα κ. τ. λ. The Alexandrine, which omits καί, may be rendered, as in the margin, "and the same wind bloweth in every country." In support of this rendering, Fritzsche refers to The Song of the Three Children, *v.* 43: "O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord." But the sense thus obtained, that wind is everywhere the same, the work of the same Creator, is less appropriate to our passage than that of the Vatican text—that as the other elements of nature all are useful, *so* the wind *also* is everywhere active.

This construction leaves πνεῦμα without an article, as ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἄστρα, ἀστραπή, which go before, and νεφέλαις which follows, all are. Compare for this omission of the article the passage cited by Bishop Middleton, ch. vi. § 2, from Plato, 'Cratylus,' 408 F: ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων καὶ γῆς καὶ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ὡρῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ;—and the earlier passage, 397 D: φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους που θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.

For the quasi-adverbial use of τὸ αὐτό, compare Philipp. ii. 18.

70. ἐν σικυηράτῳ.] Both here and in Isa. i. 8, the MSS. vary between this form and σικυηλάτῳ. Fritzsche prefers the latter on two grounds:—

(1) That it is better supported by MSS. in other authors, as Hippocrates, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria. Basil quotes from Isaiah ἐν σικυηράτῳ, but himself writes σικυήλατον immediately after.

(2) Fritzsche finds no satisfactory etymology for σικυήρατον, but compares σικυήλατον with χαλκήλατος, χρυσήλατος.

Lobeck ('Phrynichus,' p. 86) speaks of σικυήλατον as a faulty reading in some editions of the Bible. The combined authority of the Vat. and Alex. Codd. in favour of σικυήρατον in both passages must outweigh the testimony of the Cursives.

ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

I. THE SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN.

Bar'kú Yahwéh mal'ákau
Gibbóre kóḥ 'osé ḥail
Lišmó' beqól debáro.
* * *
Bar'kú Yahwéh kol-ç'bá'au
M'šar'tháu 'osé reçóno.
* * *
Bar'kú Yahwéh kol-má'sau
Bekól m'qomóth memšálto
Bar'kí nafší eth-Yáhweh.
(Ps. ciii. 20 *sqq.*)

THE numerous Talmudic and Midrashic references to the story of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah make it probable that at one time Jewish tradition had more to tell about the three martyrs than is now read in Dan. iii. A story of this kind would naturally be a popular favourite, and as such would be peculiarly liable to amplification and embellishment. Hence it is not surprising to find that the Greek versions of Daniel, followed by the Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, have interpolated at chap. iii. 23 a Prayer which Azarias utters in the name of the Three, and a Canticle which they are supposed to have chanted together in the midst of the flaming furnace.[1]

Independently of the Story of the Three Children, it appears from Jer. xxix. 22 *sq.*, that burning alive was, as a matter of historical fact, a Babylonian mode of execution; and we have an older notice in the records of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who thus revenged himself on his rebellious brother *Samaš-šumucín*, viceroy of Babylon (*circ.* 648 B.C.).[2] Firdausi tells a story which shews that Persian tradition also had its martyr-hero who came unhurt out of a fiery furnace (Malcolm's 'Persia,' i. 29, 30). The passage about the Two Wicked Prophets, quoted from the Midrash *Tanḥûmâ* in the Introd. to Susanna, makes Nebuchadnezzar refer to the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; and curiously relates that whereas Ahab and Zedekiah perished in the flames, their holy companion, Joshua, the High Priest, came forth without other harm than the singeing of his garments. In such legends it is possible to see a literal application of scriptural passages like Ps. lxvi. 12, "We went through fire and water, and thou broughtest us out;" Zech. iii. 2, "Is not this man [*i.e.* Joshua, the High Priest] a brand plucked out of the fire?" and Isa. xliii. 2, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." From texts such as these, the Haggadic expositors might easily develop stories illustrating their apparent meaning. The case is precisely analogous to that of Bel and the Dragon, and the Story of Susanna.

In the Midrash we find, besides, the following references to the Story of the Three Children. In *Wayyiqra Rabba* (Parash. xxxiii., cap. xxv. 1),[1] Nebuchadnezzar remonstrates with them thus: "Did not idolatry originate among you? Is it not written, 'And their graven images *from* Jerusalem and Samaria' [a misrendering of Isa. x. 10]? And come ye now to make nought of my god? When ye were in your own land, ye sent to us, and procured claws, hair, and bones of idols, and drew them, in

[1] This Prayer and Canticle are also read as Nos. viii.–x. among the hymns appended to the Ethiopic Psalter, where they are properly arranged, as poetical pieces, according to the rhythm.

[2] See the Introd. to the Prayer of Manasses.

[1] *Apud* Dr. Aug. Wünsche's 'Bibliotheca Rabbinica.'

order to fulfil that which is written (Ezek. xxiii. 14), 'the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion;' and come ye now to make my idol image nought?" R. Jehudah bar R. Simon makes the king remonstrate in like manner, on the ground of Ezek. xvi. 25; xxiii. 42, 43 (with a ref. to Jer. li. 44). "R. Samuel bar Nachmani said: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them: 'Your idol image was of silver and gold, as it is said (citing Hos. viii. 4); but my idol image is wholly of the purest gold, as it is said (Dan. iii. 1); and come ye now to make mine idol nought? Did not Moses write for you in the Law (Deut. iv. 28), There ye shall serve gods the work of men's hands?' They answered: 'My lord, O king, to bow before does not mean to worship, but to be subject to them in the way of forced labours, subsidies, poll-taxes, and fines.' Our Rabbis have taught: Nebuchadnezzar said unto them, Did not Jeremiah write for you (xxvii. 8), 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve N. the king of Babylon,' &c." Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego gave the same explanation as before, adding, with reference to the command to worship the image, "'Thou art נבו־כד־נצר; bark (נבח = נבו) like a dog, swell thyself out like a water-jar (כד), and chirp like a cricket' (צרצר). Straightway he barked like a dog, swelled himself out like a water-jar, and chirped like a cricket" (a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's madness).

In the Talmud Bab. *Abodah Zarah* 3 A, it is said that the heathen will attest before Messiah's tribunal that Israel has kept the whole Law. Nimrod will declare that Abraham chose to be cast into his fiery furnace rather than worship his idols. Nebuchadnezzar will witness in favour of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

Sanhedrin, 93 A (referred to in the Introd. to Susanna), makes Nebuchadnezzar reply to his daughter thus concerning the proposals of the Two Wicked Prophets: "The god of these men hateth lust (זימה); when they come unto thee, send them unto me. When they came unto her, she sent them unto her father. He said unto them, Who told you? They said, The Holy One (blessed be He!). [He said:] Behold Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, I have asked them, and they have told me it is forbidden (אסור). They said unto him, We too are prophets like them. He (God) spake not unto them; unto us He hath spoken. He said unto them, I desire to prove you as I proved Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They said unto him, They were three, and we are two. He said unto them, Choose you whom ye desire along with you. They said, Joshua, the High Priest. They thought, Let Joshua come; for his merit is great, and will shield us." The result was that they were burnt, and Joshua's garments singed (Zech. iii. 1, 2). "He (Nebuchadnezzar) said unto him, I know that thou art righteous; but what is the reason that the fire gained a slight advantage over thee, and none at all over Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah? He said to him, They were three, and I (am only) one. He said to him, And behold Abraham was alone there, and there were no wicked men with him, and yet leave was not given to the fire (to burn him)." "Here there were wicked men with me, and leave was given to the fire. This is what they say, Two dry sticks (אודי, *torres*) and one green one. The dry ones kindle the green one."

Taanith, 18 B, also alludes to the miracle of the deliverance of the Three. *Pesachim*, 118 A, has the following: "Hizkiah said [with reference to the text "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us"]: It implies a descent of the righteous into the furnace of fire, and an ascent therefrom: a descent, as it is written: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us. Hananiah said, But unto thy Name give the praise. Mishael said, For thy loving-kindness and for thy truth's sake. Azariah said, Wherefore should the heathen say? They all said, on coming up from the furnace of fire, that which is written: Praise the Lord, all ye heathen. Hananiah said: Laud him, all ye peoples. Mishael said: For his loving-kindness is mighty upon us. Azariah said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever; praise ye Jah."

* * * * *

"In the hour when Nimrod the wicked threw Abraham our father into the midst of the furnace of fire, quoth Gabriel

before the Holy One (blessed be He!): Lord of the World, I will go down, and cool, and deliver the righteous one out of the furnace of fire. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him: I am alone in my world, and he is alone in his world: it becometh the Only One to deliver the only one. And as the Holy One (blessed be He!) doth not cut off the reward of any creature, He said: Thou shalt prevail, and thou shalt deliver three of his sons' sons.[1] R. Samuel the Shilonite discoursed thus: In the hour when Nebuchadnezzar the wicked threw Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah into the midst of the furnace of fire, Yôrqemî, the Prince of Hail, stood before the Holy One (blessed be He!). Said he before Him: Lord of the World, Let me go down and cool the furnace, and deliver these righteous ones out of the furnace of fire. Quoth Gabriel unto him: The Omnipotence of the Holy One (blessed be He!) *is not* (involved) in this, that thou the prince of the hail (cool the flames), when all men know that waters (naturally) quench fire; but I, the Prince of Fire, will go down and make it cool within (אקרר מבפנים) and hot without, and thus work a miracle within a miracle. The Holy One (blessed be He!) said unto him, Go down. In the self-same hour Gabriel opened his mouth and said: And the truth of the Lord endureth for ever." Cf. also *Pesach.*, 94 A.

The above passages not only illustrate the tendency to put appropriate thanksgivings into the mouth of the Three Martyrs, which we find exemplified at length in our Apocryphon: they also shew that the conception of a deliverance from a fiery furnace was traditional among the Jews, in all probability from very ancient times. And we have to bear in mind a fact familiar enough to students of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, though apparently unknown to many expositors of Scripture, whose minds conspicuously lack that *orientation* which is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the treasures of Eastern thought; I mean, the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to rouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value. To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity.

The composer of the Song of the Three Children has drawn largely upon the Psalter, and the Prayer of Azarias follows scriptural models. Although the Greek text as Greek reads rather baldly, we cannot agree with Fritzsche that "the accumulated doxologies" of the Song are an artistic defect; nor do we think the separate enumeration of the manifold powers of creation "frigid." The monotony of form is itself effective. It is like the monotony of the winds or the waves; and powerfully suggests to the imagination the amplitude and splendour of God's world, and the sublimity of the universal chorus of praise. The instinct of the Church, which early adopted the *Benedicite* for liturgical use, was right.

The supposition that the Prayer and the Hymn are due to different authors rests upon a false contrast between *vv.* 15 and 31, 62. It is true that the former passage presupposes the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of sacrifice, but the latter does not contradict this, for "the temple of thine holy glory" is the celestial temple or palace (see note *ad loc.* and Isa. vi. 1); and the language of *v.* 62, "O ye priests of the Lord," &c., is accounted for either by the consideration that there were priests among the exiles, or by the fact that the verse is taken bodily from Ps. cxxxiv. 1, and the author's view is ideal. Fritzsche thinks

[1] *I.e.* the Three Holy Children.

he "has simply fallen out of his cue." In *v.* 15 he certainly appears to have done so, in the remark that "there is no prophet," which would suit his own time, but not that of the Exile. But here, too, the writer may have been influenced by a reminiscence of such passages as are cited in the note on the verse.[1] The style of prayer and song is identical throughout.

As to the original language of all the Three Additions to Daniel, it was probably in each case either Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek text consequently is either a translation or a paraphrastic remodelling of the pieces. Eichhorn at first argued for a Greek original, as in the case of Judith also, but later he changed his opinion so far as to leave the question undecided.[2] Keil and Fritzsche maintain the originality of the Greek. The latter observes that in cases of this kind a Hebrew original has usually been inferred from the strongly Hebraizing character of the Greek; but there is always a great difference between a translation and an original Hellenistic text. In the latter a Greek colouring will always make itself apparent; in the former, awkward renderings, if not actual blunders, will always be discernible. Fritzsche admits however that, as regards the Song of the Three Children, its brevity and simplicity are against his decision; and we think that he is wrong in the assertion that there is no trace anywhere of a Hebrew text. It may be true that a Hellenist familiar with the LXX. might have written such a piece; and it is true that no mistakes in translation can be certainly specified. This last is an important point; for, as Dr. Pusey has well observed, "Hebraisms in themselves prove nothing; for one who thinks in his own language and writes in another is, in fact, translating, although mentally. One, *e.g.*, who had the word לפני in his mind, might just as well use *ἐναντίον* for it, instead of *ἐνώπιον*, as one who had it before his eyes; and so on. But mistakes in translating shew that the writer and translator were different."[1] The suggestion, however, that in *v.* 14 the Heb. מכל has been misread as בכל is plausible. The difficulty in *v.* 17 may indicate not so much a corruption of the Greek text as a confusion of the Heb. noun כליל, "holocaust," with the verb כלל, "to perfect;" and it is doubtful whether a Hellenist would have used such an expression as *καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὡσεὶ πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον* (*v.* 27), unless he were translating from a Semitic original. The word *πνεύματα* for *ἀνεμοὶ* (*v.* 43) may point to Heb. רוחות, which covers both terms; cf. *v.* 64. The commentary adds other indications, and demonstrates the strongly Hebraic cast and complexion of the Prayer and Song. But the argument for an original Hebrew text does not rest only upon such grounds as these. It may also be based upon the contents of all three Additions, which are indeed hardly conceivable as the fictions of Alexandrian Hellenists. The passages above quoted from the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash prove that the Story of the Three Children was a favourite topic with the Rabbis and their disciples, and seem to indicate the existence of a more extended tradition, which may have included the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three. Perhaps the Greek translator found this piece in a Hebrew *Midrash Daniel*. This would account for the recurrence to the *Hebrew* names of the Three. In the Aramaic of Dan. iii. they bear their Babylonian designations. See further the Introd. to Bel and Susanna.

The Additions constitute integral portions of the LXX. text of Daniel, and it is obviously difficult to suppose that the author of that text invented these stories himself, or incorporated in his version of a work written in Hebrew and Aramaic three important pieces which he only knew in a Greek dress. Moreover, the strange juxta-

[1] Compare also *Wayyiqra Rabba*, xxx. 23, 40: "R. Isaac explained the verse ('He will regard the prayer of the destitute,' Ps. cii. 17) with reference to the generations in which the people of Israel has no king and no prophets and no priests, and no Urim and Thummim, but only Prayer. Hence David said before God, 'Lord of the World, despise not their prayer.'"

[2] 'Einleit. in d. Apokr. Schr.,' p. 419; 'Einleit. in d. A. T.,' iv. 530.

[1] 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 377, note 7.

position of the two languages in Daniel may indicate, as Lenormant suggested, that certain *lacunae* in the Hebrew text have been supplied from an Aramaic version; and if that be so, it is not impossible that one or more of our three Additions represent sections of the lost Aramaic text, which may have been fuller than the Hebrew Daniel. Little, at all events, can be alleged against the supposition that the Alexandrian translator of Daniel rendered these narratives from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, and added them to his version of the main work, as pertaining to the same subject. The identity of style, even in minute particulars, strongly favours this conclusion. And, as regards the numerous variations between the different versions, especially in the case of Bel and Susanna, we may apply the words of Dr. Neubauer: "No books are more subject to additions, alterations, and various adaptations, than popular histories; the text is in the hands of a few, and the contents are related orally to the people: hence the great variety in the texts even of the early translations." What Dr. Neubauer thus writes of Tobit, has equal force in the present instance.

THE SONG OF THE

THREE HOLY CHILDREN,

Which followeth in the third Chapter of DANIEL after this place,—*fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.*—Verse 23. That which followeth is not in the Hebrew, to wit, *And they walked*—unto these words, *Then Nebuchadnezzar*—verse 24.

2 Azarias his prayer and confession in the flame, 24 wherewith the Chaldeans about the oven were consumed, but the three children within it were not hurt. 28 The song of the three children in the oven.

AND they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.

2 Then Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner: and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said,

3 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore:

TITLE.—*The Song of the Three Holy Children.*] In the Vatican LXX. the title is 'Prayer of Azarias' and 'Hymn of the Three.' The Alex. MS. omits. Fritzsche edits: 'Prayer of Azarias and Laud of the Three Children' (*προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου καὶ τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν αἴνεσις*). The Gk. term *αἴνεσις* may represent Heb. תהלה, *laus, psalmus,* as in Ps. cxlv. (title), or תודה, *actio gratiarum* (Ps. xxvi. 7). In the Vulgate, S. Jerome notes: "Quae sequuntur in Hebraeis voluminibus non reperi." Walton's Syriac has the heading, "Prayer of those with Hananiah;" the Ethiopic, "Prayer of Azariah." The Syriac edited by Bugatus from the Ambrosian MS. has no heading.

2. *Then Azarias stood up and prayed.*] The text of Theodotion connects this section with Dan. iii. 23 thus: "And they were walking in the midst of the flame, praising God and blessing the Lord. And standing with (them: Codd. 34, 36, *al.*), Azarias prayed on this manner," &c., as in the A.V. The Ambrosian Syriac, which represents the LXX., has: "23. The men, therefore, that bound them of the house of Azariah, when the flame had gone forth from the furnace, it kindled and slew; but *they* were preserved. 24. Thus, therefore, prayed Hananiah and Azariah and Mishael, and praised the Lord, when the king commanded to cast them into the furnace. 25. But when Azariah rose up, he prayed thus; and when he had opened his mouth, he was giving thanks to the Lord, with his fellows who were with him in the midst of the fire, when the furnace was being heated [*meštaggar*, "kindled"] by the Chaldeans mightily: and they said."

Fritzsche edits: "On this manner, therefore, prayed Ananias and Azarias and Misael, and sang praises unto the Lord, when the king commanded that they should be cast into the furnace. Now (*δὲ*) Azarias stood and prayed on this manner, and opening his mouth began to give thanks (*ἐξωμολογεῖτο*) unto the Lord, with his companions in the midst of the fire, as the furnace was being heated by the Chaldeans exceedingly, and they said." Theodotion pruned away this prolixity, and improved the connexion of the inserted piece with the original text. The mention of "the Chaldeans" here, and again in *v.* 24, as executing the royal decree, is remarkable. In the canonical text of Daniel they are mentioned but once (Dan. iii. 8), where it is said that "certain Chaldeans slandered the Jews" to Nebuchadnezzar. Moreover, the recurrence to the *Hebrew* names of "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego" is surprising; for throughout the narrative in Dan. iii. they are called by their Babylonian designations. It is also to be noted that in Dan. i. and ii. the order of the names is always "Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah," never, as in the addition, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (here, and *v.* 65). These peculiarities may be allowed to have some weight, in considering the question whether the piece originally belonged to the Book of Daniel or not; but they certainly do not tend to prove that the original language of this piece was Greek.

3. *Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers.*] A common formula of Jewish prayer. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 20; 2 Chron. vi. 3, 4.

thy name is worthy to be praised.] So Syr.

[a] Dan. 9. 14.

4 [a]For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways

[b] Ps. 25. 10.

are right, and [b]all thy judgments truth.

5 In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, *even* Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment: for according to truth and judgment didst thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins.

6 For we have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from thee.

7 In all things have we trespassed, and not obeyed thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us.

8 Wherefore all that thou hast brought upon us, and every thing that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

W., Vulg., Arab., and Ethiopic. Tischendorf and Fritzsche read *αἰνετὸς* for *αἰνετὸν* (so fifteen cursive MSS., Syr. Hex., and Co. Ald.), and connect the epithet with the preceding clause. We think the reading of the four versions agrees better with that *parallelism* which is one of the principles of Hebrew poetical construction. Else the term *αἰνετὸς*, Heb. מְהֻלָּל, is applicable in both ways: Ps. xviii. 3; cxiii. 3.

The word *δεδοξασμένον*, "glorious," *gloria affectus = afficiendus*, may represent Heb. גָּדוֹל, *magnus*, as in Mal. i. 11, "My name is great among the nations;" or rather נִכְבָּד, *honorandus, laudandus:* cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 9, 12; lxxxvii. 3.

4. *For thou art righteous in all the things.*] *ἐπὶ πᾶσι*, "in reference to all." The phrase occurs in Neh. ix. 33—a very similar context. Cf. 'Il.' xix. 181: *δικαιότερος καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἔσσεαι.* This clause is amplified in the successive sentences of the prayer to the end of *v.* 8. The spirit of it all is the same as that which finds expression in Ps. li. 4. Cf. also Jer. xii. 1. Ethiopic: "in all that thou hast brought upon us" (Gen. xxvi. 10).

yea, true are all thy works.] Gk. *καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου ἀληθινά.* Cf. Dan. iv. 34: *καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀληθινὰ καὶ αἱ τρίβοι αὐτοῦ κρίσεις.* Also Deut. xxxii. 4: *θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσεις.* And for the next clauses, Hos. xiv. 10; Ps. xix. 9. "Truth"—*ἀλήθεια*—is the reading of Codd. II., III. *al.*; but Fritzsche edits *ἀληθιναί*, "true." In Ps. xix. 9 *ἀληθινὰ* = Heb. אֱמֶת, "truth." Syr. W., "*in* truth;" Syr. Hex., "truth."

5. *In all the things.*] Literally, "And judgments of truth thou diddest, according to all that thou broughtest upon us, &c. [Ethiop.: "and thou hast done judgment and justice in all that thou hast done to us"]; because in truth and judgment thou didst all these things [so Syr. Hex.; but Theod., Syr. W., Vulg., Arab., Ethiop., *ἐπήγαγες ταῦτα πάντα*] on account of our sins." Cf. Gen. vi. 17; Jer. xix. 15; Judg. xvi. 19; Ps. iii. 7. The construction of *ἐπάγειν* with the dative is unusual in the LXX.

6. *For we have sinned.*] Fritzsche edits: "Because we sinned in all things (*ἐν πᾶσιν*, omitted by Theod.), and did lawlessly, to revolt from thee." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 37; Dan. ix. 9, 15; Jer. xvii. 5. Instead of *ἠνομήσαμεν ἀποστῆναι* (= we made lawless revolt), Codd. III., XII. *al.* read *ἠνομ. ἀποστάντες*, "we did lawlessly by revolting." Syr. W.: "On account of our trespasses which we sinned and did wickedly (before thee), and went far from thee, (and did against thy word,) and sinned unto thee in all, and unto thy commandments we hearkened not," &c. Syr. Hex. omits the bracketed clauses. Ethiop.: "because we have transgressed and gone astray, in that we have forsaken thee."

7. *In all things have we trespassed.*] *καὶ ἐξημάρτομεν ἐν πᾶσι.* The last verse began with *ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν.* It is likely that the compound verb represents a different Heb. verb, viz. הִרְשִׁיעַ, *impie egit:* see Neh. ix. 33. The Syr. Hex. has "we sinned . . . we went astray in everything."

thy commandments.] Fritzsche: "the commandments of thy law." Theod. omits *τοῦ νόμου*, and reads the simple *ἠκούσαμεν*, instead of *ὑπηκούσαμεν.* All the verbs are aorists: "And we did wickedly in all things, and the commandments of thy law we obeyed not, nor observed straitly (*συντηρεῖν*), nor did as thou commandedst us, that it might well befal us."

8. *Wherefore.*] Rather, "and now." This *καὶ νῦν*—Heb. וְעַתָּה—is a very common formula in later Hebrew style: cf. Neh. ix. 32; 2 Chron. vi. 16, 17, 40, 41. Theod., Syr. W., Arab., wrongly omit the characteristic *νῦν.* The formula recurs in *vv.* 9 and 17 *infra.* The writer repeats the statement of *v.* 4, as a preliminary to specifying *what* it is that God has brought upon His people. This peculiarity is another indication of a Hebrew original.

9 And thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakers *of God*, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world.

10 And now we cannot open our mouths, we are become a shame and reproach to thy servants, and to them that worship thee.

11 Yet deliver us not up wholly, for thy name's sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant:

12 And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for thy beloved

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9. *And thou didst deliver us.*] *I.e.*, "in that thou didst deliver us." The verse is an explication of the last. (Heb. ותתננו.) In Fritzsche's text the verse runs: "and thou didst deliver us into the hands of our lawless enemies, and most hateful renegades." So Syr. Hex. Theodotion omits ἡμῶν and καὶ before ἐχθίστων. His text may be rendered as in A.V., or perhaps thus: "enemies, lawless, abominable, apostate."

The term ἀποστάται, "rebels" or "rebellious," does not seem suitable as applied to the Chaldeans. In Isa. xxx. 1, the Jews are called τέκνα ἀποστάται; in the Heb., "stubborn, contumacious children." In Ezra iv. 12, 15, Jerusalem is called "rebel city"—πόλις ἀποστάτις—in regard to the Persian kings. Here, as in Num. xiv. 9, Josh. xxii. 19, the term represents the Heb. and Aramean מרד, "*contumax fuit, defecit* a domino" (cf. 2 Macc. v. 8). Michaelis thought that *môrĕdîm* might mean "haughty" or "cruel," and he refers to the rarer Arabic and Syriac usage of the same root. The term "apostates" would then be an instance of mistranslation from the Hebrew original. But the Chaldeans are, from a Jewish point of view, not only ἄνομοι, but also ἀποστάται — "renegades" from Jehovah's law. (Cf. Jer. ii. 5; Ps. cxix. 150; and the Syr. Hex. term here.) The meaning need not be restricted to the Mosaic system. The universal laws of morality may be intended: cf. Amos i. 3; ii. 1. For the wicked lawlessness of the Chaldeans, cf. Hab. i. 11 *sqq.*; Is. xiv. 20 *sq.*

The Greek text continues: "and to a king unjust and very wicked beside (παρὰ) all the earth." The superlative πονηροτάτῳ is curious in connexion with παρά. I cannot find another instance. Otherwise the expression is thoroughly Hebraic (cf. the Ethiop., "evil above all the earth"). Such a description of Nebuchadnezzar appears, however, to be most unmerited, when considered in the light of what we are told about that great monarch in the Book of Kings, and in the writings of the contemporary prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The words rather express the bitter feeling of the later Jews towards their Syrian tyrants, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, whom they regarded as a "new Nebuchadnezzar." Syr. W.: "Into the hand of our wicked enemies, who are far from thee, and unto the lordship of the godless kingdom, which is worse than all the kingdoms of the earth." Ethiopic: "Sinners who are far off and removed from thee" (omitting "most hateful").

10. *we cannot open our mouths.*] Because we feel that our doom is just. Cf. Ps. xxxix. 9, "I am dumb, I open not my mouth; because thou hast done it;" also Matt. xxii. 12.

we are become a shame and reproach.] So Vulgate; but Greek, Syriac, Arabic, "shame and reproach have fallen to thy bondmen, and to them that worship thee."

11. *Yet deliver us not up.*] Theod. μὴ δὴ παραδῷς. Fritzsche omits the particle. "Wholly" is εἰς τέλος, which may be a rendering either of לכלה, *ad consummationem*, i.e. *prorsus, plane* (2 Chron. xii. 12), or of לנצח, *in aeternum*, as so often in the Psalms. Syr. H.: *l'ḥartā*, "to the end."

disannul.] The Gk. is διασκεδάσῃς, "scatter abroad;" "fling to the winds," as we might say. In connexion with the term διαθήκη, it is the usual LXX. rendering of the Heb. הפר ברית, *fregit*, i.e. *violavit foedus*: Gen. xvii. 14; Lev. xxvi. 15, 44.

12. *cause not thy mercy to depart.*] Compare the promise to David (2 Sam. vii. 15; 1 Chron. xvii. 13).

for thy beloved Abraham's sake.] The Gk. is διὰ Ἀβ. τὸν ἠγαπημένον ὑπὸ σοῦ. This expression is usually compared with that of 2 Chron. xx. 7: ἔδωκας αὐτὴν σπέρματι Ἀβραὰμ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου, where the Hebrew is, "And gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy lover" (or "friend," אהבך). But Dr. Bissell is doubly wrong in the assertion that "only in 2 Chron. xx. 7 is Abraham elsewhere called 'the beloved (A.V. 'friend') of God.'" The same Hebrew term is applied to the patriarch in Isa. xli. 8: "seed of Abraham, my lover!" where the LXX. misrenders ὃν ἠγάπησα = τοῦ ἠγαπημένου μου or ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. It is certainly curious that the Greek version should in both cases render אֹהֵב, *amans*, as if it were אָהוּב, *amatus*. St. James (ii. 23) writes that Abraham "was called *friend* of God" (φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη). This, it is well known, is the common designation of the patriarch in the East; and had Greek

Abraham's sake, for thy servant Isaac's sake, and for thy holy Israel's sake;

13 To whom thou hast spoken and promised, [c] that thou wouldest multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that lieth upon the seashore.

[c] Gen. 22. 17. & 26. 4.

[d] Baruch 2. 13.

14 [d] For we, O Lord, are become less than any nation, and be kept under this day in all the world because of our sins.

15 Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy.

16 [e] Nevertheless in a contrite heart and an humble spirit let us be accepted.

[e] Baruch 2. 18.

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been the original language of this Prayer, the expression of the text would most likely have been διὰ Ἀβ. τὸν φίλον σου. Some critics have supposed that the original expression in the present context was the Chaldee רְחִימָךְ. It *may*, however, have been the Hebrew term just indicated, or the synonymous ידידך: comp. Deut. xxxiii. 12, ידיד יהוה=ἠγαπημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου, and Isa. v. 1, where לידידי is twice rendered τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ; and the Targum has זרעיה דאברהם רחמי, "the seed of Abraham my lover." So Syr. W. here; Syr. H., "who is dear (*ḥabîb*) to thee." Ethiop. "beloved," "friend" (Hos. iii. 1).

for thy holy Israel's sake.] The phrase "Israel (*i.e.* Jacob) thy holy one" is unknown to the O. T. In Exod. xix. 6 it is ordained that the *people* of Israel shall be "a kingdom of priests, and a *holy nation*;" and the idea is reiterated in the succeeding portions of the Pentateuch, *e.g.* Lev. xi. 44, 45; Deut. vii. 6. Compare also Dan. vii. 18, 21 *sqq.* Applied to Jacob, the term seems to carry the same general sense: *separated* from the rest of the world, and *devoted to Jehovah*. Cf. ὅσιος in Ps. iv. 3; xvi. 9. Syr. H., "Israel *thy people*."

13. *To whom thou hast spoken.*] So Theod., οἷς ἐλάλησας πρὸς αὐτοὺς, λέγων, "unto whom thou spakest, saying." We prefer this Hebraism to Fritzsche's ὡς ἐλάλ. κ.τ.λ. (The Vatic. LXX. omits πρὸς αὐτούς, אלהם.) For the promise, see Gen. xxii. 17.

14. *For we . . . are become less than any nation.*] Whereas Jehovah had promised to make them numerous as the stars of heaven and the sand of the seashore, they are "minished below all the (heathen) nations" (ἐσμικρύνθημεν παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). For the verb, see Jer. xxix. 6 (כְּעֻטּ); 1 Chron. xvi. 19.

"O Lord" is δέσποτα (אדני), instead of the commoner κύριε. Comp. Gen. xv. 2, 8; Luke ii. 29.

be kept under . . . world.] "Are low (ταπεινοὶ) in all the earth." It is possible that *Mem* and *Beth* have been confused here, and בכל written for מכל. In that case the original text was, "and are lower than all the earth," which agrees better with the parallel clause. Comp., however, Judg. vi. 15 (LXX. Alex.). For ταπεινὸς, see Ps. xviii. 27; Isa. xiv. 32; 1 Sam. ii. 8 (דל=ταπεινὸς in Judg. vi. 15). Syr. W., "we are *scattered*;" Vulg. *humiles*; Syr. Hex. *meskînê*, "poor."

15. *Neither is there at this time.*] Comp. Hos. iii. 4: "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without a *Maççebah* (sacred pillar), and without an Ephod and Teraphim." Also 2 Chron. xv. 3; Isa. iii. 1 *sqq.*, ix. 15.

This verse bears on the question of date, inasmuch as the assertion that there was no *prophet* implies a time subsequent to that of the Exilic prophets. The author unconsciously transfers a feature of his own day to that of Daniel. On the other hand, the suspension of the sacrificial rites is in keeping with the supposition that at the time of composition the Temple lay in ruins.

sacrifice or oblation.] The Gk. terms θυσία (זבח, "peace offering") and προσφορὰ (מנחה, "meat offering") are thus associated in Ps. xl. 6: "Sacrifice and meat offering thou wouldest not."

or place to sacrifice . . . and to find mercy.] Because "in Jerusalem was *the place* (מקום) where men ought to worship." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 20; 1 Chron. xxii. 1; 2 Chron. vii. 12; Deut. xii. 5 *sq.* The term rendered "to sacrifice" is καρπῶσαι, which in Attic Gk. means "to bear fruit," "to crop land," "to enjoy the fruits or interest" of a thing or a sum of money. Here, as in Lev. ii. 11, it denotes "to offer a meat offering," and represents the Heb. אִשֶּׁה, "a fire offering" (=κάρπωμα, Lev. ii. 9, 10 *et al.*). Syr. W., "nor a place where we may offer sweet spices and a sacrifice;" Syro-Hex., "a place to offer fruits;" so Ethiop. For "find mercy"—εὑρεῖν ἔλεος—comp. Gen. xix. 19; Num. xi. 15 (Heb. חֵן, *gratia*).

16. *contrite heart.*] Gk. "contrite soul." Cf. Isa. lxi. 1; Ps. xxxiv. 18, cxlvii. 3. In-

17 Like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs: [f] so let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and *grant* that we may wholly go after thee: for [g] they shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee.

18 And now we follow thee with all our heart, we fear thee, and seek thy face.

19 Put us not to shame: but deal with us after thy lovingkindness, and according to the multitude of thy mercies.

20 Deliver us also according to thy marvellous works, and give glory to thy name, O Lord: and let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed;

21 And let them be confounded

[f] Ps. 51. 17.

[g] Ps. 25, 2, 3.

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stead of πνεύματι τεταπεινωμένῳ, Theod. gives πνεύμ. ταπεινώσεως. The former is preferable. Cf. Ps. li. 18: πνεῦμα—συντετριμμένον—καρδίαν συντετρ. καὶ τεταπεινωμένην.

17. *the burnt offerings.*] Some MSS. of Theod., ὁλοκαυτώσει, sing.; Fritzsche, ὁλοκαυτώμασι, "burnt offerings;" so Syr. Hex. With the general sentiment here, compare Ps. cxli. 2: "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." Also Ps. li. 16, 17. Instead of "let us be accepted," Syr. W. has: "we have drawn near to the burning of the fire, praying that the offering of our soul to-day be more than bullocks and rams and many fat lambs."

and grant that we may wholly go after thee.] LXX. καὶ ἐξιλάσαι ὄπισθέν σου. Theod. καὶ ἐκτελέσαι (*al.* ἐκτελείσθω) ὄπισθέν σου. Fritzsche conjectures καὶ ἡ ἐξίλασις ἔμπροσθέν σου, "and our propitiation before thee," which satisfies the sense and parallelism. Eichhorn truly observes that the whole verse is so obscure and unintelligible, that no original Greek writer could have penned it.

It is likely that the Hebrew כליל, "whole," "perfect," and then "whole offering," ὁλοκαύτωμα, has been confused with the verb כלל, "to finish." See Lev. vi. 15 *sq.*; Ezek. xvi. 14; xxvii. 4, 11. Walton's Syriac has, "And let not thy servants be ashamed;" but the Syro-Hexaplar agrees with LXX., and notes the reading of Theod. The Ethiopic gives the verse thus: "As the sacrifice of rams and bulls, and as thousands, etc., so be our sacrifice before thee to-day, and let it be perfect with thee" (*i.e.* in thy sight).

they shall not be confounded.] Lit., "there shall not be [Fritzsche, "there is not"] shame (*i.e.*, disappointment) to them that put," &c. Cf. Ps. xxv. 2, 3, xxxi. 1; Rom. ix. 33. The present tense is preferable, because the clause alleges a fact of general experience: cf. *v.* 18. So Syro-Hex.

19. *lovingkindness.*] The Greek is ἐπιείκεια, which, as a human quality, Mr. Matthew Arnold would call "sweet reasonableness." In Ps. lxxxvi. 5 the adjective ἐπιεικὴς renders a Heb. term which means "placable," "forgiving," and is followed immediately by πολυέλεος, "merciful." So here "forgivingness" is the meaning (cf. Baruch ii. 21), and the term is followed by τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου, which is a substantival expression corresponding to πολυέλεος.

20. *thy marvellous works.*] Or, "miracles;" τὰ θαυμάσια σου, נפלאותיך: Ps. ix. 1, and often. Cf. Exod. iii. 20. It should be remembered that what we call "operations of Nature" were, to the Old Testament mind, "marvellous works (or miracles) of Iahweh;" a view which is at once less "scientific" and more profoundly true than ours.

give glory to thy name.] Ps. xxix. 1, 2; cxv. 1. Cf. also John xii. 28.

let all them that do thy servants hurt be ashamed.] Literally, "Let all them that shew evil things to thy servants be turned about" (or, "put to shame," Ael. 'V. H.' iii. 17; or "feel shame," 2 Thess. iii. 14; Titus ii. 8: see Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* ἐντρέπω. The verb renders two Heb. synonyms denoting "shame:" see Ps. xxxv. 4, 26; and also a term meaning "was humbled," or "humbled oneself:" Judges iii. 30; 2 Chron. xii. 7).

Those who argue for a "Chaldee" original have supposed that οἱ ἐνδεικνύμενοι (κακὰ) represents מַחְמִין or מַרְאִין. But the Greek is not peculiar. An exact parallel occurs in the LXX. of Gen. l. 15, 17, where the Heb. גמל רעה is rendered κακὰ ἐνδείκνυσθαί τινι. Syr. W.: "think evil things against." Syr. Hex.: "shew in (against) thy servants evil things" (*dam'ḥawwên b' 'abdê dîlôk bîšôthô*).

21. *in all their power and might.*] The Gk. ἀπὸ πάσης δυνασταείας, in connexion with καταισχυνθείησαν, can only mean, "Let them be ashamed of all (their) power" (warlike prowess, גבורה), as of a thing which had deceived their expectations. See the same phrase and construction, Jer. ii. 36, "Thou shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria." Also Ps. cxix. 16. Ethiopic: "in all their tyranny" (Amos iii. 9).

‖ Or, *by thy power and might.*

‖ in all their power and might, and let their strength be broken;

22 And let them know that thou art Lord, the only God, and glorious over the whole world.

23 ¶ And the king's servants, that put them in, ceased not to make the oven hot with ‖ rosin, pitch, tow, and small wood;

‖ Or, *naphtha, which is a certain kind of fat and chalky clay, Plin. lib. 2. cap. 105.*

24 So that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits.

25 And it passed through, and burned those Chaldeans it found about the furnace.

26 But the angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows, and smote the flame of the fire out of the oven;

27 And made the midst of the furnace as it had been a ‖ moist whistling wind, so that the fire touched them not at all, neither hurt nor troubled them.

‖ Or, *cool.*

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22. *And let them know.*] Fritzsche omits καί. Some MSS. of Theod. give it, and it accords better with Hebrew style to retain it. So Walton's Syr.

thou art Lord, the only God.] Or, "thou art alone the Lord God"—σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος ὁ θεός (Fritzsche). But Theod. σὺ εἶ κύριος (ὁ, III., XII. *al.*) θεὸς μόνος, "thou art the Lord God alone." Cf. 2 Kings xix. 19, "All the kingdoms of the earth shall know that σὺ (εἶ) κύριος ὁ θεὸς μόνος." The article before θεὸς is not in the Hebrew.

world.] ἡ οἰκουμένη, sc. γῆ. So Syro-Hex. Sometimes the Greek term renders אֶרֶץ, "earth," "land," "country," *e.g.* Isa. x. 23; but more often תֵּבֵל, *terra fertilis et habitata*, and then generally *orbis terrarum* (Prov. viii. 31). See Delitzsch *ad* Ps. xc. 2. Walton's Syr., "in all thy works."

23. *And the king's servants.*] The A.V. follows the text of Theodotion, which contracts the verse considerably. Fritzsche gives the full reading: "And when they had cast the three all at once into the furnace, and the furnace was red-hot (διάπυρος), according to the heating of it seven times as much;—and when they had cast them in, they who cast them in were above them (ὑπεράνω αὐτῶν, Ezek. x. 19; xi. 22), while the others were kindling underneath them (ὑπέκαιον ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτῶν: see Ezek. xxiv. 5) naphtha, and tow, and pitch, and brushwood." So Syro-Hex.

"Naphtha" is appropriately mentioned, as it was a natural product of Babylonia (Dioscor. i. 101). The word is of Persian origin (*naft*), and denotes a clear rock-oil or petroleum, used by the Jews for lighting purposes. See Targum Jerus. on Exod. xiv. 24: "And he cast upon them naphtha (נַפְטָא) and fire and hail stones." The term is also Talmudic (נֶפֶט): *Shabb.* 24 *b*, line 19. See also Plin. xxxv. 15; ii. 105. Syr. Hex. *id.*

"Tow"—Fritzsche στυπίον, Theod. στιππύνον, but more correctly στυππεῖον, according to inscriptions—is the Latin *stuppa*. Judges xvi. 9; Isa. i. 31=נְעֹרֶת, *stuppa*.

"Smallwood," or brushwood, twigs, κλήματις, is properly "vine-twigs:" cf. Thucyd. vii. 53 (plur.). Isa. xviii. 5 = נְטִישׁוֹת, *palmites*.

"Pitch," πίσσα, is the Heb. זֶפֶת (Isa. xxxiv. 9).

24. *So that the flame streamed forth.*] Rather, "and the flame was spreading about" (διεχεῖτο: used of a disease, Lev. xiii. 22 = פָּשְׂתָה, *diffudit se*. Cf. Thucyd. ii. 75: ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα). Syro-Hex. *meštaff"ā*, "poured out;" but Walton, "And the flame of the fire made a noise, and rose above the furnace."

forty and nine cubits.] "Up to, as far as (ἐπὶ), forty-nine cubits." Not *about* (περὶ, ἀμφὶ), as Bissell translates, with a false reference to Hdt. iv. 190 (181?). As regards the number, it was natural to use a multiple of the sacred number 7 (cf. Dan. ix. 25; x. 2, 13; Lev. xxv. 8); and definite numbers are often assigned in the O.T., according to the vividness of Eastern style, where we should use an indefinite expression of quantity or extent.

25. *And it passed through.*] Gen. xii. 6 (διώδευσε, Theod.). Fritzsche edits διεξώδευσεν, "it escaped," "made its way out." But the other is the usual word in the LXX. Syro-Hex., "it came forth."

26. *the angel of the Lord.*] As ἄγγελος κυρίου represents מַלְאַךְ יהוה, this is right. Walton's Syriac has "the angel of dew:" cf. the next verse.

came down into . . . together with.] Συγκατέβη . . . ἅμα. The verb occurs Ps. xlix. 17, as rendering of Heb. ירד אחריו, "his wealth shall not descend (into the grave) after him." Cf. also Wisd. x. 14.

Azarias and his fellows.] The well-known idiom οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν: cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 6, 9; xxxix. 4. Syr. W. gives the three names; Syr. H., "those of the house of Azariah."

smote.] Lit., "shook out." This verb (ἐκτινάσσω) renders נער in Exod. xiv. 27, and other places. Walton's Syr., "thrust," "drove;" Syro-Hex., "shook" (Acts xviii. 6).

27. *a moist whistling wind.*] Lit., "a

28 Then the three, as out of one mouth, praised, glorified, and blessed, God in the furnace, saying,

29 Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

30 And blessed is thy glorious and holy name: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

31 Blessed art thou in the temple of thine holy glory: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.

32 Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths, and sittest upon the cherubims: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever.

33 Blessed art thou on the glorious throne of thy kingdom: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever.

34 Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven: and above all to be praised and glorified for ever.

35 [h] O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and ‖ exalt him above all for ever.

36 [i] O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[h] Ps. 103. 22.
‖ Or, *highly exalt*: and so in the rest.
[i] Ps. 148. 4.

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wind of dew" (*i.e.* "a dewy wind;" or, "a dew-laden wind," *i.e.* a damp rainy wind, *πνεῦμα νότιον*), "whistling continually" (*διασυρίζον*). The phrase *πνεῦμα συρίζον* occurs Wisd. xvii. 17. The Heb. might be רוּחַ טַל שְׁרֵקָה; so Syro-Hex. Dew is mentioned Dan. iv. 15, 23, 25, 33; v. 21. Cf. also Ecclus. xviii. 16: "Shall not the dew assuage the heat?" and xliii. 22.

28. *Then.*] So Theod. (*τότε*). But Fritzsche, *ἀναλαβόντες δέ*, "But taking up the discourse;" so Syro-Hex., "answered:" cf. Num. xxiv. 2, 15. The following verbs are all imperfects: "were praising" or "began to praise," &c. (*ὕμνουν*).

29. *exalted above all.*] Headed: "IX. Prayer of the 3 Children" in the Ethiopic Psalter. The Greek word *ὑπερυψόω* is used in Dan. iv. 34 in connexion with *αἰνῶ*. The Syr. is ܡܪܘܡܡ, which suggests Heb. מְרוֹמֵם, as in Neh. ix. 5. In Syr. W. *vv.* 29–34 have the same refrain: *Laudatus tu et exaltatus in saeculum!* So probably the Hebrew.

30. *thy glorious and holy name.*] Lit., "the holy name of thy glory;" a Hebraism.

31. *the temple of thine holy glory.*] A phrase not found in the Hebrew O. T. The reference is probably to the heavenly Temple: Hab. ii. 20; Ps. xi. 4; Isa. vi. 1, lxvi. 1. There is thus no inconsistency between this verse and *v.* 14 *sq.* as some have supposed (*vide* Introd.). Syr. W., "the temple of thine holiness," which may be original.

"To be praised" is here *ὑπερυμνητός*. Neither this term, nor *ὑπερένδοξος* which follows it, nor *ὑπεραινετὸς* in the last verse, is met with elsewhere in the LXX. (Trommius.)

32, 33. Fritzsche transposes these two verses, after LXX., Syr. H., Vulg.

32. For "depths" (*ἄβυσσοι* = תְּהוֹמוֹת; so the Syriac texts) see Ps. xxxiii. 7; lxxvii. 16. In classical Gk. the word is an adjective, meaning "bottomless," and then "boundless," "immense," in a general sense. In the LXX. *ἡ ἄβυσσος* = "the ocean," and this accords with the Sumerian and Assyrian ABZU, *apsû*, which denotes the ocean flowing round the earth and under the earth, which, according to the Babylonian cosmogony, was the *sower* (i.e. father) of all things. In Rev. ix. 1, *ἡ ἄβυσσος* is the pit of hell.

and sittest upon the cherubims.] See Isa. xxxvii. 16; Ps. lxxx. 1.

33. *the glorious throne of thy kingdom.*] Lit., "the throne of the glory of thy kingdom." Fritzsche omits *δόξης*, which is found in some MSS. of Theod. Syr. W. omits; Syr. H. marks it with an asterisk. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. vii. 13; Jer. xiv. 21.

to be praised and glorified above all.] Fritzsche, *ὑμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος*; Theod., *ὑπερυμνητὸς καὶ ὑπερυμνούμενος*. The last word is probably due to a transcriber's error.

34. *in the firmament of heaven.*] So Theod. Fritzsche omits "of heaven;" but cf. Gen. i. 6. It is probably original.

35. The extract in our Prayer-book called the *Benedicite*, appointed to be sung as an alternative to the *Te Deum*, begins with this verse, and ends with the corresponding part of *v.* 65. It is headed, as a separate piece, in the Ethiopic Psalter: "X. Where Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael blessed." Cf. Ps. ciii. 22. The "works of the Lord" are the entire creation, visible and invisible, as appears from the subsequent enumeration of them. Cf. in general Pss. civ., cxlviii.

The refrain of this and the following verses, "praise and exalt him above all for ever"—or, as the P.B. gives it, "Praise him and magnify him for ever"—might be הַלְלוּהוּ וְרוֹמְמֻהוּ לָעוֹלָמִים. Cf. Dan. ii. 4; Ps. lxxvii. 7.

36. *O ye heavens.*] Syr. W. adds "of the Lord." Fritzsche puts the next verse before

[k] Ps. 148. 2. 37 [k] O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[l] Ps. 148. 4. 38 [l] O all ye waters that be above the heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

39 O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[m] Ps. 148. 3. 40 [m] O ye sun and moon, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

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this one, and so the Prayer-book version. The order of the text is that of Theod., Syr., Old Lat. and Vulg. The general term "heavens" naturally precedes, as including the special *angels*. Moreover, the "works of the Lord" are subdivided into celestial and terrestrial, the former category covering everything from *v.* 36 to *v.* 51. Fritzsche therefore is wrong in stating that "By *οὐρανοὶ*, in contrast with *ὕδατα*, *v.* 38, only the visible arch of heaven [*das Gewölbe*] is meant, and that for that reason the angels are named first." *Οὐρανοὶ*—שְׁמַיִם—is a term including both the material and the spiritual heavens. Indeed the distinction is hardly made by Hebrew thought. In Ps. cxlviii. 1, 2, we have the same order as here,—first the heavens, then the angels; cf. Ps. ciii. 19, 20. But cp. also Ps. cxlviii. 4. The contemplation of the heavens is a natural source of elevated thought. And this is not less the case now when so much more is known about their mechanical structure and laws than it was in those ancient times, when they and all that they contained were regarded as intrinsically divine. Kant's saying about "the starry heavens above and the moral law within" has become a commonplace. "The philosopher who knows most, whether in the courses of the stars, or in the unfolding of the embryonic point, or in any other department of knowledge, is of all others in a position to feel in the highest degree the greatness of that which lies behind the phenomenal. The emotions which are considered more distinctly religious cannot be rendered less active by a higher intellectual appreciation of the greatness of their object." (Wm. Huggins, F.R.S., *Times*, Jan. 19, 1884.) For the later Jewish theory about the seven heavens and their contents, see *Chagigah*, 12 B.

37. *O ye angels.*] The language of this hymn does not go beyond that of the Hebrew psalms within the Canon, as may be seen by referring to the parallels (Ps. ciii. 20; cxlviii. 2; lxxviii. 25; civ. 4). There is therefore no need to discuss the doctrine of angels here. See the story quoted in the Introd. from *Pesachim*, 118 A *sq.* Gabriel, as the Prince of Fire, reminds us of Gibil, the ancient Babylonian genius or spirit of fire.

38. *ye waters that be above the heaven.*] The upper deep or celestial ocean, whose waters pour down in rain when "the floodgates of heaven are opened:" see Gen. i. 7, vii. 11; Isa. xxiv. 18. This ancient Semitic conception, so faithfully reflecting the simplicity with which primitive man regarded the phenomena of the natural world, will be a "rock of offence" to none, except to those who stickle for "the scientific accuracy of the Bible," and thereby evince a perversity of thought hard to be understood by any who perceive the glaring anachronism of the phrase.

39. *O all ye powers of the Lord.*] *Δύναμις* often represents חַיִל, *vis, robur, virtus, copia;* but very often also צָבָא, *militia, exercitus,* especially in the phrase (ὁ) *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων*, "the Lord of hosts." That the latter is the case here is plain from the archetypal passage, Ps. ciii. 21: *εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ*; Heb. כל צבאיו. What these powers are is defined in the following verses, viz. the principal objects, processes, and phenomena of the natural world, especially the sun, moon, and stars. The last were pre-eminently "the host of heaven." Cf. Gen. ii. 1; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xxxiv. 4; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; 1 Peter iii. 22. Fritzsche explains "the mighty denizens of heaven," "the celestial powers in general." In Syr. W. this verse precedes *v.* 38.

40. *O ye sun and moon.*] Eichhorn and others since have objected that the language of this hymn is inappropriate to its alleged occasion. We may, however, observe an ideal fitness here and elsewhere. For the Three Holy Children are martyrs, and the idolatry against which they bear their testimony of suffering is a worship of the powers of nature. Anu[m], the spirit of heaven; Êa, the spirit of earth; the Igigi or good angels, and the Annunnaki or evil angels; Sin, the moon-god, and Shamash, the sun-god; Merodach (Jupiter), Dilpad (Venus), Kaiwânu (Saturn), and the other heavenly bodies; as well as Rimmon, the god of the air, Gibil (fire), and other natural objects and processes, were worshipped in Babylon. Above all these the hymn exalts Iahweh, their Creator.

Here, as in Ps. cxlviii. 3, the order of the words is noticeable. The Assyrian inscriptions reverse it, reading Sin, Shamash, &c., in their lists of gods. The moon was the more important deity in Semitic mythology. The verse is starred as spurious in Syro-Hex.,

41 [n] O ye stars of heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

42 O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

43 [o] O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

44 [p] O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

45 O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

46 O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[n] Ps. 148. 3.
[o] Ps. 148. 8.
[p] Ps. 148. 8.

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whence it would appear to be an addition of Theodotion's. But the sun and moon would hardly be omitted where the stars are mentioned (see the parallel passage cited above); and the presence of the verse in the Greek MS. favours its genuineness.

41. *O ye stars.*] The worship of the stars, so often denounced in the O. T. (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3; Deut. iv. 19; Isa. xiv. 13, xxiv. 21–23), was widespread among the primitive Semites. A star was the character representing the word *ilu*, "god," in the old Babylonian writing; and star-worship was practised among the Sabeans of S. Arabia, as well as in the countries beyond the Euphrates. In an Assyrian mythological inscription the stars are called "the flock of Anu;" and in another (the Fifth Tablet of the Creation Series), it is said that the Creator "constructed the stations of the great gods," *i.e.* the positions of the stars in heaven.

42. *O every shower and dew.*] See Deut. xxxii. 2, where ὄμβρος = גְּשָׁמִים, "showers." The reference of this verse and the following reminds us that, according to the preceding narrative, the Angel of Iahweh "made the midst of the furnace as it had been a whistling wind of dew." Rain and dew, moreover, here have that prominence which naturally belongs to them in the parched East. Some scholars have even supposed that the sacred name of Iahweh originally meant, not "He who becomes" or "causes to become," but "He who causes (the rain) to fall" upon the thirsty soil. At all events, the term *Shaddai*, rendered "Almighty" in our Bibles, may fairly be connected with the roots *'āshad*, *shādāh* (*effudit*), and be explained "He who pours forth" the rain, and waters the earth (Arab. *thadā*, madefecit, rigavit): cf. Ps. civ. 3, 13; Joel ii. 23.

43, 44. Instead of "O all ye winds," Syr. W. has "O ye waters and wind." See Ps. cxlvii. 18, "He causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow;" Ps. cxlviii. 8, "Fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word;" and Ps. civ. 3, 4, "Who appointeth clouds for his chariot, who walketh on the wings of the wind; who maketh his angels winds, his ministers flaming fire." Cf. also Gen. viii. 22 (καῦμα = חֹם. So Syr. here); Isa. xxxiii. 14; Deut. iv. 24; Exod. iii. 2, xix. 18, xiii. 21; Amos v. 6; Dan. vii. 9; Ps. xviii. 12–14. From these and other passages it will be seen that fire was first the visible element in Theophanies, and then the standing symbol of the Divine splendour and purity.

45. *winter and summer.*] *I.e.*, ψῦχος καὶ καύσων (*al.* καῦμα), the reading of Theod. Καύσων is sun or summer heat: Isa. xlix. 10; Matt. xx. 12. Sometimes it is the hot east wind: Hos. xii. 1; xiii. 15. Fritzsche edits here: ῥίγος (? ῥίγος) καὶ ψῦχος, "O ye frost and cold." So Syr. H.; but Syr. W., "O ye souls of the righteous." In his commentary he remarks: "The text and yet more the arrangement of these verses (45–51) *apud* Theod. is unsettled. The MSS. which directly follow the LXX. deserve no consideration. After the πῦρ καὶ καῦμα of verse 43 (44) the LXX. suitably wrote ῥίγος καὶ ψῦχος, vers. 44 (45); but the objection is that πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος, 'frosts and cold,' follows as verse 46 (47) in the LXX. To judge by the evidence in Holmes and Parsons' work, verse 46 of the LXX. was struck out, and πῦρ καὶ καῦμα was altered into ψῦχος καὶ καῦμα (others better, καύσων; 147, 233, καῦσος). Whereas then, some good witnesses, like the Old Lat., place the verse after verse 43, others, as the Vatic. LXX., place it after verse 47. Internal probability favours the latter arrangement, as the alteration of ῥίγος καὶ ψῦχος into ψῦχος καὶ καύσων would have been preposterous; and, externally, the fact that some MSS. (*e.g.* 33) apparently give *only* πάγος καὶ ψῦχος (after the LXX.), but placed after verse 47. With 'Light and darkness,' verse 47, 'cold and (sun) heat' might undoubtedly be connected."

46. *dews and storms of snow.*] Gk. δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοί. Theod. omits this verse (so Syr. W.), and also that which follows it in Fritzsche's edition: εὐλογεῖτε πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος τὸν κύριον κ.τ.λ. (*vid.* last note). Fritzsche remarks: "Theodotion purposely omitted εὐλογεῖτε δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοὶ κ.τ.λ. after verse 43 (44); for the MSS. which give it are evidently interpolated from the LXX. Similarly he passed over εὐλογεῖτε πάγοι καὶ ψῦχος κ.τ.λ., vers. 46

47 O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

48 O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

49 O ye ice and cold, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

50 O ye frost and snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

51 O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

52 O let the earth bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

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(47), and then put verse 47 (50) εὐλ. πάχναι καὶ χιόνες κ.τ.λ. after εὐλ. ψῦχος καὶ καύσων κ.τ.λ. (his verse 46)."

For the collocation of "dew and snow-storm," see LXX. Deut. xxxii. 2; Mic. v. 7 (Theod.). The Heb. word rendered *νιφετὸς* is in both cases רְבִיבִים, "raindrops," "rains." The mention of "dew" twice, first with "shower" (*v.* 42) and then with "snow-storms," is curious. Perhaps it represents some other Heb. word here, as in Prov. xxvi. 1, where the LXX. renders שֶׁלֶג, "snow," by *δρόσος*.

47. *O ye nights and days.*] The order is that observed in the first cosmogony (Gen. i.–ii. 3). The Hebrews, as is well known, reckoned their day from evening to evening.

48. *O ye light and darkness.*] It is not clear from the Heb. of Gen. i. 2 whether *darkness* is there regarded as prior to creation or as itself a product of the Divine activity. Yet *v.* 5, where Elohim gives a *name* to the darkness, seems to imply much what the great Prophet of the Captivity meant, when he said, "I form the light and *create darkness*" (Isa. xlv. 7). Light and darkness are often symbolical of the two aspects of God. The former sets forth the Divine as revealing itself to the faith of humanity; the latter, as hiding itself in impenetrable secrecy from all attempts to fathom its transcendent nature.

49, 50. *O ye ice and cold . . . ye frost and snow.*] See notes on *vv.* 45, 46. The P.B. has: "O ye frost and cold . . . O ye ice and snow." The Greek is: "O ye frosts (*πάγοι*) and cold . . . O ye hoar frosts (*πάχναι*) and snows." Syr. W., "O ye cold and heat"—"summer and winter"; Syr. H. omits.

Dr. Child Chaplin well observes that "the services of frost and snow in Nature's economy are apt to be overlooked," owing to their more familiar associations with physical suffering. Here "they are dwelt upon as illustrations not only of Power, but also of Goodness and Wisdom." The Three Children might be supposed to remember that the great stream of "the Euphrates was still copiously fed from its snowy reservoirs on the Armenian mountains," even amid the parching heats of an Eastern summer. The beauty of ice and snow, as seen in Alpine and in Arctic regions; the utility of that cold which "brings sleep to the vegetable world, and prepares it by a period of rest to burst forth with fresh vigour in the spring,"—of those frosts which crumble the hard clods and mellow the soil and check the exuberance of insect life, and of those deep snows which shelter the tender plants from the cold which would kill them,—is well set forth and expanded in his interesting work. The Book of Job supplies instances of the wonder and admiration excited by the beauty of the phenomena of ice and snow (xxxvii. 6; xxxviii. 29).

51. *O ye lightnings and clouds.*] In connexion with lightning, we naturally think of thunder-clouds. These grand and awful phenomena of nature have been associated with the idea of Theophanies from time immemorial. The black train of storm-clouds sweeping across the sky appears to have suggested the poetic conception of the cherub as the war-horse or war-chariot of Iahweh: see Ps. xviii. 10; Hab. iii. 8; and esp. Isa. xix. 1, "Behold, Iahweh rideth upon a swift cloud." The lightnings were His arrows, or the shining lance which He hurled at His enemies (Hab. iii. 11; Ps. xviii. 14). The thunder was His terrible voice, striking the world with dismay (Ps. xviii. 13; Ps. xxix. *passim*). How inveterate this idea was among the Jewish people may be seen from the fact that down to the latest times of Rabbinism, the mysterious *Bath Qôl*, or voice from heaven, was believed to be final arbiter of disputed questions.

52. *O let the earth bless the Lord.*] Having appealed to the principal phenomena of the heavens, the Psalmist now turns to the earth, and, after a general appeal, makes successive mention of each of its more obvious features and denizens. In order to realize how fully the earth does evermore witness to the glory of God, we may recall, with Dr. Child Chaplin, that wealth of natural beauty which clothes its varied surface, and constitutes so appropriate a covering for the priceless treasures hidden in its bosom. We may consider the earth as the storehouse

53 [q]O ye mountains and little hills, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

54 O all ye things that grow on the earth, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

55 O ye fountains, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

56 O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

57 O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

58 [r]O all ye fowls of the [‖]air, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

[q] Ps. 148. 9.

[r] Ps. 148. 10.

[‖] Gr. *heaven.*

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whence all our material and many of our mental and spiritual wants are supplied; and as presenting an overwhelming abundance of riches, in which nothing is superfluous, everything precious, when once we have mastered the secret of its application. We may see in the distribution of land and water, the arrangement and dislocation of strata, and other geological characteristics, no ambiguous proofs that long before man's appearance on the scene, his heavenly Father was providing for his well-being in what was to be his earthly home. "God has encompassed us on every side with symbols that recall Him to our thoughts, and it is habitual neglect alone which makes them profitless."

53. *O ye mountains and little hills.*] Gk. ὄρη καὶ βουνοί. As to the latter word, Liddell and Scott remark that it is probably a Cyrenaic word (see Hdt. iv. 158, 199), adopted by Aeschylos in Sicily, and frequent afterwards. Fritzsche refers to Sturz, 'De Dial. Maced. et Alex.,' p. 153 *sq.* In LXX. it commonly renders Heb. גִּבְעָה, *collis:* Exod. xvii. 9, 10. Hills and mountains are natural types of strength and permanence. In the flat plains of Babylonia the Jewish exiles might fondly remember the Hermons and Carmel and "the hills standing about Jerusalem;" and the thought of Him whose "righteousness standeth as the strong mountains" would be their comfort in the hour of despondency. "In sublimity," writes Dr. Child Chaplin, "mountains rank with the ocean and the clouds. . . . On the one hand, their height, their mass, and the deep planting of their roots in the earth,—on the other, the beauty which rests upon their varied outlines, which clothes their sides and precipices, and lies among their valleys and deep glens, —mark them out not only as the most conspicuous, but also as among the most attractive objects in the world." In them, too, beauty and utility coincide. They play an indispensable part in the economy of Nature. "They act as loadstones to the clouds, and draw down from them the fertilising rain."

54. *O all ye things that grow on the earth.*] So Syr. H.; Syr. W., "all ye herbs of the earth." Theod., "in the earth." In the Prayer-book it is: "O all ye green things upon the earth." "Like the 'voices of the stars,' the green things upon the earth are truly a fair Hymn of Praise written all over the land, not in dull words, but in living characters of beauty." (Dr. Child Chaplin.) Syr. W. adds: "O all ye things that sprout upon the earth," &c. After this follow: "O ye seas and rivers" —"O ye sources and all fountains"—"O ye fishes and all that creep in the waters."

55. *O ye fountains.*] Prayer-book: "O ye wells." Αἱ πηγαὶ, "fountains" or "springs," is the Heb. מַעְיָן or עַיִן, rather than בְּאֵר "well" (φρέαρ). Cod. Chisian. reads εὐλογεῖτε ὄμβροι καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ, "O ye *rains* (or *rain-storms*) *and* fountains." Syr. H. obelizes the added words as Theodotion's. Fritzsche is wrong in stating that Syr. W. also contains them. Theod. transposes *vv.* 55, 56.

56. *O ye seas and rivers.*] Some copies of Theod. have "sea" (θάλασσα). Fritzsche observes that it is unlikely that Theod. changed θάλασσαι into the sing., as the former reading of his text is very well attested by some MSS., and the Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., and Arab. versions. Besides, the plur. agrees better with ποταμοί. If not accidental, the variant is due to the comparative rarity of the plural form (cf. Gen. i. 10).

57. *O ye whales, and all that move in the waters.*] κήτη, Old Lat. and Vulg. *cete*, denotes the larger denizens of the sea in general; the monsters of the deep. It represents Heb. תַּנִּינִים, Gen. i. 21; דָּג, "fish," Jonah ii. 1, 11; and לִוְיָתָן (μέγα κῆτος), Job iii. 8. Cf. our scientific term *Cetacea.* For πάντα τὰ κινούμενα, cf. Gen. vii. 14, ix. 2; Lev. xi. 46.

58. *O all ye fowls of the air.*] πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "all ye birds of the heaven" (Gen. ii. 19, 20). "Air" would be expressed in Heb. by שְׁחָקִים, "heavens." The Rabbinic adopts the Greek ἀήρ, in the form אויר. Πάντα is wanting in Syr. H., 147, and Old Lat. With this verse and the next cf. Ps. cxlviii. 10. The animate creation is now called upon to take its part in the great chorus of praise. It is observable that the order is the same as in Gen. i. 20–26: fish, birds, beasts, men.

59 [s]O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

60 O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

61 O Israel, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

62 [t]O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

63 O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

64 O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

65 O ye ‖holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.

66 O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise and

[s] Ps. 148. 10.

[t] Ps. 134. 1.

‖ Or, *saints*.

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59. *beasts and cattle.*] *I.e.*, wild beasts, τὰ θηρία, the "beasts of the field," חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה, Lev. xxvi. 22, and domestic animals, τὰ κτήνη, including both *jumenta* (Old Lat.) and *pecora* (Vulg.); Heb. בְּהֵמָה (Gen. i. 25; Ps. cxlviii. 10). So Syr. W.

Some MSS., *e.g.* 36, 49, read πάντα before τὰ κτήνη instead of τὰ θηρία,—according to Fritzsche, improperly. But Ps. cxlviii. 10 has τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη. Syr. H. has "quadrupeds and wild beasts of the earth." Syr. W. adds: "O everything that creepeth upon the earth," &c.

60. *O ye children of men.*] *I.e.*, בְּנֵי אָדָם, "sons of man" (Ps. xxxiii. 13; cvii. 8); the human race, human kind. The Gk. phrase occurs Mark iii. 28; Eph. iii. 5. There is a progress in *vv.* 60–62 from the lower to the higher rank of being, similar to that of the preceding verses.

62. *O ye priests of the Lord.*] After Israel, the chosen people, the priests or chosen representatives of that people are mentioned: just as in Pss. cxv. 9, 10; cxviii. 2, 3; cxxxv. 19, 20; in which passages the priests are addressed as the "house of Aaron." The passage Exod. xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, an holy nation," is sometimes alleged as if it contradicted the idea of any special priesthood exercised by a particular class of duly appointed persons. But what Israel collectively was to the peoples of the earth, that the Aaronic priesthood was intended to be to Israel. The two spheres of sacerdotal privilege do not clash, and are by no means incompatible with each other.

Fritzsche edits, "O ye priests," and in *v.* 63, "O ye servants," omitting "of the Lord," which Theod. adds, and which seems necessary to the sense: cf. Ps. cxiii. 1; cxv. 11; cxviii. 4; cxxxiv. 1; cxxxv. 1.

Syr. W. has: "O all ye of the house of Israel," &c.—"O all ye priests of the Lord," &c. Syr. H.: "O Israel, bless the Lord"—"O ye priests, bless the Lord."

63. *O ye servants of the Lord.*] Not worshippers in general, who are addressed in *vv.* 64, 65, but, as the priests have just been named, *v.* 62, the *Levites* or lower ministers of all classes, including the *Nethinim* or ἱερόδουλοι. See Ps. cxxxiv. 1, 2; cxxxv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. ix. 33.

64. *O ye spirits and souls of the righteous.*] Theodoret explained this as an appeal to the spirits in Paradise. But what precedes and follows forbids such a reference as incongruous. The righteous on earth are meant. By the terms "spirit," πνεῦμα, רוּחַ, *spiritus*, and "soul," ψυχή, נֶפֶשׁ, *anima*, the Bible indicates the higher and lower principles or elements of man's immaterial being. This contrast is presented, *e.g.*, in 1 Thess. v. 23, where man's composite existence is analysed as a Trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit; and in Heb. iv. 12. In Gen. i. 20 we read: "And God said, Let the waters swarm with a swarm of living souls;" and again, *v.* 24, "Let the earth bring forth living souls after their kind;" cf. also Gen. ix. 10, 12, 15, 16, where "living creature" = Heb. "living soul." This shews that *nephesh*, ψυχή, includes the *vegetive* and *sensitive* (τὸ θρεπτικὸν . . . τὸ αἰσθητικόν), but not the *reasonable* soul (τὸ λογιστικὸν or νοητικόν).

65. *O ye holy and humble men of heart.*] The Gk. ὅσιοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ (τῇ most MSS. of Theod.) καρδίᾳ may better be rendered: "O ye pious and heart-humbled folk," or "O ye pious ones and broken in heart." The word ὅσιος is the regular LXX. equivalent for Heb. חָסִיד, "good," "pious" (Ps. iv. 3; xii. 1; cxlviii. 14). The חֲסִידִים or ὅσιοι were, as is well known, the patriotic and religious party of the times of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Syr. W.: "perfect," *i.e.* blameless.

Ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι occurs Ps. xxxiv. 18, as the rendering of Heb. "crushed in spirit," which is parallel to "broken in heart;" and the meaning, both there and here, is "heart-broken by the oppression of enemies." Thus the appeal is to the exiles in Babylonia (Grotius, *Judaei deportati*). Another sense of ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ occurs Matt. xi. 29.

66. *O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.*] The

exalt him above all for ever: for he hath delivered us ‖ from hell, and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us out of the midst of the furnace *and* burning flame; even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us.

‖ Or, *the grave.*

67 "O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious: for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

" Ps. 136. 1.

68 O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of gods, praise him, and give him thanks: for his mercy *endureth* for ever.

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appeal to the three youthful martyrs is obviously suggested by the preceding appeal to "the pious and broken in heart," or the *Chasidîm* in general, the pious patriots who clung to their ancestral manners and worship in spite of tyrannical persecution. Of such the Three Children were bright examples.

As to their names, the first means "Iah bestoweth;" the second, "Iah helpeth;" and the third, מִישָׁאֵל, Mishael, "Who is what God is?" The Babylonian designations of the three youths have occasioned much perplexity. Perhaps instead of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, they should be (Amil)-Merodach [מרדך for שרך], Sheshach [see Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41], and Abad-Nebo. In the first two we may suppose that by some accident of transcription מ and ש changed places. The difference between מרדך and שרך is otherwise trifling. Sheshach (ששך) occurs as a *nomen individui* in the Talmud, e.g. *Abod. Zarah*, 65 A, line 20. Perhaps, however, the ending *-ak* points to Babylonian *Âkû*, the moon-god. Then Shadrach would mean "command of Aku;" and Meshach might be *mê ša Âkî*, "water (*i.e.* son) of the moon-god."

for he hath delivered us from hell.] "From Hades," i.e. *Sheol*, the place of the departed. This clause, together with the rest of the verse, certainly wears the appearance of an interpolation intended to make what is in reality a kind of General Thanksgiving more applicable to the special circumstances of the Three Children. The psalm indeed may have been adapted to its present purpose, much as portions of several psalms are adapted in 1 Chron. xvi.

saved us from the hand of death.] Cf. "God will redeem my soul from the hand of the grave," Ps. xlix. 15; and Ps. lxxxix. 48; Hos. xiii. 14; Dan. vi. 27.

delivered us out of the midst.] Fritzsche edits: "rescued us out of the midst of burning flame." Some copies of Theod. have: "rescued us out of the midst of a furnace of burning flame." But the addition (καμίνου) is wanting in Old Lat., Vulg., Syr. W., XII., 23, Tur., and other versions and MSS.

even out of the midst of the fire.] Rather, "and out of the fire he ransomed us" (ἐλυτρώσατο). Theod. reads: "and out of the midst of fire he rescued us," repeating the word ἐῤῥύσατο from the last clause. Cf. Micah iv. 10. Syr. W.: "he brought us forth."

67. *O give thanks.*] A common liturgical formula, introduced here, as in 1 Chron. xvi. 34, to form a doxology. See Ps. cvi. 1; cvii. 1; cxviii. 1, 29; cxxxvi. 1. In the latter two psalms, as in 2 Chron. v. 13, it is ἀγαθὸς for χρηστός. The Heb. word is the same in all (טוֹב).

"Give thanks" is ἐξομολογεῖσθε, "confess ye fully;" cf. Matt. xi. 25. The LXX. use the verb to render Heb. הוֹדָה properly "to confess," *e.g.* sin (Ps. xxxii. 5); then "to acknowledge" God's favours, and "to praise" Him.

68. *O all ye that worship the Lord.*] Syr. H. marks "the Lord" as added by Theod. On this ground Fritzsche thinks the original text was simply πάντες οἱ σεβόμενοι, "O all ye that worship;" σεβόμενοι being used thus absolutely in later times, *e.g.* Wisd. xv. 6; and they who are meant are the worshippers of the one God in general; not *proselytes* in particular, as Theodoret suggests, and as the word is used in Acts xvii. 4, 17. But cf. Ps. cxv. 11; cxviii. 4; cxxxv. 20: "ye that fear the Lord," יראי יהוה. The verb יָרֵא, "to fear," is rendered σέβομαι in Josh. iv. 24, xxii. 25; Job i. 9; Jonah i. 9. Moreover, the Greek verb occurred *v.* 7 *supra* with an object. We think, therefore, that τὸν κύριον should be retained.

bless the God of gods.] See Ps. cxxxvi. 2; Deut. x. 17; Dan. ii. 47, xi. 36. At the end of this verse the Vulgate has the note: "Hucusque in Hebraeo non habetur: et quae posuimus, de Theodotionis editione translata sunt."

Syr. W. adds to the last verse "Praise him and exalt him for ever," and concludes thus: "O all ye that fear God, bless the God of gods; praise him and exalt him for ever. O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever." Syr. H. adds, doubtfully, "and unto an age of ages" (so Cod. Chisianus). The innovations on the simple and almost stereotyped formula of the original text are obvious.

ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

II. THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA.

THIS piece is not so intimately connected with the canonical Book of Daniel as the preceding. In fact, it rather resembles one of the separate narratives which collectively make up the first six chapters of that work, in being a whole complete in itself. It is variously entitled 'Susanna' (Syro-Hex.) or 'History of Susanna' (so Syr. W_1.), or 'Daniel' (Syr. W_2., 'The Book of little Daniel; the History of Susanna'), or 'The Judgment of Daniel,' &c. The last title is certainly that which expresses the clearest insight into the real point of the story. So far as is known, its claims to credibility and consequently to canonicity were first called in question by the historian Julius Africanus, *circ.* 240 A.D., who expressed his doubts in a letter to Origen. Africanus roundly calls it a spurious portion (κίβδηλον μέρος) of the Book of Daniel; and while admitting its merit as a graceful story, he declares it to be a modern fabrication (χαριὲν μὲν ἄλλως σύγγραμμα, νεωτερικὸν δὲ καὶ πεπλασμένον).[1] Origen, after recourse to some Rabbis of his acquaintance, wrote an elaborate reply to the objections of his correspondent. The first of these was that *vv.* 45, 46, which represent Daniel as prophesying under direct inspiration (ἐπιπνοίᾳ προφητικῇ), are inconsistent with what is told of him elsewhere. By way of answer to this really pertinent objection, Origen simply refers to Heb. i. 1. Not less cavalierly, as Fritzsche observes, does he set aside the second objection, that the conviction of the Elders in *vv.* 52 *sqq.* has an element of the theatrical, by appealing to the Judgment of Solomon as related in 1 Kings iii. 16 *sqq.* But he is greatly perplexed by the remark that the paronomasiæ of *vv.* 55, 59, prove that the original text was Greek. He says: "As this passage gave me no rest, and I often dwelt upon it in doubt, I had recourse to not a few Hebrews with the question what was the πρῖνος called in their tongue, and what was the word for πρίζειν, and similarly how they expressed σχῖνος and σχίζειν." Some did not know the Greek terms, but asked to be shewn the trees, which Origen accordingly pointed out, but to no purpose. One said that he could not tell what a tree not mentioned in Scripture would be called in Hebrew. Sometimes a perplexed writer would for despatch use a Syriac instead of a Hebrew term. He too asked Origen to shew him a passage of Scripture where the holm-oak and mastick-tree were certainly mentioned. Origen concludes: "As this was what the Hebrews said with whom I conversed, and so nothing is to be learned about it, I am careful not to express an opinion whether these words are preserved among the Hebrews in such a relationship and in the like significance or not."[1] It does not seem to have occurred to this learned Father that a twofold coincidence of this kind in two languages so remote from each other as Greek and Hebrew was a thing not to be expected. But what is more surprising than an ancient writer's philological perplexity is the fact that modern critics have actually found in these instances of paronomasia the clearest proof that the piece was originally composed

[1] 'Africani ad Orig. Epist.' p. 10, *apud* Migne, xi. col. 44.

[1] Migne, xi. pp. 61–65.

in Greek. Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Grätz, and Fritzsche do not seem to have remembered how common the figure paronomasia is in Hebrew and Oriental literature, and at the same time the extreme unlikelihood that any given instance could be exactly reproduced in an alien language. Can we successfully imitate in English the prophet Isaiah's "He looked for *judgment* (משפט), but behold *oppression* (משפח); for *righteousness* (צדקה), but behold a *cry* (צעקה)"? Whether, as Scholz supposed, the Greek translator of Susanna correctly rendered the Hebrew verbs, and then chose names of trees to match, or whether he found it necessary to give up both the verbs and the nouns of the original text, in order to produce a successful imitation, can hardly perhaps be decided. But the fact that one of Lagarde's Syriac texts (L_2.) gives a fair paronomasia in the first case between ܦܣܛܩܐ, *pāstĕqā*, "pistachio-tree," and the verb ܦܨܩ, *pĕsaq*, "to cut off,"—and in the second, between ܪܘܡܢܐ, *rummānā*, "a pomegranate-tree," and ܪܘܡܚܐ, *rumchā*, "a sword,"—is enough to relieve us from the perplexities of Africanus and Origen. This Syriac version may, in fact, have preserved the original names of the trees: for, as Jacob of Edessa, cited by Bugati, observes, neither the σχῖνος or mastick-tree, nor the πρῖνος or holm-oak, was native in Babylonia, nor were they planted in gardens; whereas the pistachio and the pomegranate, mentioned in the Syriac version of his day, were both garden trees, although their names did not correspond in sound with the terms ܢܫܕܩ, *nĕsaddĕqāk*, "he will rend thee," and ܢܫܪܟ, *nessĕrāk*, "he will saw thee," used by Daniel in cursing the Elders. The Greek translator may have been reminded by *pastĕqā* of the like-sounding Greek term μαστίχη, which means "gum mastick," the resin of the σχῖνος, which last he, therefore, adopted. The Heb. *rimmôn* (Syr. *rummānā*) in like manner reminded him of πρῖνος. But what could have been the Heb. paronomasiæ thus imitated in Syriac and in Greek? Perhaps as Brüll thinks, רמו...והרים ראשך and פסתקא...יפסק ראשך: Dan. viii. 11; Ezek. xxi. 26.

But there are plenty of other possibilities, as the following will shew:—

אגוז, "nut-tree," Cant. vi. 11, and often in Bab. Talmud. יגזר, "will cut in two," 1 Kings iii. 25. Or יגז; cf. Nah. i. 12.

תאנה, "fig-tree;" "the angel will multiply thy *sorrow*," ירבה בך תאניה ואניה, Lam. ii. 5; Isa. xxix. 2. Cf. also Ps. xci. 10. See Sanhedr. 41 A, cited *infra*.

כפר, "cypress" (a Babylonian tree) .... לא יכפר לך, "he will not *forgive* thee."

תמר, "palm," *the* Babylonian tree *par excellence*; ימר לך, Ruth i. 20.

If Aramaic was the original language of the piece, צינתא, "a palm," and צנן, "to cool" (of passion).

Other such plays on words might be suggested; but these may suffice to shew how far those of the Greek text are from constituting an insuperable objection to the theory of a Hebrew original.[1]

Africanus next expresses suspicion of the fact implied by the narrative, that the Jews during the Exile were permitted to exercise the power of life and death among themselves, and even, as in this case, over the royal consort. If, on the other hand, Joacim was not the former king, the account of his external prosperity and high distinction is not true to the historical conditions of the time. Origen's reply is that the state of the Jewish community in the Exile was not altogether wretched; Joacim *was* the former king; and as to the *jus gladii*, even at the present day conquered peoples are sometimes allowed to live under their own native jurisdiction. Moreover, it might be that such cases were tried secretly. He is greatly perplexed by the remark that the piece is not found in the Book of Daniel as received by the

[1] "The History of Susanna was confessedly written in Greek. No other explanation can be given of the verbal allusions 54–5, 58–9. In regard to the other additions there are no data." (Pusey, 'Daniel the Prophet,' p. 378 and note.) In the same context, Dr. Pusey remarks of the LXX. version of the Book of Daniel, that "the Greek itself is, in many parts, purer and more elegant than that of any other of the Septuagint translations. The translator avoided Hebraisms, which Theodotion subsequently restored, and, in some places, substituted a classical Greek word." (*Ibid.* 378–9.) So far, then, as this applies to the Additions, it is obviously no argument against the supposition that they were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, like the rest of the book.

Jews; and can only reply that the Jews must have intentionally omitted it, on account of its contents. Many other pieces are also found only in the LXX., and so would have to be rejected along with Susanna. But may it not be that Providence was mainly solicitous of *edification* in the Holy Scriptures; and ought we not to be mindful of the proverb, "Remove not the ancient landmark" (Prov. xxii. 28)? Africanus further objected that no prophet elsewhere makes use of a quotation in the manner of *v.* 53, for no prophet required to do so; and lastly he thinks the style different from the Book of Daniel, which Origen denies; but neither goes into detail.

For many centuries the matter lay where Africanus and Origen had left it. After the Reformation, Protestant writers, such as Ludovicus Cappellus, strongly attacked the piece, in the interests of theological controversy, calling it a "silly fable"—*fabula ineptissima*,—and the author a "trifler"—*nugator*. Houbigant replied with considerable advantage. Michaelis set himself to expose a whole mass of absurdities in the legal proceedings against Susanna and her accusers. Eichhorn again examined the question, only to prove that "the whole piece may be a moral fiction" (*eine moralische Dichtung*). Jahn saw in it a parable, shewing that "not always even to men of riper years must an unerringly right judgment be attributed." Bertholdt divined its nature far more correctly in pronouncing the piece a traditional history or *Jewish Haggada*: "Es scheint daher besser zu sein die Sache als eine Sagengeschichte, als eine jüdische Aggadah zu betrachten." The moral appended in the LXX. text, *vv.* 63, 64, which is the ground of Jahn's conclusion, is merely a reflection added by the author of that text, and is wanting in Theodotion. Fritzsche rightly remarks that the story is told as authentic history; and he adds: "It is very possible that a tradition (*Sage*) lay at the basis of the narrative, as the substance of it unhappily stands in direct contradiction to no period; but it may with more certainty be affirmed that the connexion with Daniel is arbitrary. The person of Daniel is, in our opinion, involved in much obscurity; hence it is the more remarkable that this piece is connected with him, according to the etymology of his name [Daniel, "my judge is El"], and that here, as in Ezek. xiv. 14 *sqq.*, xxviii. 3, he is represented as a model of righteousness and wisdom." And here he leaves the matter, although Plessner had already pointed to materials in the Talmud and Midrash which confirm Bertholdt's conjecture. Frankel and Geiger have referred to an old Halachah, which explains much that is surprising in the story; and lastly, Dr. N. Brüll, in an elaborate monograph, has sought to establish, by a careful combination of all available materials, the probable meaning and character of this curious relic of antiquity.[1] Among these materials are certain statements in Origen's reply to Africanus which receive an entirely new significance, when brought into connexion with the data supplied by the Hebrew sources. Thus Origen relates that a learned young Jew, the son of a Rabbi, had informed him that the Two Elders of the story were Ahab and Zedekiah, the false prophets spoken of in Jer. xxix. 20–23, and that the punishments Daniel predicts for them refer to the other world.

What else Origen heard about these Elders may be given in his own words: Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ οἶδα Ἑβραῖον, περὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τούτων τοιαύτας παραδόσεις φέροντα, ὅτι τοῖς ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ἐλπίζουσιν διὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἐλευθερωθήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δουλείας προσεποιοῦντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὗτοι ὡς εἰδότες τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ σαφηνίζειν. Καὶ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀνὰ μέρος ᾗ περιετύγχανε γυναικὶ καὶ ἦν διαφθεῖραι ἐβούλετο, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δῆθεν ἔφασκεν, ὡς ἄρα δέδοται αὐτῷ ἀπὸ θεοῦ σπεῖραι τὸν Χριστόν. εἶτ' ἀπατωμένη τῇ ἐλπίδι τοῦ γεννῆσαι τὸν Χτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ἐπεδίδω ἑαυτὴν τῷ ἀπατῶντι. καὶ οὕτως ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναικὰς τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ πρεσβ. Ἀχιὰβ καὶ Σεδεκίας. To these malpractices, added the Jew, Daniel alludes in addressing the first Elder with πεπαλαιωμένε

[1] What follows is mainly an abstract of Dr. Brüll's ingenious argument, *Das apokryphische Susanna-Buch*, in his 'Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur' (Frankfurt am Main: 1877).

ἡμερῶν κακῶν (*v.* 52), and the second with οὕτως ἐποιεῖτε θυγατράσιν Ἰσραήλ κ.τ.λ. (*v.* 57). St. Jerome also was acquainted with this Jewish tradition, independently of Origen, as it would seem, for he makes the false prophets give a different reason for their conduct: "Aiunt Hebraei—quod propheta nunc loquitur, Et locuti sunt in nomine meo mendaciter, quod non mandavi eis (Jer. xxix. 20), illud significari putant, quod miseras mulierculas, quae circumferuntur omni vento doctrinae, sic deceperint, quo dicerent eis, *quia de tribu erant Juda* Christum de suo semine esse generandum; quae illectae cupidine praebebant corpora sua, quasi matres futurae Christi" ('Comm. in Jerem.' *ad fin.*). Compare with these passages Susanna 56, 57. In the *Midrash Tanḥûmâ* on Leviticus, No. 6, we read: "Ahab b. Kolaiah and Zedekiah b. Maaseiah were already sinners in Jerusalem, but that was not enough. Carried captive to Babylon, they pushed their wickedness there to even further lengths. What did they in Jerusalem? There they were lying prophets. But in Babylon they did not abdicate this their profession, and they assisted each other's guilty designs. Ahab went to one of the magnates of Babylon and said, 'God has sent me hither to speak a word to thy wife.' He said: 'She is before thee; go in.' When Ahab found himself alone with her, he said, 'God willeth that thy children be prophets. Go, therefore, and company with Zedekiah, and thou shalt become the mother of prophets.' She believed him, and did accordingly. In the same way, Zedekiah went, and acted for Ahab. . . . So they went on, until they came to Semiramis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. When Zedekiah went to her and spake as before, she answered, 'I can do nothing without my husband's consent; he must come and tell us that he wills it.' So she went to her husband Nebuchadnezzar, and said, 'Send for them.' When they were come, he asked them, 'Did ye speak thus to my wife?' They said, 'Yes, for God will cause prophets to come of her.' 'I have heard,' said N., 'that your God abhors unchastity. Did 24,000 men perish, because of Zimri's degeneracy (Num. xxv. 8, 9), and can you assert such a thing? Has your God changed his mind? Whether ye be true or false prophets, I know not; but Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah I have already proven. Although I had the furnace heated seven days for them, yet they came forth alive and well. For you I will only heat it one day. If you are not hurt by the fire, I shall have the best proof that you are true prophets, and we will do all your bidding.' They objected: 'Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were three, we are only two, and a miracle cannot be wrought save for three.' Nebuchadnezzar asked: 'Is there then a third such as you?' 'Yes, the High Priest Joshua.' They thought they would be saved for his sake. So Joshua was brought, and thrown with them into the furnace. *They* were both consumed, but Joshua remained unhurt, as it is said, Zech. iii. 2, 'Lo, that is the brand plucked from the burning.' And from Zedekiah and Ahab was the curse taken which was in the mouth of the whole captivity at Babylon: 'The Lord make thee like Zedekiah,' &c. (Jer. xxix. 22)."

The same story occurs in the Talmud Bablî *Sanhedrin* 93 A, where the same passage of Jeremiah is cited with comments. "'It is not said whom he *burnt* (שרפם), but whom he *roasted* (קלם),' said R. Johanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai, teaching that they did as it were vilenesses (בקליות)." Commenting on the next verse, "Because they have done folly in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives," the Gemara continues:—

מאי עבוד אזול לנבי ברתיה דנבוכדנצר אחאב אמר לה כה אמר ה' השמיעי אל צדקיה וצדקיה אמר בה אמו' ה' השמיעי אל אחאב אזלה ואמרה ליה לאבוה

"By doing what? by going to Nebuchadnezzar's *daughter*. Ahab said to her, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Zedekiah; and Zedekiah said, Thus saith the Lord, hearken thou to Ahab. She went and told *her father*," &c. (The italicized variation will be noticed.) The Baraita of R. Eliezer again, c. 33, on the authority of R. Johanan, mentions neither the wife nor the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, but the Chaldean

women generally, as thus attempted by Ahab and his confederate in guilt, whom it represents, not as false prophets, but medical charlatans:—

אחאב בן קוליה וצדקיה בן מעשיה נעשו רופאי שקר והיו מרפאים את נשי כשדים ובאים עליהם בתשמיש המטה שמע המלך ואמר לשורפן.

"Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah became pretended physicians. And they used to treat the wives of the Chaldees, and debauch them. The king heard thereof, and commanded them to be burnt."

In the *Pesiqta* again (Ed. Buber), No. 25, p. 164 f., the story is further modified:—

אחאב בן קוליה וצדקיה בן מעשיה נביאי שקר היו והיו מנאפין נשי רעיהן הה"ד יען אשר עשו ונו' (ירמיה כ"ט כ"ג)

ומה הוון עבדין חד מנהון אזיל לגבי איתתא ואמר לה חמית דייתי חברי לגבך ואת מקיימת נביא בישראל.

i.e. "Ahab ben Qolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah were pretended prophets. And they used to commit adultery with their neighbours' wives, as it is written, Jer. xxix. 23. And what would they do? One of them went to a woman and said unto her, 'I have seen (in a vision) that my fellow will come unto thee, and that thou wilt raise up a prophet in Israel.'" The matter went on, until they attempted the queen in the same fashion, with the result mentioned above. Here we are at once struck with the strangeness of the implication that not only Jewesses, but *even Babylonian ladies, even the queen,* could be influenced by the promise of giving birth to a Jewish prophet. How are we to account for this transformation of the original tradition, which brings in Babylonian women instead of Jewesses? The reason, Brüll thinks, was probably genealogical. In the interests of purity of descent, the fact had to be suppressed that during the Babylonian Exile Jewish matrons had been misled into fornication. If the Haggada also told of an attempt upon a noble lady—say the wife of a former Jewish king—and this attempt led to the ruin of the perpetrators, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar was naturally substituted; and to make everything plausible, she was provided with a suitable name, Semiramis. And as the old tradition made the two miscreants promise the birth of the Messiah, and this could be no inducement to Babylonian women, this difficulty was got rid of by substituting *prophet* for *Messiah.* The Messianic reference, Brüll thinks, would have been pointless, unless made at a time when there was no representative of the House of David to whom such hopes could attach. This feature of the Haggada, therefore, agrees with the theory that the Joacim of Susanna is Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, the Jewish king who languished in prison throughout the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. A captive at the age of 18, he either had no children, or only such as "were made eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." The situation was one which afforded free scope to pretenders of all sorts; and it is quite possible that Ahab and Zedekiah had higher designs than the mere gratification of lust in their attempt on Susanna. In the Midrash *Wayyiqrā Rabbā*, Par. xix., a story is told indicative of contemporary Jewish fears that the House of David might become extinct with Jehoiachin's death. The Great Sanhedrin is said to have sought and obtained, through the intercession of Queen Semiramis, permission for the wife of Jehoiachin to visit him in his prison. In the sequel of the story, which it is unnecessary to translate, the wife of Jeconiah appears as preserving her purity, according to Jewish ideas, under circumstances of great temptation: and she utters an exclamation, כשושנה ארומה ראיתי, which, curiously enough, contains the name of the heroine of our Apocryphon. Dr. Brüll supposes that this cry of hers gave rise to her popular designation; a supposition which he confirms by the fact that Susanna is not known as a Hebrew proper name of earlier date. (See Bk. of Jubilees, viii. 1.) And when she leaves her husband, she takes a bath of purification, which detail coincides with the fact that Susanna in the Apocryphon is about to take a bath when the Elders attack her. On these grounds, Brüll thinks, and we are disposed to agree with him, that the

Susanna of our story is the king's wife in the Midrash. And this is borne out by other points of coincidence. Susanna was the wife of *Joacim;* and Joacim was the most prominent personage among the Exiles. The description only suits Jehoiachin-Jeconiah, the former king of Judah, who some twenty-five years after his imprisonment was restored by Evil-Merodach to kingly honours at the court of Babylon. In these changed circumstances we may be sure that the respect of his own countrymen would not be wanting; Jehoiachin would be regarded as the Prince of the Captivity, and would leave his dignity to his successors. It is beyond question, says Brüll, that the Babylonian Exilarchate, which reached in almost unbroken succession down to the second half of the 14th century, as also the Palestinian Patriarchate founded by Zerubbabel, originated in the position of honour accorded to king Jehoiachin. There is no difficulty in supposing a confusion of the names Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim such as occurs elsewhere: see S. Jerome's caution on this point ('Comm. in Dan.' i. 1). Moreover, S. Hippolytus identified Jehoiachin-Jeconiah with the Joacim of our work. See Georg. Syncell. *Chronogr.* 218: Ὁ ἱερὸς Ἱππόλυτος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Σωσαννὰν καὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ γράμματι τρία ἔτη λέγει τὸν υἱὸν Ἰωιακεὶμ Ἰωαχεὶμ τὸν καὶ Ἰεχονίαν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κρατήσαντα μετακομισθῆναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ὡς πρόκειται. τὸν δὲ Δανιὴλ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς παῖδας τῆς παρούσης αἰχμαλωσίας λέγει. Τοῦτον δὲ λέγει καὶ τῆς Σωσαννῆς ἄνδρα εἶναι· καὶ πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος. Africanus and Origen, in the correspondence referred to above, were of the same opinion, though the former suggests a possible difference. Upon the whole, then, it is highly probable that the Susanna of our story is the wife of king Jehoiachin, of whom the Midrash speaks. Amid whatever variations of outward form, an essential similarity has so far been established between the Greek History of Susanna and certain Haggadic passages in the Talmud and Midrash.

We have now to consider the intervention of Daniel, and his examination of the two false witnesses. In the Midrashic story, too, we see a third person intervening, whose moral rectitude shines out in vivid contrast with the turpitude of the two prophets, at the moment of their penal destruction. Joshua ben Josedech the High Priest is so far an adumbration of the Daniel of Susanna. But the conception of Daniel as a judge cross-questioning the witnesses is conspicuous by its absence from the Talmudic and Midrashic stories about the wicked prophets and about Susanna; that is to say, it is unknown to the popular tradition (*Volkssage*), and did not belong to the original story of Susanna. It is not, however, due to the mere fancy of the author; and as it, in fact, constitutes the kernel of the whole narrative, it deserves careful consideration. Now there happens to be preserved in the Mishna a fragmentary notice of an exactly similar examination of witnesses. In *Sanhedr.* 5, 2, it is written: מעשה שבדק בן זכאי בעוקצי תאנים, "Once upon a time Ben Zakkai put questions about fig-stems." Two other fragments of this old Halachah are quoted in Bab. *Sanhedr.* 41 A: אמרו לו תחת תאינה הרגו, "They said unto him, 'He slew him under a fig-tree.'" This informs us of the charge. אמר להן תאינה זו עוקציה דקין עוקציה גסין תאנים שחורות תאנים לבנות. "He said unto them, 'As to that fig-tree, were its stems thin or thick? were the figs dark or pale?'" This shews the nature of the cross-examination of the accusers. The deduction כל המרבה בבדיקות הרי זה משובח, "Whoso doeth much in cross-questioning witnesses, lo that man is to be praised," indicates that the cross-examination resulted in a disproof of the charge; so that the case is a complete parallel to the one before us. Here again, therefore, the proper conclusion seems to be that the author of Susanna has simply given another shape to pre-existing materials. What was his object in thus remodelling, combining, and enlarging the old popular traditions? The moral added in the LXX. text shews that it was early perceived that the aim of the piece was *didactic*, not *historical*. But the contrast between youth and age is too superficial. The contrast is between two kinds of criminal procedure, which are represented, not

by a dry general description, but by a concrete instance of their actual working. The author's aim is to portray certain deplorable defects inherent in the administration of justice in his own time, and to suggest a radical cure.

The proofs are evident in the story itself. (1.) Ahab and Zedekiah, who elsewhere are lying prophets, or medical rogues, are here *judges* who bear false witness. (2.) Daniel too is a judge, though elsewhere he has nothing to do with things judicial. (3.) The entire action is mainly developed in the hall of judgment. (4.) The two references to Scripture which occur in the piece bear upon justice and its administrators (Exod. xxiii. 7; Zech. 5, 6, 8, 11). (5.) The indirect citation of the Pentateuchal law for punishing false witnesses with the same penalty that the accused would have suffered, would seem superfluous, if the author had not meant to shew that the application of the same was in place in the case he describes. (6.) The plan of the piece indicates that the traditions about the Babylonian false prophets and Susanna are merely the substructure for the representation of *the examination of witnesses* by which Susanna's innocence was established.

And here we may add another remarkable coincidence. Simon ben Shetach, the well-known President of the Sanhedrin, taught in words what Ben Zakkai taught by example. See *Pirqê 'Abôth*, i. 9:

שמעון בן שטח אומר הוי מרבה לחקור את העדים והוי זהיר בדבריך שמא מתוכם ילמדו לשקר׃

"Simon ben Shetach used to say, Examine the witnesses abundantly, and be cautious in thy words, lest they learn from them to give false answers." This saying appears to have been the fruit of bitter personal experience. Simon's own son is said to have been condemned to death, on the testimony of witnesses suborned by Simon's enemies. The witnesses confessed the truth just before the execution; but their victim refused to be tried again. "Father," said he, "if thou desirest that help come through thee, use me as a threshold." (Jerus. *Sanhedr.* vi. 3: אבא אם בקשת לבוא תשועה על ידך עשה אותי כאסקופה.) In other words, the son was willing to be a conspicuous example of the judicial abuse against which his father was agitating. About this time probably Ben Zakkai lived, who, as we have seen, instituted a more stringent process of inquiry; and the Story of Susanna may well be a product of the same period, intended to advocate the claims of this innovation in the practice of the courts, by a striking example of the miscarriage of justice under the old system, and of its complete vindication by the new method. But Simon ben Shetach was also the champion of another reform in connexion with the law of testimony. As the brother-in-law of king Alexander Jannæus (acc. 106 B.C.), he was able, after a long struggle, to secure the triumph of his party the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin, and of their principles in the administration of the law, over their opponents the Sadducees, who had been dominant under Hyrcanus and until the close of the reign of Jannai. According to Sadducean principles, they who had falsely accused a man of a capital crime were only put to death, if the sentence had already been executed on their victim. The legal aphorism, "life for life," was construed literally. The Pharisees, on the other hand, relying upon Deut. xix. 19, considered the *intention* of the accusers as equivalent to actual murder. According to them, the maxim "life for life" came into application as soon as, in consequence of the false depositions, sentence had been pronounced, although not yet carried out. The law at the time extraordinarily favoured informations. The witnesses, who were also the accusers, were only examined about the main fact, so that their falsehood could not easily become evident; and even if it did, they got off without punishment, though the accused had actually been executed.

This crying evil the Pharisaic party sought to remedy by the introduction of a more rigorous examination of witnesses, and by making the law more severe against false witnesses. The partiality and prejudice of the judges are attested by a saying of Judah ben Tabbai, the colleague of Simon ben Shetach; see *Pirqê 'Abôth*, i. 8. And, according to the Talmudic *Sota* 22 B, Jannai left his wife Salome the warning: "Be not afraid of

the Pharisees, nor of those who are not Pharisees (*i.e.* the Sadducees); but (be afraid of) the painted ones, who look like the Pharisees, whose works are like the work of Zimri, and who seek the reward of Phinehas." The state of things thus indicated is mirrored in our Apocryphon. The two Elders are counterparts of the "painted ones." Susanna is treated as an adulteress, without examination of the witnesses. At the right moment, Daniel, the personified *judgment of God*, appears on the scene. He knows Susanna's innocence by inspiration; but he will shew the people how a Sanhedrin ought to ascertain the truth. Each of the witnesses must be questioned separately about the details of the charge. The Sadducean interpretation of the law would have let off the guilty Elders; but the Pharisaic principle is rigorously carried out in their execution.

From all this, it appears to be a highly probable conclusion that this Apocryphon is an Anti-Sadducean *Tendenz-Schrift*, in which not unskilfully the matter of an old tradition about the punishment of some seducers of women is worked up into an instructive picture of a certain period. Its aim was twofold: (1) To illustrate the utility of an investigation of particulars such as Ben Zakkai actually practised at the time; and (2) to accentuate the necessity of a rigorous punishment of false witnesses, independently of the question whether an accused person has suffered on the ground of their evidence, or not. The former point is especially prominent, as being distinctly an innovation. The fact that the son of Simon ben Shetach was obliged to submit to death in order to secure the punishment of his lying accusers, proves that the court which tried him consisted of members of the Sadducean party. This event, which probably occurred during the bloody struggles between the persecuted Pharisees and the Sadducees favoured by Jannai, between the years 94–89 B.C., must have roused popular indignation, and powerfully furthered Simon's projects of legal reform, and the ascendency of the Pharisaic party. It also called forth the History of Susanna. If this account of the origin and tendency of the work be accepted, it must evidently be regarded as a plant of Palestinian rather than Alexandrian growth. The primary language was probably neo-Hebrew. The Greek of Theodotion falls back easily into Hebrew, and that of the LXX., although somewhat more free, and variously interpolated, is essentially Hebraising. From Babylonia the original elements of the story passed to Judæa, and the Alexandrian translator and editor may have received it thence either in the shape of an oral or a written relation. It is true that we have no direct evidence from ancient times for the existence in Hebrew or Chaldee of the Story of Susanna as we know it. Nachmani, the only old Jewish writer who mentions it, quotes part of Judith i. 7, 8, 11 from the Peshito Syriac, with the reference כמו שכתוב במגלת שושן, "as it is written in the Roll of Shushan," *i.e.* probably Susanna. Perhaps he has not so much confused Judith with Susanna, as cited the former from a 'Book of Holy Women' in which the Story of Susanna came first.

In the Greek MSS. and common editions, the narrative is commonly given as Dan. i. So also in Old Lat. and Arab. Chronological propriety suggested this arrangement, as it purports to relate an episode of Daniel's youth. But as the place is Babylonia, and the time the Captivity, a better position would obviously have been *after* Dan. i. The LXX. text, the Vulgate, and the Complutensian edition, relegate the piece to the end of Daniel, as a mere addition or appendix to the canonical work (ch. xiii.). The Syro-Hexaplar also places it, along with Bel and the Dragon, at the end of the book, separating it from the canonical portion by the note, "Finished is Daniel according to the tradition of the Seventy," and by a further note relating to the Greek codex.

The two Greek texts, that of the LXX. and that of Theodotion, differ remarkably in the opening of the story. There are four Syriac texts, of which two appear in Walton.[1] The others known to the

[1] The remarkable additions and omissions of these texts may partly depend on traditions known to the translators, but long since lost.

writer are the Syro-Hexaplar, and a fourth text, of which Lagarde has given extracts in his 'Apocrypha Syriace.'[1]

The Syro-Hexaplar is from the LXX.; the rest apparently are based upon Theodotion's recension. In the LXX. text there is a strange *lacuna* at the outset, in which the context indicates that particulars relating to the two Elders must have been imparted. The words of Daniel to the two miscreants (*vv.* 52, 56) involve references to former misconduct not related in the existing mutilated narrative, but once probably communicated in the missing verses. Perhaps the omission was intentionally made by those who inserted the narrative in the Hagiographa, in order to avoid defaming the Jewesses of the Exile. Theodotion completed the truncated text by details about Susanna's family connexions, and this involved further changes. The expression "in that year" (*v.* 5) points to the existence of a chronological datum in what once preceded.

[1] These texts are indicated in the notes as Syr. W_1. and Syr. W_2. (the so-called Harklensian); Syr. H.; and Syr. L_2. I have used A. M. Ceriani's beautiful photo-lithograph of 'Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus' (Milan, 1874), as well as Bugati (1788). This version was made at Alexandria, A.D. 617, according to the subscription, which runs thus: "Daniel according to the Seventy. Finished is the Book of Daniel the prophet, which has been interpreted from the tradition of the Seventy and Two, who in the days of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, before the coming of the Messiah a hundred years, more or less, interpreted the Holy Scriptures out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, in Alexandria the great city. Now this book was interpreted also out of Greek into Syriac in the city Alexandria, in the month Kanûn Posterior of the year nine hundred and twenty-eight of Alexander, Fifth Indiction." It is an accurate rendering from the Greek, and contributes much to the restoration of the text.

THE

HISTORY OF SUSANNA,

Set apart from the beginning of *DANIEL*, because it is not in the Hebrew, as neither the Narration of ‖*BEL and the DRAGON.*

‖ Gr. *Bel dragon.*

16 *Two judges hide themselves in the garden of Susanna to have their pleasure of her:* 28 *which when they could not obtain, they accuse and cause her to be condemned for adultery:* 46 *but Daniel examineth the matter again, and findeth the two judges false.*

THERE dwelt a man in Babylon, called Joacim:

2 And he took a wife, whose name was Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.

3 Her parents also were righteous, and taught their daughter according to the law of Moses.

4 Now Joacim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining

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Verses 1–5*a* belong to Theodotion, and Cod. Chisian. and Syr. H. have marked them as added to the LXX. from his text. Fritzsche thinks that the LXX. either began the story with *v.* 5, or that some such words as ἦσαν δὲ δύο πρεσβύτεροι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι have been lost in their text. But see the Introduction *ad fin.* Syr. W_2.: "When Daniel was twelve years old, there was a man whose name was Joacim, and he had a wife whose name was Shushan," &c.

1. *Joacim.*] Joacim, in the Gk. Ἰωακεὶμ, is of course the Heb. יהויקים or Jehoiakim. Cf. Judith iv. 6. Ammonius, Hippolytus, Syncellus, and many others have identified him with the king of Judah who was carried captive to Babylon and afterwards liberated: 2 Kings xxiv. 15; xxv. 27 *sqq.* Bugati's objection that this is to confuse יהויקים with יהויכין, Jehoiakim with Jehoiachin, does not hold: see 3 Esdr. i. 39, 43, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5, 9. Fritzsche observes that although Joacim is styled "more honourable than all others" (*v.* 4), his entire position in the story does not harmonize with the hypothesis that he was king; indeed, had he been so, it must have been expressly stated. But see the Introd.

2. *Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias.*] The majority of MSS. spell the first name Σουσάννα. Fritzsche notes that Cod. II. and others give Σωσάννα; and so Tischendorf has edited (LXX. Vat., 5th ed.): but Dr. Bissell says this is a mistake as regards Cod. II., which has Σουσάννα throughout. The name is a transliteration of שׁוֹשַׁנָּה (*Šōšannā*), "lily," which does not occur as a proper name in the O. T.; but see Luke viii. 3. This story of the woman who was both chaste and fair as a lily may have popularized the name. Shushan, Dan. viii. 2, the capital of Susiana, is obviously not an originally Heb. word. Chelcias, Gk. Χελκίας, is the Heb. חלקיה, "Hilkiah." So the Arab. and Syr. H. The common text (Walton, Lagarde) has ܗܠܩܢܐ, which apparently confuses the name with Elkanah. The latter text makes him a priest, and relates that the synagogue met in the house of Joacim, and that Susanna lived in wedlock a few days only, and had spent the rest of her time as a pious widow. Compare the story of Judith. Hilkiah was a common priestly name: see 1 Chron. vi. 13, 45, ix. 11; Jer. i. 1; also 2 Kings xviii. 18, xxii. 8, 12.

a very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord.] The union of beauty with virtue, the ideal of womanhood, was realized in her. Verse 3, as Hippolytus notes, suggests the reason.

3. *righteous.*] δίκαιοι, צדיקים. As such, they "taught" (ἐδίδαξαν = had taught) their daughter, as the Law enjoined: Deut. iv. 9, 10; vi. 7, 20; Ex. xiii. 14.

4. *a great rich man.*] Lit., "very rich"—πλούσιος σφόδρα (Gen. xiii. 2). The term rendered "fair garden" is παράδεισος, the Gk. form of a word denoting in Persian a royal park or pleasure-ground. Xenophon brought the term into Gk. use: cf. 'Anab.' i. 2, 7; 'Cyrop.' i. 3, 12. Photius and Pollux state that the word is Persian. In Heb. it occurs in the form פַּרְדֵּס, *pardēs*, Cant. iv. 13; Eccl. ii. 5; Neh. ii. 8. The Vendîdâd has it in the form *pairidaêza*, "enclosure," "park;" and in Armenian *pardēz* is "the garden round a house." Cf. the Syr. *pardaisâ*, "garden." The Old Lat. here has *viridarium*, "a plantation" or "pleasure-garden;" Vulg. *pomarium*, "orchard."

joining.] "Joining" is γειτνιῶν, "neighbour-

unto his house: and to him resorted the Jews; because he was more honourable than all others.

5 The same year were appointed two of the ancients of the people to be judges, such as the Lord spake of, that wickedness came from Babylon from ancient judges, who seemed to govern the people.

6 These kept much at Joacim's house: and all that had any suits in law came unto them.

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ing:" see Job xxvi. 5 (Symmachus); 2 Macc. ix. 25.

resorted.] "Used to resort," προσήγοντο (Josh. vii. 17, 18). Συνήγ., the reading of Codd. 34, 36, 48, &c., is more usual in this sense. As a wealthy and influential man, Joacim was accustomed to receive numbers of his countrymen, and no doubt to dispense to them his advice and assistance in case of need. Syr. W_2. adds: "and the synagogue was in his house. And few days was Susanna with her husband, and the rest of her life was she in widowhood, and day and night in the service of the Lord was she occupied."

Julius Africanus objected to the statement of this verse, that it was incredible that Joacim could have been so rich and powerful in the Captivity. Origen rightly replied that the deported Jews were not all so plundered that none were left wealthy. Besides, we know that when they had had time to settle down in their new country, they soon began to prosper as merchants and traders, just as they have done in every other foreign land throughout the history of their dispersions. Comparatively few of the exiles availed themselves of Cyrus' permission to return to Judah. The great majority remained in their adopted country; and in the Roman times Babylonia and Mesopotamia were the home of vast communities of Jews, who possessed great wealth, and dwelt in strongly-fortified cities. Cf. Tobit i. 13, 14, 22.

5. *The same year.*] "In that year;" *i.e.*, apparently, the year of Joacim's marriage, *v.* 2. For "ancients" or *elders* see note on Judith vi. 16. Cf. also Isa. iii. 14. It is clear from various passages of the O. T. that Israelite townships enjoyed a kind of municipal government under their own elders, who constituted the town council or γερουσία (*senatus*). Josephus, 'Ant.' iv. 8, ascribes to Moses the constitution of a council of seven elders or magistrates for each city. But see Ruth iv. 2, where ten elders of Bethlehem are spoken of. Grotius thinks that the two Elders of this story were appointed as assessors of the αἰχμαλωταρχῆς or גלותא ריש, the chief of the exiles. There is no reason to doubt that the scattered communities of the deported Jews were permitted, as in later times, to observe their own laws: cf. Esth. iii. 8. But it is hardly likely that their judges exercised the power of life and death, as *v.* 62 implies.

such as the Lord.] Rather, "of whom the Lord spake: Lawlessness hath gone forth from Babylon from elder-judges who were accounted to govern the people." The words purport to contain a direct reference to some prophetic utterance; and in form partly correspond with Jer. xxiii. 15: ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐξῆλθε μολυσμὸς πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. It is very probable, as Fritzsche observes, that the apparent quotation is really due to a reminiscence of Jer. xxix. 20–23. Jewish tradition, indeed, identifies the two Elders with the adulterous prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, "whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." But the tradition may have grown out of Jeremiah's words, "Because they have committed villany in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives." The objection to it is that Ahab and Zedekiah were prophets, not elder-judges; *they* were burned alive by Nebuchadnezzar, whereas the two Elders were stoned by the Jews, according to the Law (*v.* 62. The LXX., however, says: ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐῤῥιψε πῦρ διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν). Walton's Syr. 2 is unique in giving the names of the two Elders, *Amid* and *Abid* (not *Anid*, as Fuller); *i.e.*, apparently, "Drowned" and "Lost."

As regards the words "who seemed to govern"—οἱ ἐδόκουν κυβερνᾶν—we may compare Mark x. 42 (see Matt. xx. 25); Luke xxii. 24; Gal. vi. 3, ii. 9 (οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι); 1 Cor. x. 12, vii. 40, xi. 16, xiv. 37. This seems better than to understand by the words that the Jews had only the *shadow* of self-government at the time. S. Jerome: "Qui injuste praesunt populo tantum nomen habent judicum: regere videntur populum magis quam regunt." (So Ammonius: ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ κυβερνῆσαι, καὶ εἰς ναυάγια ἐποίουν ἐμπεσεῖν τὰς ψυχάς.) Syr. W_1.: "who were ministering in the temple" (!). Syr. W_2.: "who are accounted heads of the people."

6. *These kept much.*] The Gk. verb is προσεκαρτέρουν; Vulg. *frequentabant:* see Num. xiii. 20; Acts i. 14, ii. 46. Render: "These would (or were wont to) abide . . . and all . . . would come."

and all that had any suits.] οἱ κρινόμενοι, *litem agere;* Job xxxv. 14, xiii. 19; Matt. v. 40; 1 Cor. vi. 6: ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ κρίνεται. LXX.: "and suits (*caussae*) used to come from other towns unto them," viz. for hearing. Cf. Exod. xxii. 9; xxiv. 14.

7 Now when the people departed away at noon, Susanna went into her husband's garden to walk.

8 And the two elders saw her going in every day, and walking; so that their lust was inflamed toward her.

9 And they perverted their own mind, and turned away their eyes, that they might not look unto heaven, nor remember just judgments.

10 And albeit they both were wounded with her love, yet durst not one shew another his grief.

11 For they were ashamed to declare their lust, that they desired to have to do with her.

12 Yet they watched diligently from day to day to see her.

13 And the one said to the other, Let us now go home: for it is dinner time.

14 So when they were gone out,

7, 8. *Now when the people departed away.*] Lit. "And it came to pass (so also *v.* 19), when the people used to run away, Susanna would go in and walk about in her husband's garden. And the two elders used to watch her," &c. (The verbs are imperfects.) The LXX. uses ἀποτρέχειν, "to run off," as = Heb. הָלַךְ, *abiit:* Gen. xiii. 19. Syr. W_1. adds, "with her maidens;" Syr. W_2. omits the verse.

Instead of *v.* 8, Syr. W_2. has: "And these two heads of the people loved Susanna, without each other's knowledge; and desire of her beauty held them."

The LXX. text of these two verses runs thus: "These having seen a woman of a goodly countenance (ἀστείαν τῷ εἴδει: cf. Jud. viii. 7), wife of a brother (*i.e.* fellow-countryman; Exod. ii. 11. Heb. usage, Acts iii. 22) of theirs, one of the sons of Israel, by name (ὄνομα, as in Xen. 'Anab.' i. 2, 23, &c.; cf. Matt. xxvii. 57) Susanna, daughter of Chelcias, wife of Joacim, walking in her husband's garden at eventide (τὸ δειλινόν, Lev. vi. 20; Exod. xxix. 39, 41; Gen. iii. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 29), and having desired her (Matt. v. 28) they perverted their own mind," &c. It is, in fact, evident from that part of this text which corresponds to *v.* 28 *ap.* Theod. that the Elders are not conceived as living in the same town as Joacim, and that Susanna's trial was held neither in his house nor even in his place of residence. Nor does the older text allege the fact that Joacim's house was a meeting-place for his fellow-countrymen as the occasion of the Elders seeing Susanna. It simply states that they did happen to see her walking in her husband's garden.

9. *they perverted their own mind, &c.*] Theod. has retained this verse from the older text.

turned away their eyes that they might not.] Cf. Dan. ix. 11: ἐξέκλιναν τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς σου. Contrast Dan. ix. 3: "I set my face unto the Lord God," &c.; and Ps. cxix. 37, Heb. xii. 2. The "just judgments" are those of Heaven against evil-doers. (Syr. W_2. adds "of God.") Cf. Ps. cxix. 120. The last clause clearly defines the preceding one more accurately; or else we might take the words in the sense of *right decisions* or *resolves*. See John ix. 39; Acts xxiv. 25; Ps. cxix. 75. There is something pictorial, too, in making these men *look downwards*, like the brute beasts whose example they were following. "Heaven," however, is doubtless here, as in Luke xv. 18, a metonym for *God*—cf. Dan. iv. 23—which became quite common in later Hebrew, *e.g.* in Maccabees, and the Mishna.

10, 11. *And albeit they both.*] Lit. "And they were both sorely pricked about her, and they declared not to one another their pain," &c. κατανενυγμένοι is "sore pricked," or "stung;" cf. Acts ii. 37, κατενύγησαν τῇ καρδίᾳ. But the words that follow seem to indicate that another meaning—that of stupefaction or silence—may be intended here: see Lev. x. 3; Isa. xlvii. 5; Ps. iv. 4; and especially Dan. x. 9, 15. For the sense of being *stung* with pain, remorse, &c., see Gen. xxxiv. 7; Ecclus. xii. 12, xiv. 1, xx. 21, xlvii. 20.

The Vulg. has: *vulnerati amore ejus.*

For *vv.* 10, 11, Syr. W_1. has: "And they both desired her, to be with her after the manner of women; and they revealed not their stroke, one to another, because they were wishing to be with her in secret." Syr. W_2.: "But they two were watching for her, and were wishing to disgrace her."

After the words, "And both were sorely pricked about her," the LXX. text continues: "and one to the other would not admit the evil (οὐ προσεποιεῖτο τὸ κακόν) which possessed them about her, nor did the woman know this matter." Οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, *dissimulabat*, i.e. made as if the thing were not so—masked or disguised his real state of feeling. (Thucyd. iii. 47. 3.)

12. *Yet they watched diligently.*] "And they kept close and rival watch" (παρετηροῦσαν φιλοτίμως). For the form of the aorist, see εἶδοσαν, *v.* 18; ἐξῆλθοσαν, *v.* 19; ἐκλαίοσαν, *v.* 33 in LXX.; ὠμίλουσαν, *v.* 57. At the end, Syr. W_2. rightly adds: "alone."

13. *And the one said.*] Something seems to have fallen out of the text. Syr. W_2. fills

they parted one from the other, and turning back again they came to the same place; and after that they had asked one another the cause, they acknowledged their lust: then appointed they a time both together, when they might find her alone.

15 And it fell out, as they watched a fit time, she went in ‖as before with two maids only, and she was desirous to wash herself in the garden: for it was hot.

‖ Gr. *as yesterday and the day before.*

16 And there was no body there save the two elders, that had hid themselves, and watched her.

17 Then she said to her maids, Bring me oil and washing balls, and shut the garden doors, that I may wash me.

18 And they did as she bade them, and shut the garden doors, and went out themselves at ‖privy doors to fetch the things that she had commanded them: but they saw not the elders, because they were hid.

‖ Or, *side doors.*

19 Now when the maids were gone forth, the two elders rose up, and ran unto her, saying,

20 Behold, the garden doors are shut, that no man can see us, and

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up the apparent lacuna thus: "Now it happened one day, when the assembly broke up, they were waiting to see her when she entered the garden, and they parted not the one from his fellow." Then follows *v.* 13.

Instead of *vv.* 12–21, the LXX. has: "And when it was early morning (*i.e.* on the day of the elders' wicked attempt), they tried to steal a march on each other, making haste to see which would present himself to her first, and address her (ἐρχόμενοι ἔκλεπτον ἀλλήλους σπεύδοντες, τίς φανήσεται αὐτῇ πρότερος κ.τ.λ. Cf. Mark xvi. 9). And, behold, she, according to her custom, was walking about, and the one of the elders was come; and, behold, the other arrived, and one questioned the other, saying, Why wentest thou forth thus at early morning by thyself, without taking (Matt. iv. 5) me along with thee? And they fully confessed to one another each his pain. And one said to the other, Let us go unto her; and having agreed (συνθέμενοι), they came to her, and began to press her hard (ἐξεβιάζοντο αὐτήν, Ps. xxxviii. 12; Wisd. xiv. 19; Esth. vii. 8 (B)). And the Jewess said to them," &c. (*v.* 22).

14. *asked one another.*] Ἀνετάζοντες ἀλλήλους τὴν αἰτίαν. The rare ἀνετάζειν (here used c. dupl. acc.) occurs Judges vi. 29 (Alex.), where the Vatic. MS. has the common ἐπιζητεῖν, and in Acts xxii. 24, 29, in the sense of questioning a man by torture.

The Syriac texts vary much from the other versions and from each other in this verse.

appointed they a time.] Συνετάξαντο καιρόν. For the verb, see Polyb. ix. 17. 1; Job ii. 11 (varr.). "Both together" is κοινῇ (Codd. 34, 230, 245 add γνώμῃ): Ecclus. xviii. 1.

15. *as they watched a fit time.*] See *v.* 12 for the verb. With ἡμέραν εὔθετον cf. ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ, Ps. xxxii. 6 (Heb. "at a time of finding").

she went in as before.] Lit., "she went in once, as yesterday and the day before;" *i.e.* as aforetime (εἰσῆλθέ ποτε καθὼς χθὲς καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας. Codd. XII. 26, 34, τρίτην ἡμέραν, which is the more usual Gk. form of this common Hebrew phrase. See Gen. xxxi. 2; Exod. v. 7, 14; Josh. iv. 18. Homer's χθιζά τε καὶ πρωϊζά, and the Attic ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην, are similar). Syr. W_2.: "according to the custom she had."

16. *that had hid themselves, and watched her.*] "In hiding, and watching her closely;" like evil beasts biding their time for a spring. The verb is παρατηρέω, which is almost equivalent to *insidiari*: see *vv.* 12, 15, *supra*. Syr. W_2. calls them "chiefs of the synagogue."

17. *washing balls.*] Gk. σμήγματα (III. 23, 26, *al.* σμῆγμα). The more Attic form is σμῆμα. In the LXX. (Esth. ii. 3, 9, 12) the word renders Heb. תַּמְרוּקִים, *abstersiones*, a term denoting the cleansing of the person by means of *cosmetics*, which was customary on reception into the harem. Here, too, the sense seems to be the same, viz. perfumed *unguents*, *cosmetics*, rather than *soap* (Jer. ii. 22). Syr. W_1. has ܙܡܝܡܐ, the same word (σμῆμα) apparently; Syr. W_2. ܐܝܠܐ, which is said to mean the herb alkali. Fritzsche refers to Athenaeus and Galen for proof that the *Greek* term was used in three senses: (1) *soap*; (2) *perfumes*; (3) in medical writers, vegetable *saps*, and *ointments*.

Susanna wanted the oil and cosmetics for use *after*, not *before* or *in*, the bath.

18. *shut.*] "Shut fast" (ἀπέκλεισαν).

at privy doors.] "By the side doors"—κατὰ τὰς πλαγίας θύρας. Vulg. *per posticum*, "through a back door." Arab.: "side doors."

because.] Rather, "that." The construction is like that of Gen. i. 4; Exod. ii. 2.

19. *ran unto her.*] "Ran upon her," in the sense of assault: see 1 Macc. vi. 45.

we are in love with thee: therefore consent unto us, and lie with us.

21 If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee, that a young man was with thee: and therefore thou didst send away thy maids from thee.

22 Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands.

23 It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.

24 With that Susanna cried with a loud voice: and the two elders cried out against her.

25 Then ran the one, and opened the garden door.

26 So when the servants of the house heard the cry in the garden, they rushed in at a privy door, to see what was done unto her.

27 But when the elders had declared their matter, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna.

28 And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled

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20, 21. *consent unto us.*] *συγκατάθου ἡμῖν.* Cf. Exod. xxiii. 1, 32; Luke xxiii. 51. Old Lat. *consenti nobis.* For the following phrase (Gk. *γενοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν*), see Gen. xxxix. 10; 2 Sam. xiii. 20; Tobit iii. 8; and *v.* 54 *infra* (LXX. text). Having resolved on the deed, these Elders and these Judges make no scruple about words. Cf. the scene in which Angelo declares his purpose to Isabel, 'Measure for Measure,' Act ii. sc. 4, towards the end:

"I have begun;
And now I give my sensual race the rein:
Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite.
* * * *
As for you,
Say what you can, my false o'erweighs your true."

22. *sighed.*] Or, "groaned aloud" (*ἀνεστέναξε*). Cf. Lam. i. 4; Eccles. xxv. 18.

I am straitened on every side.] For this phrase—*στενά μοι πάντοθεν*—see 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 (1 Chron. xxi. 13), where it is used by David. It expresses the sense of a *dilemma.* Susanna felt her choice restricted to two alternatives, either of which would destroy her. If she yielded, she would be liable to death as an unfaithful wife (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; John viii. 5); and if she refused, false witness would bring about the same result, and upon the same ground. She does not, like Shakspere's Isabel, in the first moments of surprise and indignation at the discovery of their shameful purpose, break out into threats of exposure. The lamb knows itself in the power of the wolves.

Old Lat. *angustiae mihi undique.* The phrase is wanting in the LXX. text, where Susanna's words begin: "I know that if I do this thing," &c., as in Theod. After "it is death to me," Syr. W_1.: "because I (shall) have dishonoured my husband Joacim's bed; and if I do it not, I shall receive an evil death at your hands, with an evil name that beseemeth not my rank; and shame I shall leave to all my family, from the false witness of wicked men, who add to the breach and evil of Israel with derision among the strange peoples."

23. *It is better.*] Compare Joseph's reply to his tempter, Gen. xxxix. 9; and David's words, 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

S. Jerome objects, that to say continency is *better* is to allow some sort of goodness to the sin itself. But the comparison is not here instituted of the *morality* of the actions, but of the *danger* attending them; in other words, she argues that it is better to suffer a temporal than an eternal punishment.

24–27. These details are wanting in the text of the LXX. and in Syr. H. Theodotion has developed the story considerably.

24. *cried out against her.*] "Over against her;" "before her." Gk. *κατέναντι αὐτῆς.* Vulg. *adversus eam.* It is the Heb. לנגד, נגד, or לפני; the Chaldee לקבל, Dan. v. 1. (So Syr.)

25. *Then ran the one.*] Lit. "and the one ran and opened the doors:" *nempe quasi adulterum persequens,* as Grotius rightly explains.

26. *the servants of the house.*] *οἱ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.* A well-known idiom, expressing in brief that the servants *in* the house rushed out *from* the house. Syr.: "sons of the house."

rushed in at a privy door.] "Leaped in through the side door," or "postern." Cf. *v.* 18 *supra;* Gen. vi. 16: *τὴν δὲ θύραν τῆς κιβωτοῦ ποιήσεις ἐκ πλαγίων.* For the verb, Amos v. 19.

27. *declared their matter.*] "Spoken their words;" *i.e.* their accusation of Susanna, which Syr. W_1. gives at length, beginning: "It happened, *as we were passing by outside of the*

to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death;

29 And said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, Joacim's wife. And so they sent.

30 So she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred.

31 Now Susanna was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.

32 And these wicked men commanded to uncover her *face*, (for she was covered) that they might be filled with her beauty.

33 Therefore her friends and all that saw her wept.

34 Then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head.

35 And she weeping looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.

36 And the elders said, As we

garden, we looked over to see the garden, and we saw Susanna," &c. The italicized words do not agree with *vv.* 36, 38 *infra*. Syr. W_2. is briefer: "Susanna has committed adultery, and we caught her with a young man in the garden." At the end it adds: "And they threw chains upon Susanna, and she was in the house of ward three days." The confusion of the slaves, and the reason assigned for it, is a natural touch. Had their mistress been subject to ill report, they would hardly have been so strongly affected in the present instance.

28. *full of mischievous imagination.*] "Full of their (*τῆς*) lawless (*i.e.* iniquitous) intent." They sat as judges frequently in Joacim's house: *vv.* 4, 5 *supra*. (Syr. W_1. adds the purpose of the assembly: "to inquire concerning Susanna; that if she had indeed done this uncleanness . . . she might be put to death.") The two miscreants determined to destroy Susanna, not only to protect themselves from possible consequences of their villany, but also because foiled passion is apt to turn to deadly hate. The cool audacity of their behaviour reminds us again of Shakspere's Angelo:

"'Tis not impossible
But one, the wicked'st caitiff on the ground,
May seem as shy, as grave, as just, as absolute,
As Angelo; even so may Angelo,
In all his dressings, characts, titles, forms,
Be an arch-villain."

After the words of Susanna (*v.* 23), the LXX. proceeds thus: "But the men of Belial (*οἱ παράνομοι ἄνδρες*, Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Macc. i. 12, 36; Wisd. iii. 16) departed, threatening in themselves (Gen. xxvii. 42), and plotting (*ἐνεδρεύοντες*, Ecclus. xi. 31. Hesych. explains, *δόλον μηχανᾶται*), that they might put her to death; and they came to the synagogue of the city where they were dwelling, and they who were there, all the sons of Israel, held a council (*συνήδρευσαν*). And the two elders and judges stood up, and said, Send for Susanna, &c. (*v.* 29), and straightway they called her."

29. *Send for . . . so they sent.*] *Ἀποστέλλω ἐπί τινα* in this sense is rare: Deut. xxviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxx. 1; Neh. vi. 3.

31. *very delicate.*] *τρυφερὰ σφόδρα.* The word is here used in a good sense, of personal beauty: cf. Deut. xxviii. 54, 56. Often it means "voluptuous," "luxurious," "effeminate:" Isa. xlvii. 1, 8. Syr. W_1. adds: "and she was gentler than all women, and her attire was very sober"

32. *commanded to uncover her face.*] Or, "that she be unveiled:" see Num. v. 18 (LXX.). The act was according to law, but the Elders had another motive, as the verse declares. The LXX. text states this even more plainly: *ἵνα ἐμπλησθῶσι ἐπιθυμίας κάλλους αὐτῆς* (so Syr. H. and W_2.). To strip off the veil was to treat her as a common courtesan.

33. *her friends and all that saw her.*] "Now her friends (*οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς*, Xen. 'Anab.' i. 1, 5), and all who saw (XII. 23, *et multi; εἰδότες*, 'knew:' LXX. *ὅσοι ᾔδεισαν*, Dan. vi. 5, 8; Mark i. 34; Vulg. *qui noverant*) her were weeping" (or, "began to weep," at the sight of the degradation done to her). In the LXX. *v.* 30 runs thus: "Now when the woman arrived with her father and mother, her men-servants also and her maids, being in number five hundred, arrived, and the four children (*παιδία*) of Susanna." Syr. H. also gives the number 500 (not "fifty," as Fuller).

34. *laid their hands upon her head.*] The symbolical act which the law prescribed for witnesses in criminal cases. See Lev. xxiv. 14; Deut. xiii. 9, xvii. 7; Acts vii. 58. Dr. Bissell wrongly refers to lifting up the hand as a sign of adjuration (Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 40). The LXX. text is: "But the elders and judges (see *vv.* 29, 41: their usual designation. On the present occasion they were witnesses, not judges) stood up and laid their hands upon her head."

35. *looked up toward heaven.*] At the moment when the accusers laid their hands upon her head. Comp. Matt. xiv. 19; Luke ix. 16;

walked in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away.

37 Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her.

38 Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them.

39 And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, and opened the door, and leaped out.

40 But having taken this woman, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify.

41 Then the assembly believed them, as those that were the elders and judges of the people: so they condemned her to death.

42 Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, O everlasting God, thou knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be:

43 Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me, and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did such things as these men have maliciously invented against me.

44 And the Lord heard her voice.

Mark vi. 41, vii. 34; and contrast *v.* 9 *supra*. The upward look referred the cause to a higher tribunal, and expressed entire confidence in its righteous dealing. The lesson taught is essentially the same as that of Dan. iii. 17, 18; vi. 16, 22.

The LXX. gives the verse thus: "But her heart was trusting upon the Lord her God, and having thrown her head back (*ἀνακύψασα=ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, Theod.) she wept in herself, saying, O Lord, the eternal God," &c. (*v.* 42). Fritzsche, after Bugati, inserts *τρὶς* before the participle, remarking, "non legitur in c. Chis. sed habet Syr. B." But the Syriac word wrongly rendered *τρὶς* by Bugati means "she lifted up" (ܐܣܩ).

37. The meaning of *ἀνέπεσε* (*μετ' αὐτῆς*) is not noticed in the last ed. of Liddell and Scott. Vulg. *concubuit cum ea.* The usual meaning of the word is "to recline at table," like *ἀνακεῖμαι*: Tobit ii. 1; Judith xii. 15; Ecclus. xxxii. 1. In Gen. xlix. 9, however, the word is used of "lying down to sleep"—*ἀναπεσὼν ἐκοιμήθη ὡς λέων.*

39. *hold.*] Lit., "get the mastery of," *ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι.* The phrase occurs 2 Macc. viii. 30, x. 17, xiii. 13; Ecclus. vi. 27. Cod. III. reads *περικρατεῖς*; see Acts xxvii. 16, *περικρ. γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης.* For the next phrase, cf. Exod. i. 9.

40. *having taken this woman.*] "Having laid hold of her;" *ἐπιλαβόμενοι ταύτης*: cf. Judges xii. 6; xvi. 3, 21; xix. 25, 29; Isa. iv. 1.

41. *Then the assembly.*] Lit., "And the synagogue believed them, as elders of the people and judges" (Syr. W_2.: "chiefs of the priests"). The elders had the same advantage over Susanna, as Angelo over Isabel in the play. See 'Meas. for Meas.,' Act ii. sc. 4, where Angelo demands:

"Who will believe thee, Isabel?
My unsoiled name, the austereness of my life,
My vouch against you, and my place i' the state,
Will so your accusation overweigh,
That you shall stifle in your own report,
And smell of calumny."

they condemned her to death.] *Κατέκριναν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν*, "they gave sentence that she be put to death:" the *absolute* use of the verb, as in Mark xiv. 64. Cf. Esth. ii. 1.

Syr. W_2. adds: "saying, Whoso committeth adultery is worthy of death, and to be stoned with stones. And the ninth hour was Susanna delivered up, to be cast down from the place whence adulteresses are thrown headlong, and many were gathered together to behold it."

42. *O everlasting God.*] *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος.* Isa. xxvi. 4, *ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος*; Gen. xxi. 33. Compare also Dan. iii. 34, iv. 31, vii. 14, 27; Gen. ix. 16; Exod. xii. 14; Mic. ii. 9. The term *αἰώνιος*, applied to the mountains, to the divine covenant with Abraham and his seed, to the Mosaic institutions, to the kingdom of the Messiah, to the Deity himself, denotes "age-long," "enduring," "perpetual." Sometimes the meaning falls very far short of "everlasting," "eternal," in our stricter sense of the words: *e.g.* Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10; Isa. lxi. 4, lxiii. 11; Job xl. 23: where "immemorial," "ancient," "permanent," sufficiently express it.

that knowest the secrets.] *Ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης* (not in LXX.). In 2 Kings xxi. 6, and elsewhere, *γνώστης* is "a wizard." With its use in the present passage, cf. the epithet *καρδιογνώστης*, Acts i. 24, xv. 8 (so Syr. W_2. here); and Deut. xxix. 29, "The secret things (*τὰ κρυπτὰ*) belong unto the Lord our God." In Dan. ii. 29, 47, God is called *ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια*, "He that revealeth mysteries."

43. *maliciously invented.*] *Ἐπονηρεύσαντο*

45 Therefore when she was led to be put to death, the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel:

46 Who cried with a loud voice, [a] I am clear from the blood of this woman.

[a] Matt. 27. 24.

47 Then all the people turned them toward him, and said, What mean these words that thou hast spoken?

48 So he standing in the midst of them said, Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel, that without examination or knowledge of the truth ye have condemned a daughter of Israel?

κατ' ἐμοῦ. Cf. *v.* 62; Gen. xxxvii. 18 (=*they were plotting* to kill him); Deut. xix. 19 (זמם). See also 1 Chron. xvi. 22, καὶ ἐν τοις προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε. Old Lat. *Quae hi maligni finxerunt adversum me;* Vulg. *Quae isti malitiose composuerunt adv. me.*

The LXX. text now gives the formal accusation of the Elders: "But the two elders said, We were walking in her husband's garden, and as we rounded the course (κυκλοῦντες τὸ στάδιον) we saw this woman reposing (ἀναπανομένην) with a man, and we stopped and were watching them dealing with one another. And *they* did not know that we were standing (there). Then we made agreement (συνειπάμεθα, Dan. ii. 9) with one another, saying, Let us learn who they are. And we approached and recognised her; but the young man fled in disguise (or muffled up, συγκεκαλυμμένος, 1 Sam. xxviii. 8; 1 Kings xxii. 30). But having laid hold of this woman," &c. (*v.* 40). "And all the synagogue believed them, as being elders, and judges of the people (ὡς πρεσβυτέρων ὄντων κ.τ.λ.)." Then follows, instead of Susanna's appeal to Heaven, which has already been given, a verse corresponding to (Theodotion's) *v.* 45: "And behold, an angel of the Lord, as she was being led forth to perish,—and the angel gave, as he was commanded, a spirit of understanding to one yet a youth (νεωτέρῳ ὄντι, Jud. viii. 20; Ps. cxlviii. 12), Daniel."

45. *the Lord raised up the holy spirit of a young youth.*] Rather, "God roused (or woke) the holy spirit of a young boy." According to the LXX., this was done through the instrumentality of an angel, who gave Daniel "a spirit of understanding" (πνεῦμα συνέσεως, Isa. xi. 2; Deut. xxxiv. 9), *i.e.* a power to discern the true relations of things. Theodotion modified this statement, as not consistent with Dan. iv. 9, 18; v. 11: according to which passages Daniel was endowed with "the spirit of the holy gods;" in virtue of which no secret was hidden from him. The account of the LXX. is, however, consistent with such passages as Dan. ix. 21; x. 5 *sqq.*, in which the angel Gabriel communes with Daniel. (Syr. W_1.: "And God stirred up his Holy Spirit in Daniel, a youth;" W_2.: "And straightway the Holy Spirit abode upon young Daniel, who was twelve years old.")

46. *I am clear.*] Gk. ἀθῶος ἐγὼ ἀπὸ, which is equivalent to Heb. אני נקי מן: see Gen. xxiv. 41; Num. v. 19; and cf. Matt. xxvii. 24 (the cry of Pilate). Codd. III., XII., 23, *al.* have the synonymous καθαρὸς, "pure" = טהור מן, Job xiv. 4; cf. Acts xx. 26. So Old Lat. and Vulg. *mundus.* The impulse under which the holy youth proclaimed aloud that he would be no partner in the wrong that was about to be done is fittingly ascribed to an inspiration from above. The potency of his witness must, of course, be considered from an ethical and religious rather than from a strictly historical standpoint. In the latter case, the thing may appear wholly improbable; in the former, it is a good illustration of the Psalmist's words: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine adversaries; that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." This verse is not in the LXX., which continues the narrative thus, after the passage translated above: "But Daniel having put asunder (διαστείλας) the crowd, and taken his stand in the midst of them, said," &c. (as in *v.* 48, save that for κατακρίνατε, "ye have condemned," the reading is ἀπεκτείνατε, "ye have killed"—a more graphic expression). "And now put them me asunder one far from another, that I may examine (ἐτάσω) them. But when they had been put asunder, Daniel said to the synagogue, Now regard it not that these are elders, saying, They will never lie; but I will interrogate (ἀνακρινῶ, Thucyd. i. 95) them, according to what things occur to me" (κατὰ τὰ ὑποπίπτοντά μοι. Cf. Polyb. i. 68. 3; xx. 9, 10). Syr. H., "according as it appears to me."

48. *standing in the midst.*] Or, "having taken his stand in the midst." Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 12; 1 Kings viii. 22.

Are ye such fools, ye sons of Israel.] Before this question, Syr. W_2. interpolates: "And when Daniel had risen amongst them, he prophesied and said: 'Hear ye the word of the Lord, and hearken to the voice of his prophet! and condemn not the innocent in the righteous judgment of God. Judge the judgment of truth, that the Lord send not upon you the heat of his anger; for fearful is

49 Return again to the place of judgment: for they have borne false witness against her.

50 Wherefore all the people turned again in haste, and the elders said unto him, Come, sit down among us, and shew it us, seeing God hath given thee the honour of an elder.

51 Then said Daniel unto them, Put these two aside one far from another, and I will examine them.

52 So when they were put asunder one from another, he called one of them, and said unto him, O thou that art waxen old in wickedness, now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come *to light*:

53 For thou hast pronounced false

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its stroke (Ecclus. xxiii. 11), and ye cannot bear it.'" It omits *v.* 49.

49. *place of judgment.*] Or, "tribunal." Τὸ κριτήριον is so used in Plat. 'Laws,' 767 B; Polyb. ix. 33. 12. See Dan. vii. 10, 26; Exod. xxi. 6; Judges v. 10; James ii. 6.

they have borne false witness.] The emphasis lies on the word "false." Daniel's positiveness is natural, on the assumption that he was guided in the manner stated, *v.* 45 *supra*. This also explains the sudden revulsion of popular feeling caused by his words (*v.* 50).

50. *the elders said.*] Hardly the two culprits; but other elders of the people, who would naturally preside over an inquiry in which the conduct of the two who had been appointed judges was called in question. This seems clear from Daniel's reply, *v.* 51: "And Daniel said unto them (*i.e.* to the presiding elders), Put these two (the criminals) asunder, one far from another." Besides, it is not to be supposed that when, at Daniel's bidding, the people returned to the place of judgment to reconsider the case, they would suffer the very persons whom Daniel accused to sit in judgment on their own cause. Walton's Syr. texts, however, have "those two elders," "those rulers of the synagogue;" and the Arabic has "the two sheikhs." Syr. W_2. adds: "And they brought a throne out of the treasury, and set it up (Dan. vii. 9) for Daniel to sit upon; and Daniel began to judge those wicked judges. Then they released Susanna. And Daniel said: 'I will not judge Susanna sitting, but standing on my feet.'"

seeing God hath given.] Lit., "because to thee hath God given the eldership." This seems to imply that Daniel was already known as a subject of inspiration. But perhaps it is better to understand the words as an inference from the words he had just spoken and their magical effect upon the minds of the people. Cf. also Num. xi. 24–30. Any indication of the will of the Invisible King was sufficient in the Theocracy to supersede the operation of ordinary rules and restrictions; the theory being that the Divine Sovereign chose His own ministers when and how and whence He pleased. The term τὸ πρεσβεῖον denotes "age," Ps. lxxi. 18; and then the respect or honour which naturally belongs to age, the privilege of age: Demosth. 1003. 10; Gen. xliii. 33, ὁ πρωτότοκος κατὰ τὰ πρεσβεῖα αὐτοῦ. Here the function of judging is chiefly in view. Vulg. *honorem senectutis*. Codd. III., 35, 36, &c. read πρεσβυτέριον, a term which first occurs in the N.T., and always bears the sense of "a senate" or "college of elders;" *e.g.* Luke xxii. 66. In ecclesiastical writers it denotes the office of a presbyter.

52. *O thou that art waxen old in wickedness.*] Gk. πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν, "aged (or grown hoar) in evil days." The genitive is *relative:* cf. Dan. vii. 22, ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν, "the Ancient of (*i.e.* in respect of) Days."

The LXX. text runs thus: "And he called the one of them, and they brought the elder to the younger, and Daniel said unto him: Hearken, hearken, O thou that art waxen old," &c. (53), "when thou wert trusted with hearing and judging capital cases (κρίνειν κρίσεις θάνατον ἐπιφερούσας), and the innocent thou didst condemn, but the guilty (ἐνόχους, Mark xiv. 64) thou usedst to let go (ἤφιεις, Mark i. 34), though the Lord said," &c., as below.

now thy sins which thou hast committed.] Lit., "now are come (ἥκασιν = ἥκουσιν) thy sins, which thou usedst to commit aforetime" (ἐποίεις τὸ πρότερον). The term ἥκασιν does not mean "are come to light" (Schleusner's *patefiunt*), but rather, "are come home to thee;" thy present miserable situation is the consequence, as it is the climax, of a life of sin. There is nothing unreal in this assertion. The deliberate and flagrant wrong of which this Elder had just been guilty, using the sanctity of office for a cloke of malignity and lust, could not be interpreted as a sudden and unaccountable aberration of conduct. It rather was an index of a corrupt character, whose principle was selfish advantage, and whose practice judicial injustice. But we must not forget that the invective of the youthful speaker is supposed to be divinely prompted (*v.* 45), and his insight into fact inspired.

It is curious that the Syriac versions get rid of the quotation (Syr. W_1.: "And the

judgment, and hast condemned the innocent, and hast let the guilty go free; albeit the Lord saith, [b] The innocent and righteous shalt thou not slay.

54 Now then, if thou hast seen her, tell me, Under what tree sawest thou them companying together? Who answered, Under a [l] mastick tree.

55 And Daniel said, Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head; for even now the angel of God hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two.

56 So he put him aside, and commanded to bring the other, and said unto him, O thou seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thine heart.

57 Thus have ye dealt with the

[b] Exod. 23. 7.

[l] Gr. *lentisk tree.*

Lord is righteous and innocent;" Syr. W_2. omits).

54. *Now then, if thou hast seen her.*] The emphasis is on *her:* "Now then, if her thou sawest." His conviction of *her* innocence is absolute. LXX.: "Now then, under what tree and at what sort of (ποταπῷ = ποίῳ, Mark xiii. 1) place of the garden hast thou seen (ἑώρακας) them together? (ὄντας σὺν ἑαυτοῖς). And the impious one (ἀσεβὴς) said, Under a mastick tree."

mastick tree.] See the margin. The σχῖνος is the *Pistacia lentiscus* of Linnæus; see Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.' xiv. 20, xv. 6, xxiv. 6, &c. This tree or shrub yielded a resin or gum which was much used, and oil also was prepared from its berries. See further Dioscor. i. 50; Hdt. iv. 177. Of the versions Old Lat. rightly gives *lentiscus;* Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the Greek word; Syr. W_1. has "terebinth;" W_2. and L_2. have "pistachio-tree." Mastick is the odoriferous gum of the tree (Gk. μαστίχη).

55. *Very well; thou hast lied against thine own head.*] Rather, "Well hast thou lied against (εἰς, Luke xii. 10) thine own head" (*i.e.* thyself, thy person, Gen. xl. 13; 1 Sam. xxviii. 2; 2 Sam. i. 16; Prov. x. 6; Dan. i. 10). LXX. "against thine own soul." In Heb. "soul" (נֶפֶשׁ) is a common periphrasis for "self." Cf. also Acts v. 3, 4. The "well" (ὀρθῶς = εὖ) is ironical.

for even now the angel of God.] "For presently will an angel, having received God's sentence (or bidding) from God, cleave thee asunder" (cf. Matt. xxiv. 51). So, according to Fritzsche's text. Codd. III., XII., 26, *al.*, order the words differently: "for presently will an angel of God, having received a sentence from God," &c. Φάσις (from φημὶ) is "judgment," "sentence," not "apparition" (from φαίνω), as Tromm gives it. See Acts xxi. 31. Old Lat. *praeceptum;* Vulg. *sententia.* LXX.: "For the angel of the Lord will cleave thy soul (*i.e.* according to Heb. use, "thyself," "thee") to-day." Cf. Luke ii. 35: "A sword shall pierce through thine own soul (thyself) also." There is a paronomasia in the Greek, or play on the assonance between the words σχῖνος, "mastick-tree," and σχίσει, "will cleave thee;" and a similar one in *vv.* 58, 59, on πρῖνος, "a holm-tree," and the verb πρίσαι, "to cut (saw) thee." Such a conceit may seem to us far-fetched and inappropriate; but the Oriental mind delights in such *lusus verborum,* and the peculiar force of many passages of the Hebrew prophets is lost in our version, because they have not been preserved in translation. See, for instance, Isa. v. 7; Mic. i. 10–15. In the present case, the Vulgate has: "Sub *schino*—Ecce enim Angelus Dei *scindet* te medium." But it neglects the paronomasia in *vv.* 58, 59. Luther imitates thus: "'Unter einer Linden.'—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich finden. 'Unter einer Eichen.'—Der Engel des Herrn wird dich zeichen." In English we might write: "'Under a *clove*-tree.'—For presently will an angel . . . *cleave* thee asunder. 'Under a *yew*.'—The angel will *hew* thee asunder." The *cleaving* and *sawing* of the text are, of course, metaphorical, and the terms used are conditioned by the necessities of the paronomasia. The legal punishment was death by stoning. See note on *v.* 62 *infra.*

56. *seed of Chanaan, and not of Juda.*] If character were the criterion of race, then this Elder belonged to the nations that were extirpated for their religiously sanctioned immoralities, rather than to the house of Judah which had dispossessed them. Cf. St. Paul's argument, Rom. iv. 12, 16. The LXX. gives the verse thus: "Why was thy strain (lit., *seed;* the vital principle in thee: 1 John iii. 9) perverted (διεστραμμένον, Deut. xxxii. 5; Matt. xvii. 17) like that of Sidon (Gen. x. 15; Matt. xi. 21), and not like that of Judah? (Ezek. xvi. 3). Beauty deceived thee, paltry desire" (ἡ μικρὰ ἐπιθυμία. Perhaps, "transient, shortlived lust").

beauty hath deceived thee.] Cf. Judith ix. 10; xiii. 16; xvi. 8.

57. *Thus have ye dealt.*] Lit., "So used ye to do to the daughters of Israel, and they, for fear, would company with you (be your

daughters of Israel, and they for fear companied with you: but the daughter of Juda would not abide your wickedness.

58 Now therefore tell me, Under what tree didst thou take them companying together? Who answered, Under an ‖holm tree.

59 Then said Daniel unto him, Well; thou hast also lied against thine own head: for the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee in two, that he may destroy you.

60 With that all the assembly cried out with a loud voice, and praised God, who saveth them that trust in him.

61 And they arose against the two elders, for Daniel had convicted them of false witness by their own mouth:

62 And according to the law of Moses [c]they did unto them in such sort as they maliciously intended to do to their neighbour: and they put them to death. Thus the innocent blood was saved the same day.

63 Therefore Chelcias and his wife praised God for their daughter Su-

‖ Or, *kind of oak.*

[c] Deut. 19. 19. Prov. 19. 5.

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paramours)." The former Elder was charged by the young prophet with corrupting justice; this one is upbraided with habitual corruption of his countrywomen—a reminiscence, probably, of 1 Sam. ii. 22, where the two sons of Eli are represented as guilty of such debauchery. The contrast of the noble firmness of "a daughter of Juda" (Susanna) with the weak submission of "the daughters of Israel" (the women of the Northern kingdom, or the Ten Tribes) is curious. Cf. Hos. iv. 15.

58. *Under an holm tree.*] The Gk. term πρῖνος denotes the "ilex" or "evergreen oak:" see Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' iii. 16; Dioscor. iv. 48. According to Liddell and Scott, πρῖνος is also the name of a small species, with prickly leaves, bearing berries; from the kermes of which a scarlet dye was made, i.e. *Quercus coccifera* (Theophr. 'Hist. Plant.' iii. 7. 3), which is still called πρινάρι in Greece. The Vulg. and Syr. H. keep the Greek word; Old Lat. has *ilex* (so Syr. W_1. and Arab.); but Syr. W_2. and L_2. "pomegranate."

59. *Well; thou hast also lied.*] Rather, "Well hast thou also lied." See *v.* 55 *supra.*

the angel of God waiteth.] Or, "the angel of God is waiting, sword in hand, to saw thee asunder, that he may utterly destroy you (both)." Cf. Num. xxii. 31; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Chron. xxi. 16, 27. LXX.: "And Daniel said, Thou sinner, now the angel of the Lord standeth with the sword—until the people shall destroy you—that he may saw thee up" (ἵνα καταπρίσῃ σε). "And all the synagogue cried out over the youth (ἐπὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ), that out of their own mouth he had brought them both to confessing their false witness" (ὁμολόγους αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἀμφοτέρους ψευδομάρτυρας: cf. Eurip. 'Androm.' 635). "And as the law orders (διαγορεύει), they did unto them, according as they had maliciously intended against their sister" (so Syr. H.).

62. *maliciously intended.*] See *v.* 43 *supra.* As to the law referred to, see Deut. xix. 16–21. Death by stoning was the penalty for adulterers: see Deut. xxii. 24 *sq.* Cod. 34 expressly notes that the two Elders were stoned, both here and at *v.* 45 *supra.*

Thus the innocent blood.] "And innocent blood was saved on that day." See Deut. xix. 10; xxi. 8, 9. This phrase and the two following verses are not read in the LXX., which concludes the piece thus: "And they gagged them (ἐφίμωσαν, Mark i. 25; Matt. xxii. 34), and having led them forth threw them into a ravine. Then the angel of the Lord threw fire between (διὰ μέσου) them, and innocent blood was saved on that day. Therefore the young men of Jacob are beloved in their simplicity (ἁπλότητι), and, for ourselves, let us guard as sons virtuous young men (so Fritzsche). For young men are pious, and there will be in them a spirit of knowledge and understanding for ever and ever." But 2 Sam. ii. 7, υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς = בני חיל, suggests a doubt of Fritzsche's emendation of the harsh and, as he says, unexampled construction φυλασσώμεθα εἰς υἱοὺς δυνατοὺς νεωτέρους into φυλ. ὡς υἱοὺς κ.τ.λ. The meaning may be: Let us guard youths for (= that they may become) sons of valour (men of valour or worth, *virtus*). But perhaps we should translate: "Let us watch over (Heb. נשמרה אל, 1 Sam. xxvi. 15) capable sons *when young.*" It is difficult to imagine that Greek was the original language of this closing sentence. As Greek it is intolerable as well as unintelligible; as a bald rendering from a Semitic tongue its peculiarities are intelligible enough.

sanna, with Joacim her husband, and all the kindred, because there was no dishonesty found in her.

64 From that day forth was Daniel had in great reputation in the sight of the people.

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63. *dishonesty.*] Lit., "unseemly act"—ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα. In Gen. xxxiv. 7, "folly" (= unchastity) is rendered ἄσχημον, and in Deut. xxiv. 1 we read ὅτι εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα (Heb. ערות דבר = *turpe quid*), "because he hath found some shameful thing in her."

64. *From that day forth, &c.*] Lit., "And Daniel became great before the people, from that day and onward" (ἐπέκεινα, *ultra*). Cf. Luke i. 15, where it is said of St. John Baptist, "He shall be great before the Lord;" and Gen. x. 9. Syr. W_2. prolongs the verse.

ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.

III. BEL AND THE DRAGON.

כל ליצנותא אסירא חוץ מליצנותא דעבו"ם דשריא דכתיב כרע בל קרס נבו

"All mockery is bound (forbidden) save mockery of idolaters, which is loose (allowed), as it is written, Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth."—*Sanhedr.* 63 B, l. 30.

THE Midrashic literature supplies evidence that the stories of Bel and the Dragon existed in Aramaic, and probably in Hebrew, at a very early date. Thus Raymund Martini (A.D. 1250) cites *vv.* 28–42 from a Midrash Bereshith Rabba. He introduces the passage thus: "Habacuc vero prophetam fuisse contemporaneum Danieli inde colligitur ubi *in Bereschit Rabba* hoc modo scribitur de Joseph." Then follows the extract from the Midrash, written in what may perhaps be called Syro-Chaldee, in default of a better description: "'And they cast him into the pit' [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. This is as it is written in Daniel: 'And the Babylonians gathered themselves together against the king, and turned against him, and were saying one to another, The king has become a Jew; Bel he has broken in pieces, and the dragon he has killed, and the priests he has killed,'" &c. &c. to the end of the story, where Martini adds: "Hucusque Traditio." *Vid.* his 'Pugio Fidei,' fol. 742 (ed. of Voisin, Paris, 1651, p. 742; ed. of J. B. Carpzov, Lipsiae, 1687, p. 956). The extract agrees generally, though not *verbatim*, with the corresponding portion of the Syriac text in Hebrew characters, published by Dr. Neubauer in the Appendix to his 'Book of Tobit' (Oxford, 1878), as part of an extract from the Midrash Rabbah de Rabbah, which he identifies with Martini's Bereshith Rabba. The whole section, as given by Dr. Neubauer, may be thus translated:—

"*Midrash Rabbāh dĕ Rabbāh*, Parashah 'And Jacob dwelt' [Gen. xxxvii. 1], at the verse 'And they cast him into the pit' [Gen. xxxvii. 24]. 'I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 55]. This is Daniel, who prayed before the Holy One (blessed be He!) out of the pit, and the Holy One (blessed be He!) heard the voice of his prayer, and delivered him from the lions. This is what is written: 'Thou hast heard my voice,' &c. 'Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee,' &c. [Lam. iii. 56, 57]. And so he saith: 'My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me; forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me' [Dan. vi. 23]. And it sufficed not that he delivered him, but he avenged him of his enemies. This is what is written: 'O Lord, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul, thou hast redeemed my life' [Lam. iii. 58]. And so he saith: 'And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den (pit) of lions; them, their children, and their wives: and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den' [Dan. vi. 25]. Behold, we find that Daniel was delivered out of the pit, from the Scripture (המקרא), and our Rabbis have said, 'A tradition (מסורת) is in our hands that another time Daniel was delivered out of the pit of lions, in the days of Cyrus the Persian, because he had denied the idol (ע"ז, lit. strange worship) and destroyed it. They have

said: 'The king Astîgôs (marginal gloss: *He is Darius the Mede*) was gathered unto his fathers, and Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom,' &c." The Midrash here introduces the stories of Bel and the Dragon from the Syriac version, but in Hebrew characters. The text coincides, save in a few minor variations, with the Syriac of Walton's Polyglot. After *v.* 22 follows the subscription in Hebrew: "Ended is the story of Bel, the image of the Chaldeans." The story of the Dragon is introduced by this superscription: "The matter of the destruction of the Dragon (תנינא), which is called *The Burden* (or *Story*) *of the Dragon* (משא התנין)." After the telling of it in Syriac, the Midrash resumes, of course in Hebrew: "Therefore it is said, 'They have cut off my life in the pit, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy name, O Lord, out of the lowest pit' [Lam. iii. 53–55]. It is found that Daniel was twice cast into the pit: once, in the days of Darius the Mede, and another time in the days of Cyrus the Persian his son-in-law (חתנו). And on the former occasion he remained not therein but one night, and was delivered; and on the second, he remained therein seven days, and was delivered. And this, the second history, is not written in the Holy Books (בספרי הקדש). It was perceived that, as the Righteous Man (*i.e.* Daniel) was accustomed to this miracle, it sufficed to mention it once."

The transcriber of the MS. added the following note:—"These two histories—to wit, the History of Bel, the Image of the Chaldeans, and the Burden of the Dragon—the Nazarenes [*i.e.* Christians] comprise them in the Canon of the Twenty-four Books of the Prophets, along with three other books. And the translator of them saith that he found them not in the Sacred Tongue [*i.e.* in Hebrew]."

The stratagem by which Daniel successfully exposed the trickery of the priests has its duplicate in a passage of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bechoroth*, 8 B).

The Midrash *Bĕrêshîth Rabbāh*, § 68, contains the following reference to the story of the Dragon. "Another word. 'And behold the Lord stood above it.' 'And behold the angels of God'—this is Daniel—'ascending and descending on it' [see Gen. xxviii. 12, 13], who ascended and brought forth that which it had swallowed out of the midst of its mouth. This is what is written: 'And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up' [Jer. li. 44]. For Nebuchadnezzar had a dragon (תנין), which would swallow up whatever they cast before it. Quoth Daniel to him, 'Give me leave; and I extirpate him' (אני מתישו). He gave him leave. What did he do? He took straw, and hid nails in the midst thereof. He cast it before it, and the nails pierced its bowels. This is what is written: 'I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up.'"

In the great prophecy against Babylon (Jer. li.) the following words are put into the mouth of the subverted Jewish people: "Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, *he hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly;* from my delights he hath pushed me away" (*v.* 34); and these into the mouth of God, "*I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up;* and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea, the wall of Babylon is fallen" (*v.* 44). In the former part of the prophecy the omnipotence of the Creator is finely contrasted with the powerlessness of dead idols: "The Lord of hosts hath sworn by himself . . . He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heaven by his understanding. When he uttereth a voice (*i.e.* thundereth), there is a tumult of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth: lightnings for the rain he maketh, and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures. Every man is become brutish, without knowledge: every founder is ashamed of the image: *for his molten image is a lie, and there is no breath in them. They are vanity, a butt for mockeries; in the time of their punishment they shall perish. The portion of Jacob* [*i.e.* Jehovah] *is not like them; for he is*

the fashioner of all things . . . Jehovah Sabaoth is his Name." Here, then, we have the original germs of the two strange narratives before us. Just as the nucleus of the Story of Susanna is found in a passage of the great prophet of Judah's decline and fall, so the legends of Bel and the Dragon find their ultimate source in another oracle of the same prophet. Jeremiah furnishes the motive, which the Haggada has developed in its own fashion, turning the prophet's poetic imagery and metaphor into coarsely concrete matter of fact; but at the same time illustrating in a highly effective manner the prophet's own moral of the utter futility of idols, and the sole sovereignty of the God of Israel.

It is natural to ask whether the cuneiform inscriptions contribute anything to the elucidation of these curious narratives: for although, as we have seen, the Haggadic exposition or expansion of Jer. li. 34, 44 is sufficient to account for the growth of the two fables, it is still possible that the phraseology of the prophet himself is coloured by mythical conceptions of Babylonian origin. Dr. Bissell refers to 'Records of the Past,' ix. 137, for the story of "a contest between Bel and the Dragon." That legend, however, like the others of the same series, is exceedingly difficult to understand, and the translation referred to is now quite antiquated. I give portions of the text, transliterated into Roman characters, with a version which is the result of a careful comparison of my own translation with another generously communicated by Professor Sayce. The passages illustrating our Apocryphon are tolerably clear.

TABLET K 3437, BRIT. MUS. ASSYRIAN DOCUMENTS.

Obverse.

. . . baṭ-ṭa imnasu usaḫiz
. . . . . u ispatᵐ idussu ilul
. . . . (is)cun birka ina panisu
. . . . mustaḫmeṭu zumursu umtalli
(e)busma śapara sulmū pispis Ti'āmat
(ir)bitti sāri ustiçbita ana la açē mimmisa
sâru iltanu sâru sutu sâru sadu sâru aḫarru
idus śapara ustakriba cisti ADsu DINGIR Anim
ibni imḫulla sâru limna meḫā asamsutum
sâri arba sâri vii sâru GUGU sâru NU-DI-A
useçamma sâri sa ibnū śibittisun
pispis Ti'āmat sutluḫu tibū arcisu
issima belum abuba IZCU-su GALa
narcabta si culla maḫri galitta ircaḫ
içbatsimma irbit naçmadi idus sa ilul
* * * * *
* * * * *

Reverse.

. . . . . ana ADAD-e'a limuttaci tuctinni
. . . dat ummatci luritcuśu sunu IZCUMES-ci
endimma anacu u cāsī nibus sasma
Ti'āmat annita ina semisa
maḫḫur itemi usanni ṭensa
iśśima Ti'āmat *sitmuris elita*
sursis *malmalis idrura isdā* . . .
imanni *sipta ittanamdi tā(sa)*
u ilāni sa taḫazi usaḫilu sunu *IZCUMES su(nu)*
inninduma Ti'āmat *NUN ME DINGIR MES DINGIR AMAR UT*
sasmis *idlubu kitrubu* taḫazis
usparirma belᵘᵐ śaparasu usalmisi
imḫulla çabit arcati panussu umtassar
iptema pīsa Ti'āmat ana lahātisu (or sa)
imḫulla usteriba ana la catam saptisa
izzuti sāri carsasa izanuma
innikud libbasa ma pāsa uspalci
iśśuk mulmulla iḫtepi carassa
kirbisa ubattika usallit libba

icmîsi ma napśatas ubâlli
śalamsa iddâ elisa izaza (or iziz)
ultu Ti'âmat alic pani inaru
ciçrisa uptarrira buharsa issaḫḫa
u DINGIR MEŠ riçûsa alicu idisa
ittarru iplaḫu usahhiru* arcatsûn
useçuma napsatus ediru
ittalamû naparsudis la lihê
. . . bu sunuti ma IZCUMES sunu usabbir

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

(a weapon) his right hand he made grasp;
. . . . and the quiver at his side he slung (from his shoulder: cf. 'Il.' i. 45).
He shot lightning with his countenance.
With whirling (wrath?) his body he filled.
He made also a net,* to throw round* the monster Tiamat.
The four winds he seized, that nothing* of her might go forth;
The north wind, the south wind, the east wind, the west wind.
By his side he placed the net, the gift of his father Anu.
He created a stormwind, a baleful wind, a hurricane, a whirlwind,
Four winds, seven winds, a destroying wind, a wind not to be stilled.
He sent forth also the winds which he had made, the seven of them.
The monster Tiamat coileth herself, cometh after him.
The Lord also raised the Flood, his mighty weapon;
That chariot which levelleth all enemies, he rode.

. . . . . .

Reverse.

". . . . against my fathers thine enmity thou didst harden.
Let thy people . . . . , let them marshal thine arms!
Stand, I and thou will do battle."
Tiamat, on hearing this,
Encounter ordered she, she repeated her command.

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

She rehearsed a spell, she poured forth her charm;
And the gods of battle called for their arms.
Then Tiamat assailed the prince of the gods Merodach;
In battle she came on, she closed in conflict.
The Lord also spread his net, he threw it around her;
A stormwind, taking the rear, before him he let loose.
Tiamat opened her mouth to draw it in:
The stormwind she received within her, so that she could not close her lips.
With violence the winds filled her belly, and
She was pierced through her heart, and her mouth she opened wide.
She bit the shaft; her belly was stricken through.
Her inside he thrust through, he mastered the heart;
He bound her, and her life he swallowed up.
Her carcase* he cast down, upon her he stood.
When Tiamat the leader he had vanquished,
Her might he broke, her army was routed;
And the gods her helpers, marching beside her,
Wheeled round, were terrified, turned* their back.

* * * * * * *

They clung together in flight, powerless.
. . . . them, and their weapons he brake in pieces.

The above rendering is far from being equally certain throughout. In many places the writer has greatly doubted whether it would not be the more prudent course not to attempt the interpretation of these enigmas of speech. Nothing indeed could more forcibly bring home to the mind the great uncer-

* The terms marked with an asterisk were suggested by Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, who kindly read through this portion of the sheet with me.

tainty which still clogs the progress of students of Assyrian, than the attempt to wrest an intelligible meaning out of the mythological tablets.

The reader will notice the curious coincidence between the mode in which the Dragon is slain by Daniel, and Tiamat by Merodach. This can hardly be accidental. The legends which form the basis of our Apocryphon must have originated among the Jews of Babylon, who, as the Talmud shews, were more or less acquainted with Babylonian myths about dragons and sea-monsters. It is not of course necessary to suppose that the Jewish authors of these stories were versed in cuneiform writing, or even that they had any accurate knowledge of the mythus of The Combat of Marduḫ and Tiamat. They could hardly, however, have been wholly ignorant of the popular legends; and the common representations on seals, of which so many examples are preserved in the Museums of Europe, would afford the inexact sort of knowledge which finds its expression in the Haggada. Dragons and serpents of huge size are often referred to in the Babylonian Talmud. Thus in the Mishna (*Abōdāh Zārāh*, 42 B) we read: "Whoso findeth vessels whereon is the form of the sun, the form of the moon, the form of a dragon (צירת דרקון), let him throw them into the Sea of Salt. Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel saith, Those which are upon valuable vessels are forbidden; those which are upon common vessels are allowed." In the Gemara (*ib.*, 43 A, line 15) R. Joshua ben Levi is related to have said: "I was once walking after R. Eliezer haQafar Beribbi in the way, and he found there a seal-ring, whereon was an image of a dragon. And he met a young pagan, and spake not to him at all. He met an adult pagan, and said to him, Desecrate it; but he would not. He beat him, and (then) he desecrated it" (by breaking off a bit of the image). The Jews in Babylonia must have often found such objects graven with the images of Bel-Merodach and Tiamat, and other mythological subjects, and doubtless their fanaticism destroyed many. The idol Bel-Merodach, the tutelar deity of Babylon, had a famous temple there, which is mentioned thus in *Abōdāh Zārāh*, 11 B, *med.*: "R. Hanan son of R. Hisda says that Rab said—or, according to others, R. Hanan son of Rabba says that Rab said—Five houses of idols are pre-eminent (קבועין). These are the house of Bel at Babel, the house of Nebo at Cursi, Tra^{sh}ta which is at Mepheg [Ashtoreth-Derceto at Hierapolis-Mabûg], Çaripha which is at Ascalon [Hdt. i. 105, Aphrodite], Nashra which is in Arabia [*i.e.* the Eagle, which in Arabic as in Assyro-Babylonian is the name of a star or star-group]. When R. Dimi came (from Palestine to Babylon), they added to them Jarid [*Jārūd*, serpent] which is at Ain Beci, Nidbaca which is at Accho—there are some who say, *Nithbara* which is at Accho. R. Dimi of Nehardea hands down the converse, viz. Nidbaca in Ain Beci and Jarid in Accho." It is noteworthy that serpent-worship is here recorded of a Palestinian town.

But although this long tractate has strange worship, *i.e.* idolatry, for its topic, it does not again mention Bel; and it is curious how little of correct reminiscence of this kind is to be found in Jewish literature. Bel-Merodach is one of the numerous solar figures of Oriental mythology, and his adversary Tiamat is the primeval chaos or darkness, out of which all things emerged. She had her dwelling in the sea, and is represented on the seals and cylinders as a winged monster with horns, hooves, sharp talons, and a scaly tail. She and her demon troops waged unceasing war against the god of light. The student of universal mythology will be familiar with such conceptions. Night, the clouds, the sea, are in turn described as monstrous serpents or dragons, now vanquishing and now vanquished by the god of day. The resolution of almost all genuine products of the mythopoeic faculty into variations of this one theme will surprise nobody who recollects that the mental infancy of man is characterised, not by exuberant fertility, but by a uniform barrenness of imagination. Tiamat may be compared with Apepi, the great dragon of the Egyptian mythus, who is called *Hemhemti*, "the Roarer" (*i.e.* the thunder-cloud), before whom Ra is "in a flutter"; "Seb standeth still in terror,

and the company of the mighty gods is in a quake." Apepi is at last "overcome by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone of forty cubits, while the devouring flame preys upon his bones" (Renouf). A trace of the like symbolism may perhaps be seen in Job xi. 13.

It is evident from Gen. i. 21, Ps. lxxiii. 13, that תנין (dragon) usually meant any kind of aquatic monster (κῆτος). In Isa. li. 9, Ezek. xxxii. 2, it is "the crocodile," as an emblem of Egypt. In Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12, it denotes "serpent," the etymological import of the term being apparently "that which is much extended." For Talmudic stories about huge serpents, see *Baba Bathra*, 73 B, *et seq.*; *Chullin*, 127 A; *Sanhedr.* 59 B. Compare also the legends about the Leviathan, which in Scripture means the crocodile (Isa. xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 14, civ. 26; Job xl. 21), but in the Talmud a mysterious monster, created male and female on the fifth day (*Bab. Bathra*, 74 B). Fearing that if they multiplied they would ravage the earth, God emasculated the male and killed the female, and preserved her flesh for the great banquet of the righteous in the world to come. A similar tale is added about the Behemoth (hippopotamus). Cf. also *Abōd. Zārāh*, 3 A. The following extracts from *Abōdāh Zārāh* (Mishn. 7, Per. 4) are good instances of the mingled shrewdness and sarcasm with which the old Rabbis could argue against idolatry. "They asked the Elders in Rome, If his (God's) good pleasure be not in idol-worship, why does he not put an end to it? They answered, If they (*i.e.* the heathen) worshipped a thing that was not necessary to the world, he would put an end to it. As it is, they worship the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, and the Zodiacal Signs; must he destroy his world for the sake of the fools? They answered, If so, let him destroy anything (any object of idolatry) that is not necessary to the world, and let him leave anything that is necessary. They (the Jews) answered, Then we should be strengthening the hands of the worshippers of these things, who would say, Ye see that they *are* gods, for they are not put an end to." The Gemara has the following wise remarks:—"Lo, he that stealeth a *seah* of wheat, and soweth it in a field—it were right that it should not come up (being stolen goods). But the world goes on in its wonted course; notwithstanding, the fools who deal corruptly will have to pay the penalty. If a man go in unto his neighbour's wife, she ought not to conceive. But the world goes on in its wonted course, and fools who deal corruptly will have to pay the penalty. A philosopher asked R. Gamaliel, It is written in your law, The Lord thy God is a consuming fire, he is a jealous God (Deut. iv. 24): why is your God jealous at the worshippers and not at (the idol) itself? He said unto him, I will tell thee a parable wherefore it is so. The matter is like the king who had a son, who reared a dog, and named it after his father's name, and whenever he swore would say, By the life of the dog Abba. When the king heard thereof, with whom would he be angry, with the son or with the dog? He said, With the son. He said (also) unto him, Thou art calling it (the idol) a dog; and is there no reality (מַמָּשׁ) in it? He (R. Gamaliel) saith, And what hast thou seen? He saith unto him, Once a fire broke out in our city, and the whole city was burnt, but the idol-house was not burnt. He saith unto him, I will tell thee why, by a parable. The matter is like the king against whom a province had rebelled. When he made war, did he make it with the living or with the dead? He saith unto him, Dog thou callest it, dead thou callest it. If it be so, let him destroy them (the idols) out of the world. He saith unto him, If the heathen served only a thing that the world had no need of, he would abolish it. As it is, they serve the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Zodiacal Signs, the Rivers, and the Valleys: must God destroy his world for the sake of fools?"

After what has been said, it is hardly worth while to notice the objections raised by matter-of-fact critics against the two closely-connected stories of our Apocryphon. "Anachronisms," "literary extravagances," "a legendary character," are obvious on the face of the narratives; but such faults as these,

though valid against any pretensions to the rank of authentic history, do not render the stories less effective as pieces of Haggadic satire, or less interesting as preserving vestiges of a cycle of popular legends relating to Daniel. In the LXX. the piece bears the curious title ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευΐ: "From the prophecy of Habakkuk son of Joshua, of the tribe of Levi." (So also the Syro-Hexaplar.) Bertholdt supposed that this Habakkuk was an Egyptian Jew, who worked up a *Volkssage* about Daniel into the present narrative. It is more likely that the prophet Habakkuk, who probably flourished in the last decade of the 7th cent. B.C., and may well have been a Levite (see the subscription to chap. iii. 19), is the author intended (so S. Jerome);[1] in which case, as Fritzsche observes, the piece may be an extract from a pseudepigraphic writing attributed to that prophet. This partly explains the language of S. Athanasius ('Synops. Script. Sacr.;' in Migne, 'Series Græca' tom. xxviii. 432): Βαρουὶχ Ἀμβακοὺμ Ἐζεχιὴλ καὶ Δανιὴλ ψευδεπίγραφα. The fact that in the LXX. Daniel is introduced as a *priest*, and as a person otherwise unknown, points in the same direction.

[1] Eusebius supposed another Habakkuk and another Daniel.

THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF ‖BEL AND THE DRAGON,

‖ Gr. *Bel's dragon.*

Cut off from the end of *DANIEL.*

19 *The fraud of Bel's priests is discovered by Daniel,* 27 *and the dragon slain, which was worshipped.* 33 *Daniel is preserved in the lions' den.* 42 *The king doth acknowledge the God of Daniel, and casteth his enemies into the same den.*

AND king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.

2 And Daniel ‖conversed with the king, and was honoured above all his friends.

‖ Or, *lived with the king.*

3 Now the Babylonians had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine.

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1. *king Astyages.*] See Hdt. i. 107, according to which passage Cyrus was son of Mandane, daughter of Astyages the Mede, and Cambyses the Persian. Hdt. i. 130 relates that Cyrus deprived Astyages of his kingdom, and kept him at his court until the old king died. Our text appears to assert that Cyrus only assumed the sovereignty on the death of his grandfather. Ancient authorities are not agreed as to whether Cyrus was the immediate successor of Astyages (Diod., Justin, Strabo, Canon of Ptolemy), or not (Xen. 'Cyrop.' i. 19, Cyaxares; Joseph. 'Ant.' x. 11. 4, Darius); nor as to the manner in which the Persian sovereign got possession of the Median realm. The recently discovered cuneiform records of Nabonidus and Cyrus himself have thrown unexpected light upon difficulties which were the despair of bygone generations of scholars. Cyrus relates that Astyages "assembled (his forces), and against Kurash king of Anshan (Cyrus king of Persia) to take him he marched . . . Ishtuvēgū (Astyages), his forces rebelled against him, and with hands seized (took him prisoner), to Kurash they ga(ve him up). (Marched) Kurash to the land of Agamtanu, the royal city; silver, gold . . . of the land of Agamtanu he carried off, and to the land of Anshan he took the plunder." This generally confirms the statements of Herodotus on the matter. (See 'Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.' vii. 155.) Nabonidus (*Nabû-nâhid*) states that his god Merodach "Kuras king of Anzan, his young servant, with his clansmen caused to march; the far-reaching people of Manda (the Medes) he defeated; *Ishtuvêgû* king of the people of Manda he captured, and his hoards to his own land he took." ('Cylinder of Nabonidus,' lines 27–29.) In the Vulgate, this is the concluding verse of Susanna.

2. *And Daniel conversed with the king.*] Lit., "and Daniel was a companion of the king." Συμβιωτὴς, *conviva*, is a term so used in Polyb. viii. 12. 3; and Cic. 'Fam.,' ix. 10. Plutarch has the word of the *confidants* of the Emperors ('Jul. Caes.' 21). Συμβίωσις occurs in Wisd. viii. 3, 9, 16. Syr. W. prefixes the statement: "And Daniel —his glory was equal with that of the king."

was honoured above all his friends.] Comp. the favour which Daniel is said to have enjoyed with Darius the Mede (Dan. vi. 3). In ch. i. 21 we read that Daniel "continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus," *i.e.* remained in Babylon until the year when permission was given for the Jewish exiles to return. Ch. x. purports to relate a vision seen by Daniel "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia."

The LXX. and Syr. H. begin the narrative thus: "A man there was, a priest, whose name was Daniel son of Abal, a companion of the king of Babylon." Thus the particular king is left undetermined. See Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 7, for a priest named Daniel, contemporary with Ezra. According to Dan. i. 3, 6, the prophet of this name was hardly a priest. The name Ἀβαλ is probably corrupted from some word like Ἀβιήλ or Ἀβιχαίλ (Num. iii. 35). This seems better than to regard it as a variant of Ἀβελ, הבל, Abel, Gen. iv. 2. Epiphanius ('Advers. Haeret.' lv. 3) speaks of Σαβαὰν (? שבעון = שמעון, Simeon) as the father of the prophet Daniel.

3. *Bel.*] Βήλ, in Herod. Ζεὺς Βῆλος, the Assyro-Babylonian *Bêlu, Bêl;* that is, Bel-

4 And the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost not thou worship Bel?

5 Who answered and said, Because I may not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

Merodach, the tutelar god of Babylon. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 1, בֵּל, which reproduces this foreign name accurately. It answers to the Heb. בַּעַל, Aram. בַּעֲל, Baal. This Bel, who is identified with Merodach, the god of the planet Jupiter, is distinct from the old Bel of the first triad of gods, who is called the "father of the gods," and whose consort is Bêlit (Beltis), "the mother of the gods." Bel-Merodach is, in fact, styled "Bêlu the son of Bêlu." His consort is Zarpanitum or Zirbâniti, called "mistress (bêlit) of the countries" and "mistress of the gods," and "first-born of Anum." She is the planet Venus (Dilbad). See also Hdt. i. 131; Μύλιττα = Bêlit.

there were spent upon him every day.] It appears from Herodotus that the god was honoured in this fashion with what the Romans called *lectisternia:* Hdt. i. 183. Cf. also Diod. Sic. ii. 9. The Phillipps' Cylinder gives us Nebuchadnezzar's testimony to the same fact:

"When Merodach, mighty lord, to the lordship of the land
Raised me, and
Widespread peoples for shepherding gave me;
To Merodach, the god my maker, I was reverently obedient,
To follow his laws I bowed the neck.
His rich oblations,
His splendid freewill offerings,
Above the former amount I increased.
For one day an ox, fine (?), fat, ...
Fish, fowl, spices (?) . . . . .
Honey, curd, milk, the best of oil,
Sweet wine (?), mead (?), strong drink, . . .
Costly wine, wine of Izallam,
Of Tu'immu, of Çimmini, of Helbon,
Of Aranabanum, of Suham,
Of Bit-kubatim and Bitatim,
Like the waters of a river, numberless,
In the chalices of Merodach and Zarpanitu,
My lords, I made to abound."
(1 R. 65, col. 1, 8 *sqq.*)

great measures of fine flour, . . . vessels of wine.] Σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβαι . . . οἴνου μετρηταί. The first word, which means "the finest wheaten flour" (Lat. *simila, similago*), represents Heb. מִנְחָה, "meat-offering," A.V.: see Lev. ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7; Isa. i. 13. Cf. also Gen. xviii. 6. Ἀρτάβη occurs Isa. v. 10, for Heb. חֹמֶר, "homer," A.V. The *Artaba* was a Persian measure, containing 1 medimnus 3 choenices, according to Hdt. i. 192; or 1 medimnus, according to Suidas and Hesychius. The former assignment is probably the more exact. The μετρητὴς was the common Athenian liquid measure (= ἀμφορεύς), holding about 9 gallons. The Vulg. gives *amphorae;* but the Roman *amphora* = $\frac{2}{3}$ Attic *metretes.* In 2 Chron. iv. 5 the term renders Heb. בַּת, "bath;" in 1 Kings xviii. 32 סְאָה, "seah," σατόν. It is the "firkin" of John ii. 6. For another account of Bel's daily allowance, see Josippon ben Gorion, *apud* Selden, Syntag. 2, 'de Belo et Dracone.'

Instead of "40 sheep," LXX. and Syr. H. have the disproportionate 4; and "oil" instead of "wine." See *vv.* 10, 14, 21 (LXX.). Syr. W.: "40 rams."

4. *the king worshipped.*] The verb is ἐσέβετο, *venerabatur* (Josh. iv. 24) = יִרְא, *timuit* (Jon. i. 9; Job i. 9). Cyrus, perhaps, was not a monotheist; if he was, he displayed a politic toleration of the religions of his foreign subjects, not unlike that which afterwards distinguished the Roman empire. In the annals of *Nabû-nâhid,* he represents himself as enjoying the special favour of Merodach, who foretells his march upon Babylon, and accompanies him thither. Cyrus even asserts that he has made daily prayers to Bel and Nebo that they might intercede with Merodach on his behalf. The legend before us, therefore, in its representation here, happens to coincide in part with the facts of history.

Daniel worshipped.] προσεκύνει, "used to fall down before," often in LXX. as = הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה, *se procubuit,* an act of homage to God or man (1 Chron. xxix. 20; Gen. xviii. 2, xxiv. 26). In Daniel = Chaldee סְגִד (ii. 46; iii. 5, 6, 7, &c.). (The same verb as "to adore" *ante.*)

LXX., Syr. H.: Δανιὴλ δὲ προσηύχετο πρὸς κύριον, "but Daniel used to pray unto Jehovah." A similar contrast is presented in Dan. iii.; cf. also Dan. vi. 11. So Syr. W.: "God," absolutely. At the end it adds rightly, "my god."

5. *Who answered and said,* &c.] Lit., "But he said, Because I worship (σέβομαι) not idols," &c. (Isa. ii. 8, xxxi. 7; Deut. iv. 28; 2 Kings xix. 18; Ps. cxv. 4).

who hath created the heaven.] τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ. So the LXX. Gen. xiv. 19, 22, for Heb. "possessor of heaven and earth." The word here may have been בּוֹרֵא, *creans* (Isa. xlv. 7, 8; Amos iv. 13).

6 Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day?

7 Then Daniel smiled, and said, O king, be not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never [a] eat or drink any thing.

[a] Ecclus. 30. 19.

8 So the king was wroth, and called for his priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devoureth these expences, ye shall die.

9 But if ye can certify me that Bel devoureth them, then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word.

10 Now the priests of Bel were

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hath sovereignty over all flesh.] ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυρείαν. The uncommon term κυρεία, *imperium*, = Chaldee שִׁלְטָנָא, Dan. iv. 19, vi. 27; and in Dan. xi. 3, 4, 5 = Heb. מֶמְשָׁל and מִמְשָׁל.

The LXX. has: "And Daniel said unto the king, None worship I save Jehovah (κύριον anarthrous), the God who created the heaven," &c. Theod. is more antithetical. He contrasts idols which are manufactured, and therefore lifeless objects, with the living God who made all things and is the rightful Lord of all living. Cf. Num. xvi. 22: "El, god of the spirits of all flesh." This is, of course, written from the Jewish standpoint. *We* may remember that the Bel of the first triad was called the "Creator" (*bânû*); and Merodach, to whose worship the great Nebuchadnezzar was especially devoted, is styled by him and others "king of heaven and earth," "exalted ruler," "the god my Maker," "the god of gods," &c.

6. *Thinkest thou not that Bel.*] LXX.: "This one, then, is he not a god? Seest thou not how much is spent upon him (*vid. v.* 3 *supra*) every day?" The second question in Theod. is ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς κ.τ.λ., "Or (if thou dost not) seest thou not," &c. There is something intensely ironical in the proof alleged for Bel's real existence—no other or higher function of life than "eating and drinking," the almost mechanical process of nutrition (τὸ θρεπτικόν) which man shares with the brute creation. Cf. Ps. l. 7–13. The stress laid on the *quantity* of food consumed shews that the god is regarded merely as a sort of giant or magnified man. A necessity of eating is a proof not of divinity but of mortality; it is a contradiction of the *autarkeia* of deity (Arnald).

7. *smiled*—γελάσας—is added by Theod. For the compound of "clay and brass," cf. Dan. ii. 32, 34.

be not deceived.] μὴ πλανῶ, "do not go on deceiving thyself." Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14; Wisd. ii. 21. The LXX. is more emphatic: "By no means let any man mislead thee by false argument" (μηδαμῶς μηδείς σε παραλογιζέσθω. Gen. xxix. 25; Josh. ix. 22); "and I swear unto thee by Jehovah the God of gods (Syr. H. obelizes the oath), that this one hath never eaten anything." For the expression "God of gods," see Dan. xi. 36, ii. 47; Deut. x. 17; Ps. cxxxvi. 2; and the note on *v.* 5 *supra*.

8. *his priests.*] *I.e.* the priests *of Bel*, as Syr. W. explains. LXX., "the overseers of the temple"—τοὺς προεστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

If ye tell me not.] Cf. Dan. ii. 5. LXX. and Syr. H.: "Shew (παραδείξατε, Ezek. xxii. 2; Exod. xxvii. 2) who eateth the things prepared for Bel; otherwise ye shall die—or Daniel, who allegeth that the things (αὐτὰ) are not eaten by him" (*i.e.* Bel). The king means to say, One or the other must die, and the issue will depend on your answer. The brevity of expression is remarkable. εἰ δὲ μήγε ἀποθανεῖσθε, ἢ Δανιὴλ ὁ φάσκων κ.τ.λ.: "or (if ye do shew it) Daniel (shall die), who pretendeth," &c. The LXX. text continues: "But they said, 'Bel himself is he that devoureth them.' But Daniel said unto the king, 'Let it be thus: If I shew not that it is not Bel that devoureth these things, I will die (= let me be put to death) and all my friends'" (οἱ παρ' ἐμοί. Susann. 33, οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς. This seems to shew that οἱ παρ' ἐμοῦ should be read here. See *v.* 14 *infra*, where for "his servants" LXX. has τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ).

expences.] δαπάνη. Hesychius explains the word by τροφή, "keep." Cf. Ezra vi. 4, 8; and δαπάνημα, 2 Macc. xi. 31. The Syr. W. and Arabic versions have a term which literally means "outgoing" (cf. "income"). Perhaps the Heb. was the late הוֹצָאָה. See the verb in 2 Kings xii. 13.

10. *Now the priests of Bel.*] The number assigned looks small beside that of Ahab and Jezebel's Baal-priests (1 Kings xviii. 19, 22). After this statement of the sum of the priests, LXX., Syr. H. proceed as follows: "But they led the king into the idol's chamber (εἰδωλεῖον, 1 Macc. i. 47; 1 Cor. viii. 10), and the meats were set on in the presence of the king and Daniel, and wine mingled was brought

threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went with Daniel into the temple of Bel.

11 So Bel's priests said, Lo, we go out: but thou, O king, set on the meat, and make ready the wine, and shut the door fast, and seal it with thine own signet;

12 And to morrow when thou comest in, if thou findest not that Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh falsely against us.

13 And they little regarded it: for under the table they had made a privy entrance, whereby they entered

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in and set on for Bel. And Daniel said, Thou thyself seest that these things are here (*κεῖται*), O king. Thou, then, shalt seal the bolts (*τὰς κλεῖδας* = *κλεῖθρα* here) of the temple, when it shall be shut. But the saying pleased the king. But Daniel ordered his people (*τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ*) to put all men out (*ἐκβαλόντας*, Mark v. 40) of the temple, and sprinkle all the temple with ashes, without the knowledge of any of those who were outside of it. And then having sealed the temple, he bade seal it with the king's seal and with the seals of certain honoured priests. And it was done so." The word "sprinkle"—*καταπάσαι*—is Fritzsche's emendation of *καταστῆσαι* (Cod. Chisian.): cf. 2 Macc. x. 25. He also suggests *καταστρῶσαι* and *καταστεῖσαι* (see note on *v.* 14 *infra*). Syr. H.: "to prepare."

"Temple" is "house," *οἶκος*, בית (1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Kings xix. 37). The specific Heb. term for "temple" or "palace," *hêkāl* (היכל), Assyr. *Êkallu*^{m}, is said to be of pre-Semitic origin, and is referred to the Accadian *ê-gal*, "great house." At Babylon the chief temple of Bel crowned a pyramid built of brick in eight stages, now represented by the mound called *Bâbil*.

11. *we go out.*] Gk. *ἀποτρέχομεν ἔξω*. See note on Susanna 7.

set on the meat.] *παράθες τὰ βρώματα*. *Παρατίθημι* is the usual expression for "setting food before" guests, from the Homeric poems downwards. Cf. Gen. xviii. 8; Luke x. 8; 2 Kings vi. 22.

make ready the wine.] Gk. *τὸν οἶνον κεράσας θές*, "mingle the wine and set it (on):" cf. John ii. 10, *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος πρῶτον τὸν καλὸν οἶνον τίθησι*. Fritzsche observes that it was a Greek and Roman, but hardly an Oriental, and least of all an old Jewish custom, to mingle wine with water, as here represented. But such passages as Prov. ix. 2, 5; Isa. i. 22, may be alleged in favour of a contrary opinion; and Gesenius ('Thesaur.,' p. 808, *s. v.* מסך) declares that the Hebrews and Arabs sometimes followed this practice. Moreover, the red wine of the Passover cups was tempered with water—usually in the proportion of two parts of water to one of wine; whence was derived the custom of the early Church in the matter of mixing the Eucharistic chalice. It appears to have been also an Oriental practice to flavour wines with spices, honey, and other condiments; and some understand the passages Prov. ix. 2, 5 in this sense: cf. Isa. v. 22; Mark xv. 23; and the Talmudic *Abōd. Zār.* 58 B; *Maaser sheni*, 2 A; *Pesach.* 108 B (where wine is distinguished as חי, *vivum*, i.e. *purum*, and ממוג, *mixtum*. The same root in Arab. means "to mix wine with water," and is used here in the Arab. and Syriac versions). Gesenius explains the word ממזג in Cant. vii. 3 thus: "*vinum* idque poculo infusum ibique aqua *temperatum*."

In an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar no fewer than eight kinds of "costly" wines—one that of Helbon, so highly prized by the Persian kings afterwards—are mentioned as used in libations. See Schrader, 'Keilinschr.,' p. 426.

shut the door fast.] *ἀπόκλεισον*. *Vid.* Susanna 18.

seal it with thine own signet.] According to the LXX. (*vid. supr.*) the door was sealed also with the signets of some of the principal priests. In like manner the lions' den was sealed with the signet of the king, and with that of his lords (Dan. vi. 17). Seals were of peculiar importance in Babylonian business of all kinds; and great numbers of royal and other seals, made of carnelian, agate, jasper, alabaster, &c., have been found in Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, inscribed with mythological subjects and sometimes inscriptions in cuneiform.

12. *that speaketh falsely against us.*] *ὁ ψευδόμενος καθ' ἡμῶν*: cf. James iii. 14. The sense involves "shall die," which Syr. W. adds.

13. *they little regarded it.*] That is, the danger. So De Wette: "they were careless." The Gk. is *αὐτοὶ δὲ κατεφρόνουν*, "but they, on their part, were disdainful," or "behaved scornfully." Vulg.: *contemnabant autem*. The verb is used *absolutely*, as in Thucyd. ii. 11. It hardly means "reflecting," either here or in Hdt. viii. 10, as Fritzsche suggests: *vid.* also Dan. iii. 12, xi. 37. "Continually" is *διόλου*; *vid.* Ezek. xxxviii. 8. The verbs are imperf.: "they used to enter and consume" (*ἀνήλουν*). Syr. W.: "But they, be-

in continually, and consumed those things.

14 So when they were gone forth, the king set meats before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and those they strewed throughout all the temple in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king's signet, and so departed.

15 Now in the night came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drink up all.

16 In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him.

17 And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yea, O king, they be whole.

18 And as soon as he had opened the door, the king looked upon the

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cause they were confident—for there was made for them an entry," &c.; an anacoluthon. *Ad fin.*: "they would eat everything that was set on for Bel, and carry off anything that was left."

14. *So . . . the king set.*] Lit., "and it came to pass . . . and the king set"—a common Hebraism: ויהי ויתן. "*The* meats," *i.e.* the customary viands, which had been prepared. Syr. W. is again fuller, and looks more original: "When, then, the priests of Bel had gone forth, the king brought meats, *and filled the table*, and set it before Bel; *and he filled the vessels with wine, after their custom*, and went forth." What follows is literally: "and Daniel commanded his young men (παιδαρίοις) and they brought ashes (τέφρα, Tobit vi. 17; viii. 2: LXX. has σποδός) and shook down all the temple" (κατέσεισαν ὅλον τὸν ναὸν, a singular and isolated use of κατασείω. *Vid.* 1 Macc. vi. 38). Syr. W., "and he sifted it in a sieve before the king, in all the house of Bel;" Vulg., *cribravit per totum templum*. A. V. follows the reading of Codd. 34, 49, *al.*: κατέστρωσαν. Another reading is κατέπασαν, "besprinkled" (Cod. 148); cf. LXX. καταπάσαι, and Arist., 'Clouds,' 177.

with the king's signet.] Syr. W. adds, "and with the seal of Daniel." *Vid.* note on *v.* 12 *supra*.

16. *In the morning betime the king arose.*] "And the king arose early in the morning." A common Heb. phrase. Cf. Josh. iii. 1; viii. 10. Syr. W. adds: "and they went thither."

17. *whole.*] "Intact," "untampered with," *integer, incolumis*; σῶος = שָׁלֵם.

The narrative in the LXX. is again considerably different: "And it came to pass on the morrow they came unto the place, but the priests of Bel through secret doors (ψευδοθυρίδων, *v.* 20 τὰ ψευδοθύρια, *semel dicta*=Theod. ἡ κρυπτὴ θύρα. Cf. ψευδόθυρον; Cic. 'in Verr.' ii. 2, 20) had entered and eaten up all the things which lay before Bel (τὰ παρακείμενα τῷ B. *vid.* Ecclus. xxxiv. 16; Polyb. iii. 57. 8) and the wine. (Syr. H. gets rid of the zeugma by supplying "drunk" before "the wine.") And Daniel said, Look upon (ἐπείδον, Exod. ii. 25; 1 Macc. iii. 59) your seals, whether they remain (unchanged), O ye priests; and thou, O king, consider whether aught hath taken place not according to thy will (σκέψαι μή τί σοι ἀσύμφωνον γεγένηται, Wisd. xviii. 10; Acts xxviii. 25. A covert allusion to what had really happened in the temple). And they found that the seal had lasted" (εὗρον ὡς ἦν [ἡ Fr.] σφραγὶς; cf. Dan. i. 21). The words cannot mean: "they found it as it was *yesterday*," for "yesterday" is not in the Greek. They might be rendered: "They found how the seal (really) was;" or if σφραγὶς be struck out, as Fr. suggests, "they found how it was." But Syr. H. has the word. "And they cast away the seal, and on opening the doors saw all things consumed (*v.* 3, δεδαπανημένα) that had been set on, and the tables empty; and the king was glad and said to Daniel, Great is Bel, and there is not with him deceit (cf. John i. 48). And Daniel laughed much, and said to the king: Hither! behold the deceit of the priests. And Daniel said, O king, these footsteps—whose are they? And the king said, Of men and women and children. And he came unto the house wherein the priests were abiding (ἦσαν—καταγίνομενοι), and found (Syr. H. "they found") the meats of Bel and the wine; and Daniel shewed the king the secret doors, whereby the priests used to enter and consume (ἐδαπάνων) the things set on for Bel. And the king brought them forth from the *Belium* (βήλιον, "temple of Bel;" here only. Cf. Πύθιον, Thucyd. ii. 15), and delivered them to Daniel, and that which was expended (τὴν δαπάνην, *v.* 8) upon him (*i.e.* upon the god) he gave to Daniel, but Bel he overthrew." With the king's cry of "Great is Bel," cf. Acts xix. 28. In the words "Hither, behold *the deceit* (δόλος) *of the priests*," there is an intentional antithesis to the king's exclamation, "Great is Bel, and there is not *with him* deceit," which Theod. has eliminated (*v.* 19).

table, and cried with a loud voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all.

19 Then laughed Daniel, and held the king that he should not go in, and said, Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose footsteps are these.

20 And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, women, and children. And then the king was angry,

21 And took the priests with their wives and children, who shewed him the privy doors, where they came in, and consumed such things as were upon the table.

22 Therefore the king slew them, and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

23 ‖And in that same place there was a great dragon, which they of Babylon worshipped.

‖ Some add this title, *Of the dragon.*

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20. *And then the king was angry.*] This clause—it is not a sentence in the Greek—belongs to the next verse. "And in a rage (ὀργισθεὶς) the king then seized (συνέλαβε) the priests and their wives, &c. and they (the priests, in fear of their lives) shewed him the secret doors whereby they used to enter, and consume (ἐδαπάνων, Judith xi. 13; xii. 4) the things upon the table" (τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. Codd. III., XII., 26, *al.*, τῇ τραπέζῃ. Fritzsche compares 2 Sam. ix. 7, 10, 11, 13; Luke xxii. 30; but those passages speak of *persons* eating *at* a table. The dative, or the reading of Codd. 34, 49, *al.*, ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, seems better). For a parallel to the doings of the priests, see Aristoph. 'Plutus,' iii. 2. The scene is the temple of Aesculapius. "At length the sacristan, having put out the lights, ordered us to go to sleep; and charged us, if we heard any noise, not to cry out. We then lay down all of us in a very orderly manner; but I could not sleep. . . . Then looking up, I saw the priest greedily snatching away the cakes and figs from the sacred table; after which, he took his rounds about the altars, to see if there was any loaf left, and consecrated all he found—into a wallet which he carried for that purpose." (Fielding and Young's translation, p. 214.)

22. *delivered Bel into Daniel's power.*] ἔδωκε τὸν βὴλ ἔκδοτον τῷ Δ. For the Gk. phrase, see Demosth. 648. 25; and cf. Acts ii. 23. The present passage is the only reference in Trommius. Syr. W., Arab.: "gave Bel as a gift to Daniel."

who destroyed.] "And he overthrew." "Temple" is τὸ ἱερὸν, which sometimes denotes the edifice as distinct from the τέμενος or sacred *enclosure*, and sometimes the *group of sacred buildings* as contrasted with the ναὸς or temple proper. Here the word is used as equivalent to ναὸς (which Codd. XII., 26, 34, read). Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 18, xlv. 19; 1 Macc. x. 43, 84; xi. 4. Of course the assertion that Daniel was thus permitted to destroy Bel and his temple is merely part of the Haggada. According to Hdt. (i. 183), Xerxes plundered the temple; according to Strabo (xvi. 1) and Arrian ('Exped. Alex.' vii. 17), he destroyed it. Alexander intended to restore it. We know also from authentic inscriptions of the period that the historical Cyrus assumed a very different attitude towards the gods of Babylon from that here supposed in the interest of the legend. The slaughter of the priests may be compared with that of the "wise men of Babylon" (Dan. ii. 12), and that of Daniel's accusers (Dan. vi. 24).

23. *great dragon.*] Homer uses δράκων =ὄφις, 'Il.' ii. 200–208; and this appears to be the fundamental conception, which becomes so greatly distorted in the fabulous dragon. The serpent is a very ancient figure in mythology. Thus Egyptian myth tells of a great dragon Apepi ("he who mounts up"), who has no eyes, nose, or ears, but *roars* as he comes along. Apepi is the storm-cloud, and he is overcome by the fire and flinty sword of the Sun-god, and is forced back into his cavern, and over him is placed a stone "of forty cubits," while the 'devouring flame preys upon his bones. (*Vid.* a learned and interesting article by Mr. Le Page Renouf in 'Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.,' vol. viii. pt. 2.) We find traces of similar ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures, where they are apparently used consciously as mere poetic imagery, *e.g.* Job xxvi. 13, "By his breath (wind) the skies are beauty; his hand pierceth the fugitive serpent;" Isa. li. 9, xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14; Ezek. xxix. 3. Among the Babylonian inscriptions preserved in the British Museum there is a fragmentary account of a fight between Bel and the monster Tiâmat (the sea—תהום—personified); and Berosus (*apud* Euseb. 'Chron.' i.) describes how Belus cut Ὁμόρωκα Θαλὰτθ in two, and formed heaven and earth out of the two halves, destroyed the sea-monsters who were the offspring of the union of the primeval waters of Apsû and Tiâmat, and then struck off his own head. The other gods mixed the blood that flowed from Bel with earth, and so fashioned man.

24 And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god: therefore worship him.

25 Then said Daniel unto the king, I will worship the Lord my God: for he is the living God.

26 But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff. The king said, I give thee leave.

27 Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder: and Daniel said, ‖Lo, these are the gods ye worship.

‖ Or, *Behold what ye worship.*

28 When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and

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The "dragon" of our text is not described, but is obviously intended to be understood of a living creature, probably a large sacred serpent. It is true that such worship is not known to have been practised at Babylon; but the purpose of our Haggada is to ridicule idolatry and to magnify Daniel, not to teach history. (Cf. Wisdom xv. 18.) At the same time, we know from the monuments that the Babylonians had a snake-deity, whom they called *ilu Çir*, "the Serpent-god" (1 R. 70, col. 1, 13. 21); and that, side by side with the winged man-headed bulls, at the gates of cities, temples, and palaces, huge serpents of stone and bronze were erected as protecting powers. (Nebuch. India House Inscr. vi. 5, 16, 17; Phillipps Cyl. i. 44; Nerigl. i. 21 *sqq.*; Diod. Sic. ii. 9.) Living serpents, like crocodiles, cats, and other animals, were worshipped in Egypt (Aelian. 'de Animal.' xi. 17); and a sacred serpent was kept in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus (Val. Max. i. 8), which the Romans sent to fetch on occasion of a plague. It will be noticed that both in East and West the serpent symbolised a beneficent, not a malignant power.

24. *thou canst not say . . . god.*] Added by Theod. Cf. note on *v.* 6 *supra*. Verse 25 is also wanting in the LXX. Cf. Deut. vi. 13; Matt. iv. 10; Dan. vi. 20, 26 ("living god"); 1 Thess. i. 9.

26. *give me leave.*] "Leave" is ἐξουσία, "delegated authority," as in N. T. of the authority Christ received from His Father. For "slay" (ἀποκτενῶ) the LXX. has "take off," "get rid of" (ἀνελῶ); and for "sword" (μαχαίρας), "iron" (σιδήρου), which in Job v. 20 renders חרב, "sword;" cf. *ferrum*. For the combination "sword or staff," cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 40, 43, 45, 47; Matt. xxvi. 47, 55.

I give thee leave.] Δίδωμί σοι, *scil.* ἐξουσίαν. LXX., "And the king yielded to him (συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ), and said to him, It is given thee" (δέδοταί σοι).

27. *pitch.*] LXX., "of pitch thirty minas." The μνᾶ was originally a Babylonian weight —the *mana* of the inscriptions, and the מנה, *mānèh*, of the Bible. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 24. Theod. omits the weight, probably because it seemed too large a dose; but then the "dragon" is conceived as large.

lumps.] μᾶζας. Cod. Chis. μᾶζαν; Vulg., *massas*. The Gk. term means "cakes" (Arist., 'Knights,' 55). Trommius cites the present passage only. The Syr. texts have a Syriacized form of σφαῖρας, i.e. "*round* cakes." Syr. W. adds: "and the dragon swallowed them." According to Josippon ben Gorion, Daniel fastened a number of iron combs together, back to back, and baited the teeth with lumps of flesh and fat, smearing the parts of them that remained visible with pitch and sulphur, to hide them. This mass he threw into the mouth of the dragon, which swallowed it; and when the bait had dissolved, the iron teeth pierced its stomach, and the creature died miserably on the following day. This may represent an older, as it certainly is a more reasonable, form of the story. "Lumps of pitch and fat and hair" would not make an animal "burst," though they might perhaps choke it.

Lo, these are the gods ye worship.] ἴδετε τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν, "behold ye your deities!" (objects of reverence and worship): cf. Acts xvii. 23; Wisdom xiv. 20, xv. 17. The LXX. has: "And he shewed him to the king, saying, Is it not these things (such helpless, crazy objects) that ye worship, O king?" A stinging question (οὐ ταῦτα σέβεσθε; *nonne haec veneramini?*). The *plural* generalizes the term; and this remark applies to Theodotion's ἴδετε. Or we may explain, "Behold, thou and thy people!" Ἰδέ, ἰδού are therefore needless corrections. Syr. W.: "O Babylonians!"

28. *When they of Babylon.*] "And it came to pass, when the Babylonians heard, they were sore displeased (ἠγανάκτησαν λίαν: cf. Wisdom xii. 27), and they conspired . . . (συνεστράφησαν, "united," "clubbed together," 2 Kings ix. 14, xxi. 23; Thucyd. iv. 68, viii. 54) and said." LXX.: "and they of the country (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας) came together all against Daniel and said."

conspired against the king, saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath destroyed Bel, he hath slain the dragon, and put the priests to death.

29 So they came to the king, and said, Deliver us Daniel, or else we will destroy thee and thine house.

30 Now when the king saw that they pressed him sore, being constrained, he [b]delivered Daniel unto them : [b] Dan. 6. 16.

31 Who cast him into the lions' den : where he was six days.

32 And in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day [‖]two carcases, and two [‖] Or, *two slaves.*

The king is become a Jew.] So Syr. The context is against Grotius' rendering, "A Jew has become king" (he strikes out the article). The saying put into the mouth of the people is perfectly just and suited to the supposed circumstances. For "Jew," cf. Dan. iii. 12; 2 Kings xxv. 25; Esth. viii. 17 (*Ἰουδαΐζω, Judaizo,* יהודי). "Destroyed" is *κατέσπασε*, "dragged down" (2 Kings x. 27; 2 Chron. xxiii. 17). The LXX. has *κατέστρεψε*, as in *v.* 22.

and put the priests to death.] *κατέσφαξε*, "slaughtered" them. The clause is suitably added by Theod.

29. *destroy thee and thine house.*] "*Kill* thee and thy family." The LXX. text of the verse is: "And the king seeing that the mob (*ὄχλος*) of the country had come together against him (*ἐπ' αὐτὸν*, against Daniel), called his fellow-livers and said, I give Daniel unto destruction" (*δίδωμι τὸν Δ. εἰς ἀπώλειαν*. Ezek. xxix. 10, xxxii. 15; cf. Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29). We have to think of a popular rising; but even so, the menace addressed to the Great King hardly appears probable when we remember the strength of Oriental despotism. The Haggadist is profoundly unconscious of the absurdity of supposing that the recently subjugated Babylonians could venture thus to threaten their conqueror.

30. *Now when the king.*] With the king's unwillingness to sacrifice Daniel, cf. Dan. vi. 14, 15. The verse is added by Theod. The LXX. continues: "Now there was a den (*λάκκος*, "pit;" גב, Dan. vi. 8, &c.) in which seven lions were kept (Dan. iv. 12), unto which they that plotted against the king (*οἱ ἐπίβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως*) used to be delivered up, and there were provided (*ἐχορηγεῖτο*, Judith xii. 2) for them day by day of the condemned (*τῶν ἐπιθανατίων*, Dionys. Hal. vii. 35) two bodies" (*σώματα*. The term need not denote "corpse." It is used for the "*living* body," "person," "human being," and in later usage for "slave." Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 6; Tob. x. 10; Rev. xviii. 13; Polyb. xii. 16. 5).

The number *seven* is noticeable, as also the reference to "plotters against the king." Here as elsewhere it would be easy to decide in favour of the priority and higher originality of the LXX. text, even in the absence of external evidence.

31. *Who . . . where.*] "But they . . . and he was there." As to the lions' "den," Fritzsche observes that in Dan. vi. it is a mere cistern, whereas here it is a proper den or vivarium, into which people looked down from above. We fail to see the difference he suggests. Both accounts seem to indicate a partly subterranean chamber; and it is certainly difficult to understand how lions could live for any length of time under such cramped conditions as Dan. vi. 17 implies. LXX.: "And the throngs (*οἱ ὄχλοι*) cast Daniel into that pit, in order that he might be devoured, and might not even meet with burial." The last particular, omitted by Theod., is important in several respects. The ancients generally considered the lack of customary obsequies to be the greatest calamity and dishonour. (Cf. the plot of Sophocles' 'Antigone;' and Horace, 'Carm.' I. xxviii. See also 2 Macc. xiii. 7; ix. 15.) In the latter place it is said of Antiochus Epiphanes that he had not judged the Jews worthy of burial, but "to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts." Dr. Neubauer, in the preface to his 'Book of Tobit,' mentions "the frequent and strange allusion to a secret burial of dead men, the special demand of Tobi to bury him and his wife in honour, the lamentation of Sarah that she had no one to bury her parents," as special phenomena of that beautiful story, whence he concludes that it belongs to a time when the Jews were prohibited from practising their peculiar rites of burial. We agree with this, though we cannot accept the date which, after Grätz, he assigns to the work in question. But we think that we may in like manner conclude from the present indication, taken along with 2 Macc. ix. 15, that this story of Bel and the Dragon belongs to the times following upon the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.

six days.] On the occasion Dan. vi. 19, he "continued not in the pit save one night," as the Midrash remarks. (See Introd.)

32. *every day.*] *τὴν ἡμέραν*, an unusual expression. Properly "during the day," *i.e.* during *each* day, the article being distributive in sense.

sheep: which then were not given to them, to the intent they might devour Daniel.

33 Now there was in Jewry a prophet, called Habbacuc, who had
Or, *sod.* ‖made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, and was going into the field, for to bring it to the reapers.

34 But the angel of the Lord said unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

35 And Habbacuc said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is.

36 Then the angel of the Lord
[c] Ezek. 8. 3. took him by the crown, and [c]bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den.

37 And Habbacuc cried, saying, O Daniel, Daniel, [d]take the dinner
[d] 1 Kings 17. 4. which God hath sent thee.

38 And Daniel said, Thou hast remembered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken them that seek thee and love thee.

39 So Daniel arose, and did eat: and the angel of the Lord set Habbacuc in his own place again immediately.

40 Upon the seventh day the king went to bewail Daniel: and when he came to the den, he looked in, and, behold, Daniel was sitting.

41 Then cried the king with a

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two carcases.] "Bodies," "persons;" perhaps condemned criminals or slaves: cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

which then were not given.] This aggravation of the lions' natural ferocity reminds us of the sevenfold heating of the furnace above what was requisite (Dan. iii. 19).

33. *Now there was . . .*] Lit. "and Habakkuk (Gk. *Ambakoum*) the prophet was in Judea, and he had seethed a seething" (ἥψησεν ἕψεμα, Gen. xxv. 29; 2 Kings iv. 38; Hagg. ii. 12). LXX., Syr. H.: "And it came to pass on the sixth day that Habakkuk had loaves (so Theod. ἄρτους) broken (ἐντεθρυμμένους, "crumbled;" the proper word for making sop) in a bowl, in a seething (ἐν ἑψήματι), and a jar (στάμνος, Arist. 'Plut.' 545; 1 Kings xiv. 3) of wine mingled, and was going into the field unto the reapers."

34. *the angel of the Lord.*] This is right, though the Gk. is ἄγγελος κυρίου, for that expression = מלאך יהוה. Susanna 42. As to "dinner"—ἄριστον—see Susanna 13, note. LXX.: "And the angel of the Lord spake unto Habakkuk, saying, Thus saith the Lord God unto thee," &c.; and in the next verse Habakkuk replies, "Lord *God.*"

36. *through the vehemency of his spirit.*] ἐν τῷ ῥοίζῳ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 5; Wisdom v. 11; for ῥοῖζος, which may mean any *whistling* or *rushing* sound, as of arrows, wings, winds, &c.; and (2) a rushing *motion, rush.* Syr. W. and Midrash Bereshith Rabba: "in the might of the Holy Ghost;" but the Vulg. comes nearer, *in impetu spiritus sui.* The reference is to the *swiftness* of the angel's panting flight. Cf. Dan. ix. 21; Ezek. viii. 3: "And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and a spirit (or *a wind*) lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem." LXX.: "And the angel of the Lord having laid hold of him, to wit, of Habakkuk, by the hair of his head, set him over the den in Babylon." Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 11, 16; Ezek. iii. 12, 14; Acts viii. 39: "The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip," where Cod. A has "an angel of the Lord." Ps. civ. 4.

37, 38. LXX., Syr. H.: "And Habakkuk said unto Daniel, Arise and eat the dinner which the Lord God hath sent thee. And Daniel said, Yea, for the Lord God, who forsaketh not them that love him, hath remembered me" (ἐμνήσθη γάρ. So Theod. ἐμνήσθης γάρ. Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 20).

39. LXX., Syr. H.: "And Daniel did eat. But the angel of the Lord conducted (κατέστησε, Acts xvii. 15) Habakkuk (to the place) whence he took him, on the same day: but the Lord God remembered Daniel."

set . . . again.] ἀπεκατέστησε, "restored," "carried back" (Jer. xvi. 15; Gen. xxix. 3; Judith vi. 10).

40, 41. LXX.: "But the king went forth after these things, bewailing Daniel, and having stooped down to peep into the pit (ἐγκύψας εἰς . . .) he seeth him sitting." Cf. Dan. vi. 26. Syr. W. omits the last clause of *v.* 41.

loud voice, saying, Great art thou, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other beside thee.

42 [e]And he drew him out, [f]and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face.

[e] Jer. 37. 17.
[f] Dan. 6. 24.

42. *drew him out.*] "up"—*ἀνέσπασεν*. So Syr. W.; but LXX., Syr. H.: "And the king brought Daniel forth out of the pit."

before his face.] *I.e.* Daniel's. See LXX.: "And those that were the cause of his destruction he cast into the pit before Daniel, and they were devoured." Cf. Dan. vi. 24. The Vulgate adds: *Tunc rex ait: Paveant omnes habitantes in universa terra Deum Danielis: quia ipse est salvator, faciens signa et mirabilia in terra; qui liberavit Danielem de lacu leonum.* This conclusion, borrowed from Dan. vi. 26, 27, fitly expresses the moral of both stories—a moral of which the sterling value is not sensibly diminished by the historical improbability of a Median or Persian monarch decreeing universal homage to the God of Israel.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES.

א"ר יוחנן כל האומר מנשה אין לו חלק לעה"ב מרפה ידיהן של בעלי תשובה:

"Said R. Johanan: Whoso saith, 'Manasseh hath no part in the world to come,' discourageth the penitent."—*Sanhedr.* 103 A, line 1.

IN 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 *seq.* we are told that Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah, king of Judah, zealously restored the polytheism abolished by his father, even setting up "the graven image of the idol which he had made in the house of God" at Jerusalem (*v.* 7). "And the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people [by prophets]; but they would not hearken. Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh with the hooks [Amos iv. 2; Isa. xxxvii. 29], and bound him with the double chain of copper, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, and prayed unto him: and he vouchsafed him grace, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God" (*vv.* 10–13). The narrative then describes the amends made by the restored sovereign, and concludes with an explicit reference to the sources of the story: "Now the rest of the history of Manasseh, *and his prayer unto his God*, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the Lord God of Israel, behold, they are written in the *History of the Kings of Israel.* And his prayer, and the grace vouchsafed him, and all his sin and his treachery (to God), and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the *Ashērim* and the graven images, before he was humbled: behold, they are written in the *History of the Seers*" [or Hozai = Hozaiah; a particular seer. In any case a section of the great *History of the Kings of Israel*]. Eminent scholars and critics, like De Wette, Graf, and Nöldeke,[1] have thrown suspicion upon this account, basing their objections partly on the silence of the Book of Kings, and partly upon supposed internal evidence. The former argument is hardly worth noticing. As to the latter, it was asserted that history was against the implied supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia at the period in question (the first half of the 7th cent. B.C.); exception was taken to the statement that the officers of an *Assyrian* king had carried their captive to *Babylon*, and not to Nineveh, the Assyrian capital; and, apart from these supposed errors of fact, it was declared to be wholly improbable that Manasseh should first have been loaded with chains and treated with such indignity as the text represents, and then restored to his former kingly state. But these difficulties, which used to be asserted with such confidence by assailants of the Chronicler's historical veracity, have disappeared in the light unexpectedly contributed by cuneiform discovery. We now know that *Ashûrahiddîn* (Esarhaddon), the son of *Sanaḥîrib* or Sennacherib, king of Assyria (681–668 B.C.), rebuilt Babylon, which his father had razed to the ground (B.C. 691), and held his court there during six months of the year.[2] Further than this, "Manasseh, king of the land (or city) of Judah"—*Menasê* (*Minsê*) *shar mât* (or *âl*) *Ya'ûdî*—is actually mentioned in a list of twenty-two kings of Phœnicia-Palestine and Cyprus, who, as vassals of Esar-

[1] See Schenkel's 'Bibellexicon,' *s. v.* Manass. According to Nöldeke, the story is an edifying fiction, intended to moderate the impression produced by the otherwise unbroken prosperity of so wicked a king.

[2] *Vid.* Sayce, 'Herod.' App. ii. p. 382.

haddon, contributed materials for the building of his palace at Nineveh.[1] Professor Sayce thinks that it was Esarhaddon who had Manasseh conveyed as a prisoner to Babylon, after crushing his revolt.[2] But the inscription referred to, as Schrader observes, says nothing of any rebellion in *Palestine;* and, upon the whole, it appears more probable that Manasseh either participated, or was suspected of participating, in the general rising of *Shamash-shum-ukîn*, viceroy of Babylon and brother of *Ashûrbânapli* (Assurbanipal), the son and successor of Esarhaddon, *circ.* 648 B.C. Assurbanipal himself informs us that not only Elam, Guti, and Meluḫḫê (Meroe or Ethiopia), but also *mât Aḫarri*, "the land of the west," or Phœnicia-Palestine, was implicated in this revolt.[3] After the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukîn (Gk. Saosduchinos or Sammughes), and the assumption by Ashurbanapli of the Babylonian sceptre, it is natural to suppose that the Great King sometimes resided at his second capital, and that on one of these occasions Manasseh was brought in chains before him, to answer the charges laid against him. The inscriptions expressly state that Ashurbanapli received a Cypriote embassy at Babylon after his victory.

The last objection of the critics is met by an exactly parallel case. In Smith's 'Abp.' 43, 45, we read: "*Shar-lûdâri* (and) *Nîkû* they seized; with bands of iron, (and) fetters of iron, they made fast (their) hands and feet." Afterwards, when *Nîkû* (Necho) had been carried thus to Nineveh, Ashurbanapli "granted him grace," and allowed him to return to his vassal-kingdom of Saïs and Memphis in Egypt. Schrader supposes that Manasseh was taken to Babylon in the year 647 B.C.[4]

Assuming, then, as we are fully entitled to do, the good faith of the Chronicler, it is evident from the references in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, that a Prayer of Manasseh, written in Hebrew, lay before that writer; and we may perhaps venture to add that there is nothing in the form or substance of the prayer before us which can fairly be alleged against the possibility of its having been ultimately derived from that lost Hebrew original. The ancient Church believed the prayer to be authentic, and read it with other Scriptures. Fritzsche, however, declares that though the Greek style of the piece is Hebraizing (*hebraisirende*), it is evidently not a translation. He considers the prayer to be a later production based upon the story in Chronicles, and in this respect to be classed in the same category with the Additions to Esther, ch. ii.–iv. 6, and the Addition to Dan. iii. 23 (Prayer of Azarias and Song of the Three Children). We hesitate to accept Fritzsche's dictum on this point without reserve: for although the Greek proves the writer to have possessed a fair command of that language, such proficiency as it evinces was not impossible to an Hellenistic Jew; and the writer may have taken pains to soften down the harshness of a baldly literal version. Besides, it seems unlikely that so short a piece should have survived for so long a period as Fritzsche allows, if it had from the first stood isolated, as it stands at present, from any historical context. We incline to think that the Greek is a free translation from some lost Haggadic narrative, which was itself perhaps founded upon the older document from which the Chronicler derived his peculiar details of the history of Manasseh. Fritzsche himself has given certain references to Jewish and Christian sources, to which we may add one or two others from the Talmud, which seem to indicate the former existence of a more copious and in part legendary account of Manasseh's captivity and deliverance. In the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' ii. 22—the earliest known citation of the Prayer—it is given with the addition: "And the Lord hearkened to his voice, and there became about him a flame of fire, and all the irons about him melted." In S. John Damascene[1] we read: "Scholion. It is related in [Julius] Africanus that while Manasseh was saying a psalm [ᾠδὴν,

[1] See 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,' vol. i. 47. 5, 11; vol. iii. 16. 12 *sqq.*;—and Mr. E. A. Budge's 'Hist. of Esarhaddon,' pp. 78, 102 *sqq.*

[2] 'Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments,' p. 152.

[3] Smith's 'Abp.' 154. 33 *sqq.*

[4] *Vid.* 'Die Keilinschr. und das Alt. Test.' 2nd edit., pp. 369–372.

[1] 'Parall.' ii. 15 (Opp. ii. p. 463).

i.e. his Prayer], his bonds, though of iron, burst asunder, and he escaped." Anastasius in Ps. vi. writes: "The ancient historiographers affirm that Manasseh, the king of Israel, when carried away by the Chaldeans, in Babylon of Persis was confined in a brazen figure [κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζώδιον χαλκοῦν—like the Bull of Phalaris], by the king of the *Persians*, and being within, in such a figure, he prayed with tears."[1] Suidas (from Cedrenus), *s. v.* Μανασσῆς: "Wherefore... by Merodach [Marduḵ, the tutelar god of *Babylon*] he was carried away captive in bonds to the city of *Nineveh* [the *Assyrian* capital: *vid. supra*], and was shut into the Brazen Statue [κ. ἐς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα καθείρχθη] . . . he besought the Lord . . . and the statue by divine power burst asunder, &c. . . . But to him bound, being in prison in brazen fetters in Babylon, they used to give scant bread made of bran, and a little water with poor wine measured out (σὺν ὄξει μετρητῷ), to keep him alive, and no more. [This last sentence occurs also in the 'Apost. Constit.'] And then he prayed to the Lord, 'O Lord Almighty,'" &c. (See Targum, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.)[2]

In the Talmud, Manasseh is adduced as a gross example of the scoffer, the idolater, the unclean person, and as an extreme case of the value of penitence. *Sanhedrin*, 99 B: "Our Rabbis have taught (Num. xv. 30), 'And the soul that dealeth with a high hand'—This is Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, who was sitting and delivering offensive expositions. He said: 'What! had Moses nothing else to write but (Gen. xxxvi. 22) "And the sister of Lotan was Timna, and Timna was concubine to Eliphaz;" (or Gen. xxx. 14) "And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, and found mandrakes in the field"?' Came forth the *Bath Qol*, and said unto him: 'Thou sittest, against thy brother thou speakest; against thy mother's son thou utterest offence. These things thou hast done,' &c. (Ps. l. 20, 21). And of him is interpreted by tradition, 'Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity,' &c. (Isa. v. 18)." See also *Sanh.* 103 B.: "Our Rabbis have taught that Manasseh made fifty and five changes in the Law of the Priests, according to the years of his reign." [Rashi explains: "He innovated in the Book of Leviticus every year, and expounded it captiously"—ודורשו מפילפולו.]

A few lines below, 2 Kings xxi. 16 is quoted, with the remark, "This they interpret of his having killed Isaiah." Further on it is said that Rabbi Johanan explained the "graven image" and "graven images" of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 19, in this wise: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face, and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shekhina might see and be provoked." "Manasseh erased the *Azkarôth* [the Divine Name, יהוה, wherever it was written], and overturned the Altar." "Manasseh went in unto his own sister."

The manner of Isaiah's death is described, *Jebamoth*, 49 B.

According to Rabbi Aha bar Amê, the fire that came down from heaven in Solomon's days was not withdrawn [לא נסתלקה] from the Brazen Altar until Manasseh came. Then it departed.

In *Sanhedr.* 103 A, line 3, it is gathered from comparison of 2 Kings xxi. 1, 3, with 1 Kings xvi. 29, that "Manasseh wrought repentance thirty-three years." It is added that, according to R. Johanan, the Lord "made a kind of aperture [מחתרת] in the firmament, in order to receive him in repentance, because of the Property of Justice" [מפני מידת הדין]: in other words, the Property of Mercy could only be indulged surreptitiously, in the case of so flagrant a sinner. The argument turns on the substitution of ויחתר לו, "and he made a hole for him," for ויעתר לו, "and he vouchsafed him grace" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13).

Lastly, in *Sanhedr.* 101 A, we read the following story: "Our Rabbis have taught that when R. Eliezer was sick, four Elders went in to visit him, viz. R. Tarphôn and R. Joshua and R. Eliezer ben Azariah and R. Aqîba. Answered R. Tarphôn and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than a drop of rain, which is a drop of rain in this world; but Rabbi

[1] Canisius, 'Thesaur. Monum.' ed. Basnage, i. 495, date 1725.

[2] Translated at the end of the commentary. See also Fabricius, 'Bibliotheca Graeca,' ed. Harless, iii. p. 733, *kk*.

(is better) in this world and in the world to come.' Answered R. Joshua and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than the sun's orb, which is such in this world, but Rabbi (is better) in this world and in the world to come.' Answered R. E. ben Azariah and said: 'Better art thou to Israel than father and mother, who are father and mother in this world, but Rabbi,' &c. Answered R. Aqîba and said: 'Precious are chastisements.' (The sick Rabbi) said to them, 'Prop me up, that I may listen to the words of my disciple Aqîba, who hath said, Precious are chastisements.' Aqîba said unto him: 'How can you prove that saying?' He said, 'I explain the text (2 Kings xxi. 1) "Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem. And he did the Evil in the eyes of the Lord:" and the Scripture (Prov. xxv. 1): "These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." Could Hezekiah teach the Law to all the world universally, and fail to teach the Law to Manasseh his son? but after all the pains he took with him, and after all the labour he bestowed on him, nothing brought him to well-doing, but chastisements: as it is said (2 Chron. xxxiii. 10–13), "And the Lord spake to Manasseh . . . And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord, &c. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God." There! Thou hast learned that chastisements are precious.'"

I am tempted to translate what immediately follows this story. "Our Rabbis have taught, Three are they who came (before God) with cunning (באו בעלילה): they are Cain, Esau, and Manasseh. Cain, as it is written (Gen. iv. 13), 'My sin is too great for pardon.' Quoth he, before the Lord of the World, 'What! is my sin greater than that of the 600,000 who will hereafter sin before Thee, and Thou wilt pardon them?' Esau, as it is written (Gen. xxvii. 38), 'Hast thou but one blessing, my father?' Manasseh at first called upon many gods, and at last called upon the God of his fathers." [Rashi: "He said, 'If thou save me not, what doth it profit me that I have called on thee, more than the other gods?'"] This passage contradicts others, in that it implies that Manasseh did not really repent, but prevailed upon God by challenging His superiority to idols.

Some of the added details in these passages (Manasseh's incest, his cavilling at Scripture, murder of Isaiah, &c.), taken along with those from the Greek writers cited above, appear to strengthen the supposition of the former existence of a Haggadic legend or group of legends about Manasseh, with which the Prayer before us may have been connected. However this may be, the Prayer is certainly the work of a Jew, and belongs, not as Bertholdt supposed, to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., but to a much earlier period. The ideas throughout are Jewish, and the same may be said of the distinctive form, which is that of a Hebrew *Tephillah*. As a psalm of penitence, it might perhaps have been composed in the stirring times of the Maccabean revolt, to which other portions of the so-called Apocrypha belong. In those trying times the Prayer would obviously suggest that the sincere penitence and trust in Jehovah which had been so effectual for Manasseh's deliverance might again prove similarly effective to the deliverance of the nation. Fritzsche refers the Prayer to about this period. Dr. Bissell follows him, asserting that "there are no traces whatever of its being a translation." Perhaps not, if we conclude thus from the absence of awkward and clumsy expressions, and obvious misunderstandings of Hebrew terms and phrases, such as may be pointed out in other Apocryphal texts; and from the presence of participial constructions, and the use of certain particles, which are not common in highly Hebraized Greek. But all this, as we have said, may only prove that the possible translator knew both languages well. Fürst believes the Prayer to be a version of the lost Hebrew original; and Ewald thinks it not impossible that it is a survival from the דברי חוזי (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19). Bertholdt, on the other hand, found proof of its late origin in the exaggerated idea it expresses of the merits of the Three Patriarchs, and in such non-biblical phrases as ὁ θεὸς τῶν δικαίων and θεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων. It is true that the first of

these conceptions is peculiarly characteristic of Rabbinism. Yet the later Jewish theology, in laying such stress upon the merits of the Fathers, built at least upon a biblical foundation. Such a passage as Exod. xxxii. 13, where Moses prays, "Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants," might easily suggest, taken along with its context, that the merits of the Patriarchs could avail for their posterity. Even the self-revelation of God as "the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham," &c. (Exod. iii. 6) might be so understood; and the conception would be further strengthened by such passages as Gen. xviii. 26 *sqq.*, xix. 29; 1 Kings xi. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 35, xli. 8, li. 1, 2; Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; Ps. cxxxii. 1, 10; 2 Chron. xx. 7. Anyone who remembers the frequent and emphatic assertions of personal integrity made in the Psalms, and such passages as Gen. vi. 9, xvii. 1 (cited in the Talmud *Nedarim*, 32 A; *Sanhedr.* 108 A; *Erubîn*, 18 B), will hardly be much surprised at the Rabbinical inference of the sinlessness of the three patriarchs, and other great personages of antiquity, such as Moses and Aaron (*Shabbath*, 55 B), David and Solomon, and even others of less worthy fame (*Shabbath*, 55 B, 56). Cf. also *Baba Bathra*, 17 A, where it is declared that the יצר הרע, or innate inclination to evil, had no power over Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

As for the other two phrases, although neither occurs in the O. T., it would be easy to shew that each merely formulates O. T. ideas. The Psalmists constantly base their appeals for Divine help on the ground that the righteous God cannot but favour the righteous, and frown upon the wicked. In their thought, and almost in their words, Jehovah is emphatically "the God of the righteous."

Similar remarks would apply to the second phrase; a fact which was fully perceived by Rabbi Johanan when he said (*Berach.* 34 B): כל הנביאים כולן לא נתנבאו אלא לבעלי תשובה, "All the prophets prophesied not but with reference to penitents." Cf. the Penitential Psalms, and Isa. lvii. 15, lxvi. 2, among a host of other passages.

Clearly, then, the internal evidence of the Prayer does not necessitate the late origin supposed by Bertholdt. The fact that 'Apost. Constit.' ii. 22 contains the earliest citation of it led J. A. Fabricius to conjecture that the author of that work was the author of the Prayer. But, as already observed, the writer of the Prayer was a Jew, not a Christian; and the text as given in the 'Apost. Constit.,' though mostly conciding with that of the biblical MSS., is inferior in one or two places (ed. P. A. Delagarde, Lipsiae—Londinii 1862).

A Hebrew version from the Greek may be seen in Wolf's 'Bibl. Hebr.' i. 778.

The usual position of the Prayer in Greek MSS. is among the Hymns appended to the Book of Psalms; it is so, for instance, in the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Zürich Psalter, and in the Ethiopic version of the Psalms edited by J. Ludolf (Frankfort, 1701, 4to). The Prayer is also given in the Ethiopic version of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' which was made from the Greek (ed. Thomas Pell Platt. London, 1834). Its genuine worth, as being no mere cento of scriptural phrases, but an original composition in the manner of the Penitential and Supplicatory Psalms, would naturally lead to its adoption into liturgical use, and its transference from the original setting to the appendix to the Psalter. Since the Council of Trent, it has been relegated along with 3 and 4 Esdras to the end of the Vulgate. In my copy (Paris, 1860) it is given after some indexes, with a prefatory note that, though excluded from the Canon by the Council of Trent, it and the two Books of Esdras are here added, "lest they should become altogether lost; inasmuch as they are occasionally cited by some Fathers, and are found in some Latin MSS. of the Bible, as well as printed copies."

The common Greek text is good, and is supported by the well-executed Latin version, which, as not due to S. Jerome, may be designated *Old Lat.*, though it is later than and superior to that version elsewhere. There are, besides, Arabic MSS. of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' containing the Prayer. *Vid.* the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

THE

PRAYER OF MANASSES

KING OF JUDAH,

When he was holden captive in Babylon.

B. C. cir. 676. O LORD, Almighty God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed; who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof; who hast bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by thy B. C. cir. 676.

In the Greek the heading is "Prayer of Manasses, son of Ezekias."

O Lord, Almighty God, &c.] The stopping is wrong. The comma should follow the word "Almighty." The words "O Lord, Almighty, &c. . . . importable" constitute the opening address or invocation of the prayer. (The following "but" should be cancelled.) "Lord Almighty" is the Gk. equivalent of *Iahweh Sabaoth*. Cod. III. adds ἐπουράνιε, "Heavenly One!" Cf. Dan. iv. 23. The term renders "Shaddai," Ps. lxviii. 14; cf. also Matt. xviii. 35. The "fathers" are named, because their merits were and are supposed by Jews to be efficacious for their descendants.

and of their righteous seed.] An advanced theological idea, according to which Jehovah is not the God of the Jews in general, but only of the righteous remnant. Below, He is addressed as "God of the just" or "righteous." Cf. also Rom. ix. 6–8; Ecclus. x. 19.

with all the ornament thereof.] Gk. σὺν πάντι τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν, "with all the order of them;" an equivalent of the Heb. "with all the host of them" (Gen. ii. 1). Κόσμος represents צבא, the ordered host of heaven (*i.e.* the stars) in Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; Isa. xxiv. 21, xl. 26. The Ethiopic has "world," which indicates a Greek original.

who hast bound the sea.] Or, "fettered," Job xxxvi. 8 (אסר). It was done with a mere word: Job xxxviii. 8–11; Gen. i. 9 (Ps. civ. 9). Ethiopic: "rebuked."

the deep.] τὴν ἄβυσσον = תהום (Gen. i. 2, vii. 11, viii. 2). The Gk. term seems to answer to the Assyrian *Apsû*, as תהום to Assyr. *Ti'âmtu*[m] or *Ti'âmat*. According to the Heb. conception, the earth rests on the fathomless deep: see Ps. xxiv. 2, xxxiii. 7, cxxxvi. 6; Job xxxviii. 6. The "sealing" of the deep signifies that its bounds are firmly secured, or inviolable. Cf. Rev. xx. 3, "Cast him into the bottomless pit (τὴν ἄβυσσον) and shut him up, and set a seal upon him;" Dan. vi. 17; Matt. xxvii. 66; Bel 14; Job ix. 7, "which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not; and sealeth up the stars." God sealed up the deep "with his terrible and glorious name;" in connexion with which, it may be remembered that a magical efficacy was attributed by the later Jews to the Divine Name or Tetragrammaton (יהוה). Solomon especially was credited with working many wonders by means of it. His seal was graven with the Ineffable Name. In the Talmud (*Gittîn*, 68 A) it is said that *Ashmĕdai* (Zend. Aeshmadaeva), the king of the demons (שׁידי), lived on a mountain, where was a well full of water, which was covered with a stone and sealed with his seal. "And every day he goeth up to the firmament. And the session (school) of the firmament endeth, and he comes down to the earth. And the session of the earth endeth, and he cometh and inspecteth his seal, and uncovereth it, and drinketh, and covereth it, and sealeth it, and departeth." Solomon having obtained this information from demons, "sent Benaiah ben Jehoiada, having given him a chain whereon was engraven the NAME, and a seal-ring (עזקתא) whereon was engraven the Name, and fleeces of wool, and skins of wine. He went and digged a cistern below, poured into it water, and concealed it with the fleeces of wool; and he dug a cistern above, and poured into it wine, and hid it. Then he went up and sat in the tree. When he (the demon) came, he inspected the seal, removed it, found the wine, said: It is written, 'Wine is a mocker,' &c., and it is written, 'Whoredom, wine, and new wine take away the heart:' I will not drink, for my thirst is not great. He drank, became drunk, and fell asleep. Benaiah came down (from the tree), and went and threw upon him the chain and sealed it.

B.C. cir. 676. terrible and glorious name; whom all men fear, and tremble before thy power; for the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne, and thine angry threatening toward sinners is importable: but thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for thou art the most high Lord, [a]of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men. Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised B.C. cir. 676. [a] Ps. 86. 15. Joel 2. 13.

When he woke, he was in irons. Said Benaiah to him, 'The name of thy Lord is upon thee! The name of thy Lord is upon thee!'"

whom all men fear.] Rather, "all things" (*πάντα*). "Fear" is *φρίσσει, horret*, Job iv. 15; which takes an *accus. pers. vel rei*, in the sense of "to shudder at" ('Il.' xi. 383; Judith xvi. 10).

tremble before thy power.] Τρέμειν also, like *φρίσσειν*, may take an *accus. rei* (Isa. lxvi. 2, 5); so that Fritzsche may be wrong in his remark, "Zu *τρέμει* ist *ὃν* nicht mehr zu beziehen;" and Schleussner right in explaining *ἀπὸ προσώπου = propter*, in which sense the Heb. מִפְּנֵי sometimes occurs (Gen. vi. 13; Judg. vi. 6; Isa. x. 27). As however verbs of *fearing* are usually joined with מִפְּנֵי = *ἀπὸ προσώπου τινος*, perhaps, after all, Fritzsche is right (so A. V.): see Judg. v. 5; 1 Sam. vii. 7.

the majesty . . . cannot be borne.] *ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια* (Ps. cxlv. 5, 12, where the term is associated with "glory;" Ps. viii. 1, lxxi. 7). It represents other but synonymous Heb. terms. Cf. Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' iv. 2, 5. *Ἀστεκτος*, "insufferable;" Old Lat. *importabilis*. The word is rare. Trommius does not give it. Ethiopic: "For there is no end of the greatness of thy glory."

thine angry threatening.] Lit., "the anger of thy threatening against sinners;" a Hebraism. *Ἀπειλὴ* = זַעַם and זַעֲף, *ira;* Hab. iii. 11; Prov. xix. 12. Also גְּעָרָה, *increpatio;* Prov. xiii. 8, *πτωχὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑφίσταται ἀπειλήν*; compare *ἀνυπόστατος*, "importable," *i.e.* "insupportable," *insustentabilis;* 2 Macc. i. 13; Ps. cxxiv. 5, *τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνυπόστατον* (Heb. "the proud waters"). Ethiopic: "Fearful is the chastisement of thy wrath against sinners."

but thy merciful promise.] The "but" (*δὲ*) is due to the later editions. The MSS. have *τε*. The reading *δὲ* was, no doubt, suggested by the apparent need of a clause contrasting formally with *v.* 5: "Intolerable is the splendour of thy glory, &c. But immeasurable and unsearchable the mercy of thy promise" (so lit.). The Old Lat. thus has *vero et*. The reading *τε* implies the beginning of a direct sentence, after the manifold invocation of God by His different attributes: "O Lord Almighty, &c. Who madest, &c. Of whom all things are in awe, &c. Because the splendour of thy glory is intolerable, &c. Both immeasurable and unsearchable is the mercy of thy promise. For," &c. However, we cannot help thinking that the mention of mercy is really co-ordinate with that of "anger" in the former clause; and besides, God's mercy, as well as His wrath, may be properly alleged as a ground of the fear of Him: Ps. cxxx. 4. We may, therefore, assume that *vv.* 5–7 are subordinate to *v.* 4; and that the invocation really concludes with *v.* 7.

unmeasurable and unsearchable.] See Ecclus. xvi. 15; Rom. xi. 33; Isa. xxii. 18; Job v. 9, ix. 10.

for thou art the most high Lord.] Cf. Ps. xlvii. 2, xcvii. 9. Instead of *σὺ γὰρ*, Cod. III. *ὅτι σύ*; Old Lat. *quoniam tu;* ? Heb. כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה עֶלְיוֹן; Old Lat. *altissimus super omnem terram* (as Ps. xcvii. 9).

of great compassion.] *εὔσπλαγχνος*, a term of which Trommius gives no instance. See Eph. iv. 32; 1 Pet. iii. 8. For the next two epithets, *μακρόθυμος κ. πολυέλεος*, see Ps. lxxxvi. 15; Exod. xxxiv. 6; and the passages from Joel and Jonah *infra*. Ethiop. "merciful."

and repentest of the evils of men.] Fritzsche omits *καὶ* ("duce T."). But the words are really a quotation either from Joel ii. 13, *μακρόθυμος κ. πολυέλεος καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς κακίαις*, or from Jonah iv. 2, where the same expressions recur. The meaning is, "remorseful at the calamities of men," which He inflicts on them for their sins (Amos vii. 3, 6; 1 Chron. xxi. 15). The opening invocation ends here.

Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness.] Lit., "the multitude of thy goodness." Cf. Neh. xiii. 22; Ps. cxlv. 7. As to promises of repentance and forgiveness to "them that have sinned," the expression does not take away the moral initiative from the sinners themselves: but, as the next clause makes evident, it simply means to say that God's gracious promise has coupled forgiveness with repentance, making the one consequent upon the other: cf. Isa. i. 16 *sqq.;* Ezek. xviii. 21 *sqq.;* Hos. i. 10; ii.; vi. 1, 2; xiv. From another point of view, of course it is true that God gives the impulse to repentance, as well as the ensuing pardon. And in the present instance, as in that ideal one contemplated in Hos. ii., it was God's chastise-

B.C. cir. 676. repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee: and of thine infinite mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. Thou therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, hast not appointed repentance to the just, as to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee; but thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied: my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities. I am bowed down B.C. cir. 676.

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ment which gave it. See Wisdom xii. 19: "Thou givest repentance for sins." Perhaps, however, "repentance" in this line refers to God, in the sense of "relenting." The participle was so used in the line before: "Thou hast promised that thou wilt relent and pardon." Then, in the next line, we have repentance on man's part: "And in the multitude of thy tender mercies"—an expression occurring in Ps. li. 1, lxix. 16—"hast appointed [or "didst appoint," "appointedst." The Heb. *perfect* = Gk. aor. and perfect] repentance to sinners for salvation" (εἰς σωτηρίαν. Rom. x. 1, 10; Exod. xv. 2; Job xiii. 16). Cf. our Lord's word: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." The two lines, "Thou, O Lord . . . may be saved," are omitted in Codd. III., T. The text of the 'Apost. Const.' is here confused, and the Ethiopic version omits.

Thou therefore.] σὺ οὖν. The particle is equivalent to עתה (Exod. iii. 18, x. 17).

appointed.] Or "ordained"—ἔθου; Old Lat. *posuisti;* שמת (Job xxviii. 3; 2 Sam. vii. 10). In the former verse, the term was ὥρισας (Rom. i. 4). With the idea, compare our Lord's words just quoted, and Luke xv. 7, "ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance." But our Lord obviously used the term "righteous" or "just" in a *relative* sense; whereas here the mention of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the qualification τοῖς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκόσιν σοι, plainly indicates something more. The truth is that, although the failings of the Patriarchs are not concealed in their histories (Gen. xii. 13, &c.), the Jewish mind of later times idealised them as perfect characters, whose merits were sufficient, not for themselves only, but also for their entire posterity. According to the Talmud, *all* Israel has part in the world to come (*Moed Qaton*, 9 A; *Ketubh.* 111 A; *Sanhedr.* 10 A, &c.); and "everything comes to Israel on account of the merits of the Fathers" (*Siphrî* on Deut., p. 108 B). The Jews appear, in fact, to have felt secure of the future, on the ground of their descent from Abraham (Matt. iii. 9; John viii. 33, 39). He sits at the gate of hell, to save any Israelite from entering it; for his merit avails even for the wicked (*Ber. Rab.*, 48; *Shabbath*, 55 A). The merits of the Fathers, however, do not avail outside the land of Israel (*Baba Bathra*, 81 A). The language of this verse, therefore, proves the Jewish origin of the prayer.

unto me.] ἐπ' ἐμοί, as if "put repentance upon me." But Cod. III. omits ἐπί.

Ethiopic: "but turn thou (unto) the repentance of me a sinner."

that am a sinner.] Rather, "*the* sinner," above all others, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Luke xviii. 13: "God be merciful *to me the sinner*."

for I have sinned.] Or, "I sinned" (ἥμαρτον). For what follows, cf. Ps. xl. 5, 12; Job vi. 3. Instead of ψάμμος, the more classical form, the LXX. usually has ἄμμος. See Wisd. vii. 9 (Ecclus. xxii. 15) for the former.

The clause amplifies the expression τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, with which the preceding clause terminates.

My transgressions.] Gk. ἐπλήθυναν αἱ ἀνομίαι μου, κύριε, ἐπλήθυναν. (Fr. omits αἱ ἀνομ. μου the second time, after Cod. Tur. Cod. III. and Apost. Const. omit κύριε ἐπληθ. as well. The Ethiopic has only: "and many are my sins," which it connects immediately with the preceding clause.) The verb πληθύνω is generally transitive in LXX., as in classical usage. But later writers confuse it with πληθύω, which is intrans. Cf. Acts vi. 1. In *v.* 10 *infra*, "multiplied offences" (πληθύνω) occurs in its usual sense. With the emotional and emphatic repetition, comp. *vv.* 12, 13 *infra;* Ps. lxxv. 1, lxxvii. 1, cxxiii. 3. For the thought, see Isa. lix. 12.

to behold and see the height of heaven.] The first verb—ἀτενίσαι—means "to gaze earnestly:" Luke iv. 20. Trommius refers to 3 Esdr. vi. 28 only. Aristotle has the term constructed with εἴς τι ('Meteor.' i. 6, 12) and πρός τι. "The height of heaven" (Ecclus. xvii. 32; Ps. ciii. 11) is mentioned as God's abode: Isa. xxxviii. 14 ("Mine eyes failed τοῦ βλέπειν εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον"). Cf. also Luke xviii. 13; Susanna 9; Ps. cxxiii. 1; and the proper name Elioenai, "unto Jah are mine eyes."

for the multitude.] ἀπ' πλήθους. See Job xxxv. 9; ἀπὸ = מן, "from," *i.e.* owing to, because of. Gen. xxxvi. 7, מפני: see note on

6. with many iron bands, that I cannot lift up mine head, ‖neither have any release: for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee: I did not thy will, neither kept I thy commandments: I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences. Now therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, B.C. cir. 676.

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v. 4 *supra.* "Iniquities," ἀδικίαι, עונות (Jer. xi. 10); or the sing. עון (Jer. ii. 22; Hos. iv. 8).

I am bowed down with many iron bands.] Lit., "being bowed down with many an iron band, so that," &c. The words are wrongly divided from what precedes by the English punctuation. There should be a comma only after "iniquities." For σιδηρῷ (adj.), Cod. III. and 'Apost. Const.' have σιδήρου, "of iron." Cf. Dan. iv. 15, 23. According to the narrative in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, Manasseh was bound with a double chain of copper by his captors. Here he is represented as loaded with chains of iron, as a captive in a dungeon. But the sense is perhaps rather metaphorical, and refers to the chain of sin and misery: cf. Ps. cvii. 10, 14; Lam. i. 14; and the Ethiopic version: "I have laboured in fetters of iron, that I might get rest from sin for my soul: and by this also I have not gotten rest."

that I cannot lift up.] εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνανεῦσαι. The word usually means "to throw the head back in token of denial," as we shake the head. Then sometimes "to throw the head up," whence ἀνανενευκώς, "upright," "with the head erect;" Polyb. xviii. 13. 3; cf. bk. i. 23. 5; Lucian, 'Necyom.' 4. Old Lat. well: *ut non possim attollere caput meum.* Cf. Ps. xl. 12; cx. 7. The reading of Cod. III. is remarkable: εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῦσαί με ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μου, "so that I throw back (my head) over my sins," as if "shake my head over them." But this reading probably rests on misapprehension.

neither have any release.] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι ἄνεσις, "and I have no remission or respite:" Old Lat. *respiratio.* Cf. 3 Esdr. iv. 62; Ecclus. xv. 20; 2 Cor. vii. 5. The next clauses are closely connected with this one, and a comma would be better than a colon after "release:" "Because I provoked thy wrath, and did that which was evil before thee (Ps. li. 4; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2), by not doing (μὴ ποιήσας) thy will, and not keeping thy commandments, by setting up abominations, and multiplying objects of offence" (στήσας βδελύγματα κ. πληθύνας προσοχθίσματα). The words are an expansion of what is said of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 6): ἐπλήθυνε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ παροργίσαι αὐτόν. Cod. III. and the 'Apost. Const.' (Gk. and Ethiop.) omit μὴ ποιήσας . . . προστάγματά σου, and Tur. omits στήσας . . . προσοχθίσματα. Fritzsche pronounces against the former clause as needless and almost disturbing; and further, because it is also omitted in the Latin MSS., and because, if it were genuine, we should expect καὶ before στήσας. But καὶ before στήσας would destroy the symmetry of the two compound clauses; and both are suitable as defining Manasseh's provocation of God on the *negative* and *positive* side—his sins of omission and commission. Cf. Dan. ix. 5, 6, 11; and the General Confession, "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done," &c. For the second clause, the Ethiopic has: "While I observed vanities, and multiplied that which profited me not."

The phrase "done (the) evil before thee" refers especially to idolatry: see Deut. iv. 25; and the use of the phrase as a fixed formula in the annalistic epitome of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 17, &c.). Idols and idolatrous rites are called βδελύγματα, "abominations," תועבות (Deut. xxxii. 16; 2 Kings xvi. 3; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2, and elsewhere often). Cf. Dan. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 15. Προσόχθισμα, *offendiculum*, שקוץ, is similarly used (2 Kings xxiii. 13; Ezek. vii. 20).

Now therefore.] "And now"—καὶ νῦν = ועתה; a common concluding formula in Heb. prayers (Dan. ix. 15, 17;—2 Chron. xx. 10; vi. 16, 17, 40, 41); and in other addresses (1 Chron. xxviii. 8, xxix. 13;—2 Chron. ii. 13, 15).

I bow the knee of mine heart.] The Greek κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας μου (Cod. III. omits μου) is peculiar. The usual phrase is κάμπτω ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα (2 Kings i. 13). Κάμπτειν is intrans. (τὸν τράχηλον) in Ecclus. vii. 23. Κλίνειν τὸ οὖς is common. Manasseh means, of course, that his prayer is sincere; that his inward and outward postures correspond. Cf. "Rend your heart and not your garments" (Joel ii. 13). A similar metaphor is "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2; cf. Ps. li. 17); and St. Paul's phrase "circumcision of the heart" (Rom. ii. 29).

beseeching thee of grace.] δεόμενος τῆς παρὰ σοῦ χρηστότητος, "craving, begging for the goodness that cometh from thee." "Goodness," *v.* 7 *supra;* טוב, Ps. xxv. 7; or טוב, Ps. xxxi. 19. "Beseeching goodness from thee" would require *gen. pers. et rei*, or *gen. pers. et accus. rei* (Thucyd. i. 32). The Old Lat. *precans a te bonitatem* fails for want of a Latin article.

B.C. cir. 676. and I acknowledge mine iniquities: wherefore, I humbly beseech thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower parts of the earth. For thou art the God, *even* the God of them that repent; and in me thou wilt shew all thy goodness: B.C. cir. 676

I acknowledge.] Fritzsche, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, from Codd. III. and T. The common reading is ἀναγινώσκω, *agnosco* (Hdt. ii. 91). In LXX. this verb generally means "to read" (קרא): Dan. v. 7, 8; 1 Macc. v. 14; Exod. xxiv. 7. See Ps. li. 3: "I acknowledge my transgressions," &c., τὴν ἀνομίαν μου ἐγὼ γινώσκω. Ethiop.: "my sin I confess."

wherefore, I humbly beseech thee.] Old Lat. *quare.* But the Gk. is ἀλλ' αἰτοῦμαι δεόμενος σου, "but I ask (שאל, Ps. xxi. 4, xxvii. 4), craving of thee." Cod. III. omits ἀλλ'.

forgive me.] ἄνες μοι (Ps. xxxix. 13). Cf. ἄνεσις *supra.* There is an ellipsis of τὰ ἁμαρτήματά μου: cf. Josh. xxiv. 19; Isa. i. 13. Old Lat. *remitte mihi.* The verb is joined with an *accus. pers.* (Gen. xviii. 24; Isa. ii. 9).

and (Cod. III. omits) *destroy me not with mine iniquities.*] Old Lat. *ne simul perdas me cum,* &c. Ethiopic: "deliver me not over to my sin." Schleussner is wrong in rendering *ne prorsus perdas* (συναπολέσῃς) *ob* (ταῖς) *peccata mea,* as Fritzsche observes. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23, xix. 15; Numb. xvi. 26; and especially Wisd. x. 3, Ecclus. viii. 15. What follows is more closely connected with this than the full stop in our version suggests: "neither, cherishing wrath (μηνίσας, 'Il.' i. 422, v. 178, &c.; poet. word) for ever, lay up the evils for me." [For μηνίω, see Ps. ciii. 9; Jer. iii. 12, "keep anger for ever." For τηρήσῃς (Cant. vii. 13) = צפן (Ps. xxxi. 19), "How great is thy goodness which *thou hast laid up* for them that fear thee." Old Lat. *reserves mala mihi.*] Cf. also Exod. xxxiv. 7. "The evils"—τὰ κακὰ—are the unknown evils which a guilty conscience dreads; or the article may be *generic;* or there may be a reference to penalties in the world to come. See next line.

neither condemn me into.] μηδὲ καταδικάσῃς με (Ps. xxxvii. 33; Dan. i. 10. The classical construction is τινὸς, the later τινὰ) ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς, "Neither sentence me in the lowest parts of the earth;" as if "mulct me in" (punish me with) the penalty of Hades; or, "treat me as one condemned in Hades." *Vid.* Deut. xxxii. 22; Ps. cxxxix. 15, lxxxvi. 13; Isa. xliv. 23; Ezek. xxvi. 20, for the conception of Hades as τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς, the Underworld. See also Isa. xiv. 9, 14, 15; Ezek. xxxii. 18, 21 *sqq.;* Job x. 21, 22; xxvi. 5 *sqq.:* "The Rephaim (*i.e.* ghosts, spirits in Hades) tremble, whose dwelling is beneath the waters. Sheol (Hades) is naked before him, and Abaddon (the place of destruction) hath no covering" (Heb.). A vast subterranean and sub-oceanic cavern, void of light and utterly cheerless, peopled by feeble shadows of the departed, appears to have been the ancient Hebrew conception of Hades. This accords with the old Assyrian mythus of Ishtar's Descent into Hell ('Cuneif. Inscr. of West. Asia,' iv. 31), where it is called "the land of no return," "the region of darkness," "the house of darkness, the seat of (the god) Irkalla" (*i.e.* Plutus), "the house which they that enter go not forth (therefrom)," "the road whose course returneth not," "the house which they that enter long for light," "a place where much dust is their food, and their victual clay;" "the light they see not, in darkness they sit; they are clad also, like birds, with apparel of wings; on the door and the bar dust is spread." Similar, too, is the Homeric conception of the nether world, and the Norse notion of Hela's realm is not very different.

It is not quite clear whether Manasseh prays merely against death, like Hezekiah (Isa. xxxviii. 10, 11, 18), and the Psalmists (Ps. vi. 5; xxx. 9; lxxxviii. 10, 11; xxxix. 13); or whether he prays for deliverance from the penalties of the after-life. The Targums often speak of Gehinnom or Gehenna, *i.e.* hell in our sense, as "the house of woe and pain" reserved for the wicked; and the Book of Enoch describes two places of torment,—one, that of the fallen angels, under the mountains at the ends of the earth; the other, for human offenders, in the valley of Hinnom. But this belongs to the time of the Last Things; and we prefer the former, as the simpler and more natural view. Compare, however, the Ethiopic: "and remember not against me my evil for ever, and take not vengeance upon me in the depths of the earth."

For thou art the God.] Rather, "Because thou art God, (the) God of them that repent." The article is omitted before the second Θεὸς, as in Heb. אלהי הנחמים. This clause, too, should be taken with what precedes, as alleging the ground of those entreaties.

and in me thou wilt shew.] The result, "So—if thou hear my prayer—in me thou wilt shew," &c. (Exod. ix. 16). "My case is so heinous, that mercy to me would be a conspicuous revelation of Divine goodness;

B.C. cir. 676. for thou wilt save me, that am unworthy, according to thy great mercy. Therefore I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life: for all the powers of the heavens do praise thee, and thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. B.C. cir. 676.

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because, *though unworthy*, thou wilt save me, according to thy great mercy." The wonder always is, not that God should love the good, but that He should save the guilty. Δείξῃς (Codd. III. and T.) joins on with the foregoing construction μηδὲ καταδικάσῃς.

goodness.] ἀγαθωσύνη, טובה (2 Chron. xxiv. 16; Rom. xv. 14). The next clause developes the result, as it respects Manasseh's own conduct. "And I will praise thee alway (διὰ παντὸς) in the days of my life (Codd. III. and T.) [*vulgo*, πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, "all the days"]; for thee hymneth all the might of heaven, and thine is the glory for ever and ever (*unto the ages*). Amen." Comp. the close of Hezekiah's psalm (Isa. xxxviii. 19, 20).

thy great mercy.] τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου (Ecclus. xvi. 12). Elsewhere, τὸ μέγα ἔλ.

the powers of the heavens.] ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν means "the *host* of heaven" (so Ethiop.); *i.e.* the angels: Isa. xxxiv. 4; 2 Chron. xviii. 18; Matt. xxiv. 29. For the praise of the angels, see Ps. xxix. 1; lxxxix. 5; ciii. 20, 21.

ADDENDUM TO INTRODUCTION, p. 363 *supra.*

The Targum of Chronicles adds, after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a copper mule, and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein, and kindled fire all around him. And when he was in straits, he besought help of all the idols which he had made, and was not helped, because they were worthless. And he turned, and prayed before the Lord his God, and humbled himself exceedingly before Jehovah, the God of his fathers; and he prayed before Him. Forthwith went all the angels, that are set over the entrances of the gates of prayer in heaven, and closed on his account all the entrances of the gates of prayer in heaven, and all the windows and lattices of heaven, that his prayer might not be received. And forthwith rolled round the pity of the Lord of the World, whose right hand is stretched out to receive the sinners that return to the fear of Him, and break the disposition of their heart by penitence. And He made a lattice, and an aperture in heaven, beneath His glorious throne, and heard his prayer, and received his petition. And He shook the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder, and he went forth therefrom. And the Spirit from between the wings of the Cherubim went forth and breathed upon him by decree of the Word of the Lord, and he returned unto his kingdom, unto Jerusalem. And Manasseh knew that the Lord He was God, Who had worked with him these signs and wonders; and he turned with all his heart before the Lord, and forsook all the idols, and served them not." (Targum of Chronicles,' ed. M. F. Beck: August. Vindel. 1680; with corrections of the text from P. de Lagarde's 'Hagiographa Chaldaice,' Lipsiae, 1873.) Compare the fragmentary accounts at p. 363 *supra;* and the Introduction to the Song of the Three Children.

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. Subject of the Book and its Divisions.

THE First Book of Maccabees is an historical treatise, and professes to deliver to us the history of the Jews at a most critical time—the time of their revolt against the tyranny of the Syro-Macedonian kings, and re-establishment of their national independence. The events of the main narrative, which begins with the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to crush the Jewish religion and terminates with the death of Simon the High Priest, cover a space of about forty years, extending from B.C. 175 to B.C. 135. This narrative commences in chap. i. 10, and proceeds uninterruptedly to the end of the treatise, with the single exception of a parenthesis in chap. viii. (*vv.* 1–16), which traces the gradual growth of the Roman power, and summarises the views entertained by the Jews of the Maccabean period on the constitution and character of the Roman State. This main narrative is preceded by an "Introduction" (chap. i. 1–9) on the subject of the establishment of the Macedonian power in Asia, whereby the Jews had fallen under the dominion of the Greeks. This "Introduction" covers a space of a hundred and forty-five years, from B.C. 331 to B.C. 176.

The main narrative of the Book divides itself into five portions:—1. An account of the proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Hellenizing party which supported him, for the abolition of the Jewish religion and the desecration of the Temple (chap. i. 10–64). 2. The revolt of a certain number of Jews under Mattathias, and the commencement of the war of independence under his guidance and management (chap. ii. 1–79). 3. The conduct of the war by his son, Judas Maccabæus, from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161 (chaps. iii.—ix. 22). 4. The conduct of the war and of affairs generally by Jonathan, brother of Judas, from B.C. 161 to B.C. 143. And 5. The conduct of affairs by Simon, brother of Judas and Jonathan, from B.C. 143 to B.C. 135.

§ II. Style and Diction.

The style of the Book is varied. By far the greater part is written in a plain and simple narrative style, very similar to that of Judges, Samuel, and the two Books of Kings. There is the same brevity, the same lack of ornament, the same absence of what are commonly regarded as the graces of composition. But, on occasions, this style passes into a higher one. Under the influence of excited feeling the writer warms into

eloquence, and expresses himself with rhetorical emphasis and amplification. Examples of this style are the following:—"Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were, so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of wisdom was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion" (chap. i. 25–29). "Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning" (chap. i. 37–40). "Upon this the host assembled themselves together, and went up into Mount Sion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the court as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down, they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, and fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven" (chap. iv. 37–40). Further instances will be found in chaps. vi. 39, ix. 10, xiv. 8–15. Finally, there are places where the style is not so much rhetorical as poetical, actual poems being worked into the narrative, which have all the excellences of the highest Hebrew art. Of these, the most remarkable is the "Lament of Mattathias," in chap. ii. 7–13;[1] but further specimens will be found in the dying utterance of Mattathias (chap. ii. 49–68), in the eulogium on Judas (chap. iii. 3–9), in his prayers (chaps. iii. 18–22; iv. 8–11, 30–33; vii. 41, 42), in the prayer of the Jews on the height over against Jerusalem (chap. iii. 50–53), and in the last words of Epiphanes (chap. vi. 10–13). It is remarkable that the poetic passages are contained, all of them, in the first seven chapters; and even of the highly rhetorical passages there is one only (chap. xiv. 8–15) which belongs to a later portion of the treatise. This will be seen to be a matter of some importance, when we come to consider the probable "sources" of the narrative.[1]

The work, as we have it, is written in Hellenistic Greek, like the Septuagint and the New Testament. It is, however, even more full than most Hellenistic Greek, of marked and sometimes harsh Hebraisms. This point will be further considered in a later section.[2] The peculiar words (*ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*) are not many in number. The following are all that have been noticed:—*ἐξουδένωσις* (chap. i. 39), *φονοκτονία* (ib. 24), *δειλόομαι* (iv. 8, 21, &c.), *ἀσπιδίσκη* (iv. 57), *ὅμηρα* for *ὅμηροι* (viii. 7, &c.), *δειλόψυχος* (viii. 15), *ἐξουσιάζεσθαι* (x. 70), *ψογέω* for *ψέγω* (xi. 5, 11), *τελωνεῖσθαι* (xiii. 39), *ἀποσκορπίζω* (xi. 55), *ὁπλοδοτέω* (xiv. 32), *ἐπισυστρέφω* (ib. 44), and *ἀφαίρεμα* (xv. 5). Besides these, a certain number of words are employed in new and strange senses, as *διαστολή* in chap. viii. 7, *ἀδρύνω* in chap. viii. 14, and *παράστασις* in chap. xv. 32.

§ III. Authenticity of the Narrative.

Serious attempts to impugn the authenticity of the history contained in the First Book of Maccabees were made in the last century. E. T. Wernsdorf in the year 1746, and his brother Gottfried in 1747, subjected the work to a rigid examination, and believed that they had discovered in it historical errors so numerous and important as to deprive it of all authority.[3] But the discussion which these attacks raised terminated in favour of the work impugned, and among modern critics of the literature of the period there

[1] See the comment on the passage, where an attempt has been made to give the rhythmic effect of the original.

[1] See below, § VII. [2] See § V.

[3] See E. H. Wernsdorf's 'De fontibus historiæ Syriæ,' Lipsiæ, 1746; and Gottf. Wernsdorf's 'Comment. hist. crit. de fide librorum Maccab.,' Vratisl., 1747.

is scarcely one who does not, expressly or by implication, allow the Book to be of the highest value, trustworthy in the main, and an authority for the history of the period second to no other. De Wette says of it, that it is "im Ganzen sehr glaubwürdig, genau chronologisch, und sich vor den andern historischen Erzeugnisser dieser Zeit vortheilhaft auszeichnend."[1] Ewald remarks: "The author was probably one of the first who embraced the whole compass of these thirty or forty years in a popular narrative, and his work *still breathes the freshest inspiration* of the peculiar elevation and glory of the time. In simple language it *reproduces the clearest recollection of the full and many-sided truth of this great age, and its various development.*"[2] Both he and Dean Stanley base their narrative of the period mainly upon the statements of the writer of the Book, whose means of information they regard as good, and his honesty as unimpeachable.

The evidence of authenticity may be summed up under the two heads of external and internal evidence. The external evidence is somewhat scanty, owing to the fact that the remains of classical antiquity which bear upon the period and country are less copious than might have been desired. Still, the history recorded has many points of agreement with Polybius, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, and Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.'), and also some with the epitomes of Livy's later books, with Justin, and with Granius Licinianus; while it nowhere contradicts any statements of these writers, except where they are at variance one with another. It is, moreover, in complete harmony with the coins of the Syrian kings belonging to the period, and with the evidence—slight, no doubt, but not unimportant—furnished by the coins of Judæa.

Internal evidence of authenticity is furnished, first, by the general air of probability in the narrative, and especially by the entire absence from it of the miraculous element. Considering the circumstances of the time, the prevalent exaltation of spirit and strength of faith, it might have been expected that a similar tone would have pervaded the narrative to that which we find in the Second Book, where miraculous appearances are of frequent occurrence, and the continual active interposition of God in human affairs is a fundamental idea. In the First Book this idea finds no place, or at any rate no further place than is involved in the belief that "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (James v. 16. Comp. 1 Macc. iv. 10–14, 30–34; vii. 41–43; xi. 71, 72). The successes of the Jews are the result of faith in God, and of earnest appeals to Him for protection and assistance, but are not accomplished by any visible supernatural agency. Secondly, the writer shews his candour and love of truth by an unsparing exposure of all the shortcomings of his own people—of their sinfulness, their half-heartedness, their defeats, their frequent despondency. On the other hand, he does not unduly disparage his people's adversaries. Having once designated Epiphanes as "a wicked root" (ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλός, chap. i. 10), he abstains from any further word of dispraise. He bestows no abusive epithet on any Syrian general, neither on Lysias, nor Bacchides, nor Nicanor, nor Cendebæus.[1] Again, there is a moderation in his estimates of numbers which is remarkable,[2] indicating, as it does, a clear intention of not overstepping the truth. Finally, there is a particularity and exactness in his geographical notices, such as belongs commonly to authentic narratives, while it rarely characterises those which are fictitious, mainly or wholly.

Still, though the work is to be regarded as, in the main, a thoroughly credible

[1] 'Einleitung in das Alt. Test.,' § 299, p. 398.
[2] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 465, E. T.

[1] Contrast the practice of the writer of the Second Book (ch. v. 24; vii. 29, 34, &c.; viii. 32, 34; ix. 28; xii. 35; xv. 3, 32).

[2] The largest Syrian force mentioned in 1 Macc. consists of 120,000 foot and 8,000 horse (ch. xv. 13)—not an extravagant estimate, considering that Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (App. 'Syriaca,' § 32). The greatest number of Syrians slain in any one battle is 5,000 (ch. iv. 34; vii. 32); the entire number of Syrians slain, 26,800. The author of the Second Book, on the other hand, makes the slain twice 20,000, twice a little over 20,000, twice 25,000, once 30,000, and once 35,000 (ch. xv. 27); while his total of slain mounts up to 221,100!

history, it must be confessed that it contains a considerable number of mistakes. These belong especially to the portions of the history which treat of foreign nations, and of times somewhat remote from the writer's own day. In his sketch of the rise and progress of the Macedonian power, the writer wrongly states, 1. That Alexander the Great "*slew* the kings of the earth" (chap. i. 2); 2. That on his death-bed he made a partition of his kingdom among his friends (ib. 6); and 3. That these friends "*all* put crowns upon their heads" (ib. 9). His longer and more elaborate account of the growth and character of the Roman Republic contains the following errors:—1. That the Romans had, in B.C. 161, "brought the Galatians under tribute" (chap. viii. 2); 2. That, by the same time, they had conquered the whole of Spain (ib. 4); 3. That the elephants brought into the field by Antiochus the Great at the battle of Magnesia amounted to 120, whereas the real number was 54 (ib. 6); 4. That Antiochus was taken prisoner in the engagement (ib. 7); 5. That India formed a portion of his dominions at the time (ib. 8); 6. That India and Media were ceded by Antiochus to Rome and made over by Rome to Eumenes (ib.); 7. That the Greeks aimed at invading Italy and destroying Rome (ib. 9); 8. That the Romans had conquered Greece before B.C. 161 (ib. 10); 9. That the number of the Roman Senate was 320 (ib. 15); 10. That the Senate sat daily (ib.); 11. That the Romans were governed by a single annual magistrate (ib. 16); and 12. That "there was neither envy nor emulation among them" (ib.). The number and character of these errors detract seriously from the authority of the writer as a general historian, but leave his credibility in respect of his own nation and times untouched. He may not indeed be always absolutely correct on these subjects; but his testimony is not to be set aside without very strong counter-evidence.

§ IV. Unity of the Work.

The unity of the work has not, so far as we are aware, been called in question. The unity of its plan is evident; and though a greater elevation of style characterises the portion anterior to the death of Judas[1] (chaps. i.–ix. 18), yet the difference is not very marked, and there is one passage in a later chapter (chap. xiv. 4–15) where the author takes almost as high a flight as in any section of the earlier narrative. The diction is throughout uniform; and there are one or two peculiarities of the writer which may be traced through the whole Book from first to last. The most striking of these is his reticence with respect to the Holy Name, which occurs, according to the best manuscripts, once only in the entire history (chap. iv. 24). The usual mode of avoidance is a substitution of the word "Heaven" for "God" or "Lord,"[2] while sometimes there is a mere awkward omission, which our translators have thought it necessary to supply.[3] Another peculiarity is exactness with respect to dates; and this is a feature equally conspicuous throughout.[4]

§ V. Original Language and Author.

That the First Book of Maccabees abounds in Hebraisms of a marked and somewhat harsh character is generally admitted. Such phrases as "recovering the Law *out of the hand of the Gentiles*" (chap. ii. 48), "*walking* according to a man's *sayings*" (chap. vi. 23), "*finding favour in men's sight*" (x. 60), "the *book of the days* of his priesthood" (chap. xvi. 24), are unmistakable, and betray a familiarity with Semitic turns of expression which sufficiently indicates the ethnic type whereto the writer belonged. But it has been questioned whether this would by itself prove that the original work was written in Hebrew, since "the Hebraisms which exist are," it is said, "such as might have been naturalised in the Hebrew-Greek of Palestine."[5] The writer

[1] See above, § II.

[2] See ch. iii. 50, 60; iv. 10, 40; ix. 46; xvi. 3.

[3] As in ch. i. 62; ii. 21, 26; iii. 22, 53, 60; iv. 10, 55; xvi. 3. In ch. iii. 18, vii. 27, and vii. 41, the MSS. have two readings, one suppressing, the other expressing, the Holy Name.

[4] See ch. i. 54; ii. 70; iii. 37; iv. 52; vi. 16, 20; vii. 1, 49; ix. 3, 54; x. 1, 57, 67; xi. 19; xiii. 41, 51; xiv. 1, 27; xv. 10; xvi. 14.

[5] Smith, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 172.

might have been a Semite, a native of Palestine, a Jew, and yet have written in Greek, as did James and John, Peter, Mark, and Jude. If this had been the case, his Greek would no doubt have been deeply tinged with a Hebraistic character. Is it more deeply tinged than would be accounted for by this hypothesis? It is difficult to give a decided answer to this question; but our own impression is that, even apart from any external testimony, sound criticism would have pronounced the work a translation from a Semitic original.[1]

The matter, however, is one which we need not call in the aid of criticism to determine. The positive testimony of antiquity is such as to leave no doubt on the subject. Origen informs us that the title under which the work was known in his day was 'Sarbeth Sarbaneel,' which is a Hebrew and not a Greek description of its contents,[1] while Jerome states that he was acquainted with a Hebrew text which he evidently regarded as the original.[2] As Origen and Jerome are at once the most critical of the Fathers, and the best acquainted with the Hebrew language and literature, their testimony must be looked upon as entirely decisive of the point here under discussion.

Concerning the author, tradition is wholly silent. The internal evidence shews him to have been a Palestinian Jew, an earnest patriot, and a devout member of the orthodox party. He is deeply impressed with the heroism of the national leaders, and bent on glorifying them, yet not to the extent of concealing their errors or reverses. There is no appearance of his having actually taken part in the events which he relates; but his sympathy with those who were at the head of affairs is so keen that it is difficult to suppose him unacquainted with them. He is a man, however, of the pen rather than of the sword, and probably belonged to the literary class which sprang into being under the stimulating

[1] It is impossible fully to exhibit the evidence on which our impression rests, but the following list of Hebraisms in the first half of the first chapter may be taken as a sample of it:—

Ch. i. 1. Καὶ ἐγένετο, as an opening phrase, corresponds to the Heb. וַיְהִי (Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 1; Nehem. i. 1; Esth. i. 1, &c.). Πατάξαι for "to defeat" corresponds to the Hebrew use of הכה. ἡ γὴ Χεττειείμ literally renders the Heb. אֶרֶץ כִּתִּים.

Ch. i. 3. Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ literally renders על פני. Ἐπήρθη ἡ καρδία literally renders וַיֵּרָם לֵב.

Ch. i. 4. Ἐγένοντο εἰς φόρον literally renders וַיִּהְיוּ לָמַס (Gen. xlix. 15).

Ch. i. 10. Καὶ ἐπλήθυναν ἐν τῇ γῇ literally renders וַיִּרְבּוּ בָּאָרֶץ.

Ch. i. 11. Ῥίζα (of a man) literally renders שֹׁרֶשׁ.

Ch. i. 12. Διαθέσθαι διαθήκην literally renders כָּרַת בְּרִית. Κύκλῳ (ἡμῶν) literally renders סָבִיב.

Ch. i. 13. Καὶ ἠγαθύνθη ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς literally renders וַיִּיטַב הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינֵי.

Ch. i. 16. Καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν literally renders וַיִּתְמַכְּרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע (2 Kings xvii. 17).

Ch. i. 17. Καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία literally renders וַתִּכֹּן הַמַּמְלָכָה.

Ch. i. 18. Ἐν ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ literally renders בְּחַיִל כָּבֵד.

Ch. i. 19. Καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί literally renders וַיִּפְּלוּ חֲלָלִים רַבִּים. Ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ literally renders מִפָּנָיו.

Ch. i. 23. Τὴν τράπεζαν τῆς προθέσεως literally renders שֻׁלְחַן הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת.

Ch. i. 24. Τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἐπιθυμητά literally renders כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּה.

Ch. i. 29. Καὶ ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν literally renders וַתִּרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ עַל-יֹשְׁבֶיהָ.

Ἐνεδύσατο αἰσχύνην literally renders לָבַשׁ בּוּשֶׁת.

Ch. i. 30. Μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν literally renders מִקֵּץ שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים. Ἄρχοντα φορολογίας literally renders שַׂר מַס.

Ch. i. 31. Καὶ ἐλάλησε λόγους εἰρηνικούς literally renders וַיֹּאמֶר דִּבְרֵי שָׁלוֹם.

Ch. i. 32. Ἐπάταξε πληγὴν μεγάλην literally renders הִכָּה מַכָּה נְדוֹלָה.

Ch. i. 33. Καὶ ἐνεπύρισε πυρὶ αὐτήν literally renders וַיִּשְׂרְפָהּ בָּאֵשׁ.

Ch. i. 38. Εἰς διάβολον πονηρόν literally renders לְשָׂטָן רַע.

[1] *Sarbeth sarbane-el* is thought to be put for שִׂרְבַּת שָׂרֵי בְנֵי אֵל, "History of the princes of the Sons of God" (De Wette, Grimm); but is, in any case, a Semitic, and not a Greek title.

[2] Prolog. Galeat.

influence of the great national movement and development of the Maccabean times.

§ VI. Date of Composition.

The statement in chap. xiii. 30, that the splendid monument which Simon erected to the memory of his father and brothers was still standing in the writer's day, at once removes him by a not inconsiderable interval from the period of Simon's accession, B.C. 143. It does not, however, remove him from it by such an interval as the ordinary reader might suppose, since the disturbed state of Palestine must be taken into account, and the likelihood that some of the enemies of the Asmonæan dynasty might have destroyed any monument of their glory before it had stood very long. Grimm's estimate[1] of "thirty years" as the shortest period that can be supposed to be intended is a tolerably fair one; and we might therefore conclude from this passage alone that the Book before us was probably not written earlier than about B.C. 113.

It has been generally concluded from the closing words of the Book (ch. xvi. 23, 24), that a still later date must be assigned to it. The writer, it is said, speaks of the reign of John Hyrcanus as if it were over, thereby implying that he outlived him, and wrote after his death.[2] Now John Hyrcanus died in B.C. 106. It is impossible, however, to prove from the words of the writer in the passage adduced, that John Hyrcanus was not still living when he penned them. He merely says that his deeds, *from the time that he became high-priest*, were written in the high-priestly chronicles. He says nothing of his death or burial. No doubt his words are modelled upon those with which the writers of Kings and Chronicles wind up their account of each monarch upon his demise; but they differ in containing no mention of a funeral or of a successor. Those critics seem to have reason on their side who have concluded that the First Book of Maccabees may have been written in the time of John Hyrcanus, but at an advanced period of his reign[1] (say B.C. 116–106).

We thus obtain the earliest probable date for the composition. The latest probable date is more difficult to determine. The grounds of argument are here, comparatively speaking, intangible and matters of opinion. The consideration of style is thought to indicate a date at least a century earlier than any portion of the New Testament. The simple faith which runs through the account given of Roman disinterestedness (chap. viii. 12–16) could not possibly have outlived the proceedings of Pompey, when in B.C. 63 he took Jerusalem, and is likely to have come to an end much earlier. The jubilant and triumphant tone of the narrative is unsuitable to any time later than the close of the reign of John Hyrcanus, since troubles then set in, which continued, at any rate, till the accession of Herod the Great. The life and spirit of the narrative, and the minuteness of the geographical and local details, are also in favour of a comparatively early composition. Altogether B.C. 105—the year after the death of Hyrcanus—seems to be the latest date that is at all probable, though a date later than this by thirty or forty years cannot be said to be altogether impossible.[2]

§ VII. Sources of the Work.

The writer clearly possesses a number of state-documents, which he regards as authentic, and inserts, either in full or else in an abbreviated form, in his narrative. Such are: 1. The letter of the Romans to the Jewish people (chap. viii. 23–32), sent by Eupolemus and Jason,

[1] 'Der Erste Buch der Maccabäer erklärt,' Einleitung, § 7, p. xxiv.

[2] De Wette, 'Einleitung in das Alt. Test.,' § 300; Grimm, 'Einleitung,' *l. s. c.*; Ewald, 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 463, E. T.

[1] Hengstenberg, 'Authentie des Daniel,' p. 293; Bertheau, 'De Secundo Maccabæorum libro,' p.. 27; Westcott in Dr. W. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 173.

[2] See the arguments of Grimm, in his 'Introduction,' § 7, p. xxv., who assigns for the date the interval between B.C. 105 and B.C. 64; and compare, on the other side, Ewald (*l. s. c.*), who suggests B.C. 105 definitely, and Westcott in Smith's 'Dictionary,' who places the composition between B.C. 120 and B.C. 100.

the ambassadors dispatched to Rome by Judas Maccabæus; 2. The letter of Alexander Balas to Jonathan (chap. x.18–20), granting him the office of High Priest; 3. The letter of Demetrius I. to the Jewish people, offering terms of peace and alliance (chap. x. 25–45); 4. The letter of Demetrius II. to Jonathan, which was to be "set in a conspicuous place" (chap. xi. 30–37); 5. The letter of Jonathan to the Lacedæmonians, proposing a renewal of friendship and brotherhood (ch. xii. 6–18); 6. The previous letter of Areus, king of Sparta, to Onias I., the High Priest (ch. xii. 20–23); 7. The letter of Demetrius II. to Simon the High Priest, renewing friendship and granting privileges (chap. xiii. 36–40); 8. The letter of the Lacedæmonians to Simon renewing friendship (ch. xiv. 20–23); 9. The decree of the Jewish people establishing the high priesthood in Simon's family and conferring various privileges upon him (chap. xiv. 27–45); 10. The letter of Antiochus Sidetes to Simon proposing alliance and extending Simon's privileges (chap. xv. 3–9); and 11. The circular letter of the Romans, addressed to states and kingdoms under their influence, on behalf of the Jews (ch. xv. 16–21). These documents have a general air of authenticity about them; but it has to be borne in mind that they are, at the best, translations of translations, having been written originally either in Latin or Greek, then translated by the author of the Book into the later Hebrew, and from this again rendered into Greek by the Greek translator of the Book, who is not likely to have had access to the original documents.

It has sometimes been supposed that, besides these written authorities — authorities of great value, but scattered and discontinuous—our author may have had access to a set of state papers, which contained something like an unbroken history of his nation from the time of the completion of the Second Temple, B.C. 516. Ewald supposes that "the high-priestly journals were kept up continually after the foundation of the new temple," and that "after the Asmonæans became high-priests and national princes, they were elevated to the rank of the previous annals of the kingdom."[1] He even quotes 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24 as favouring this view.[2] But though that passage distinctly proves the keeping of such journals from the accession of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135), it furnishes an argument against, rather than for, their composition during the preceding period. For it is difficult to conceive of any reason having determined the writer of the Book on concluding his own narrative with the accession of John, other than the fact that he considered the existence of the high-priestly chronicles from that date to render the continuance of his history unnecessary.[3] In fact, the troubles of the time were so great from the beginning of the oppression of Epiphanes, B.C. 170, to the accession of Simon, B.C. 143, that we can scarcely imagine any records kept, so that the question seems to narrow itself to this: Did or did not Simon leave an official record of his high-priesthood? The answer would seem to be, that, however probable it may appear that he would have done so, there is no evidence that he did. In any case, the high-priestly journals must have failed our author for the greater portion of the time whereof he treats, and it becomes necessary to consider whether we cannot trace his main narrative, certainly or probably, to a different source.

It has been suggested that he took his account of the origin of the insurrection and of the exploits of Judas from an earlier literary work treating expressly of that period.[4] His own words in chap. ix. 22 have been supposed to imply that such a work existed; and the peculiarly poetical character of the portion of the Book dealing with the history of Judas has been thought to be best accounted

[1] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 462, E. T.

[2] See note[2] *ad loc.*

[3] See the remarks of Grimm ('Einleitung,' § 6, p. xxiii.), "Da der Berichterstatter unter Verweisung auf Johan. Hyrcan's Jahrbücher den Faden der Erzählung gerade da fallen lässt, wo ihn diese Jahrbücher aufnehmen, so scheinen über die Thaten und Schicksale der drei Vorgänger Hyrcan's keine derartigen Jahrbücher vorhanden gewesen zu seyn, indem in solchem Falle der Verfasser sein Unternehmen für überflüssig erachtet haben würde."

[4] Smith, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 171.

for by the view that he there transcribed from a work cast in a poetic mould. But this argument, though ingenious, is weak. It is certainly not said in ch. ix. 22, that any written account existed of the exploits of Judas except that of our author; and the difference of tone between the earlier and later chapters of his treatise is sufficiently explained by the superior grandeur and pathos of the events related in the former. The most heroic deeds contained in his history were those of Mattathias and Judas; the latter phases of the war were, comparatively, commonplace. Thus the style merely varies with the subject-matter.

If then the writer is not to be viewed as having derived the general facts of his history either from a chronicle kept by the High Priests and deposited in the archives of the kingdom, or from any work of an earlier historian, what other source is there which can be regarded as open to him? The answer to this question is twofold. In the first place, it is quite possible that he may have written largely from his own recollections. If he wrote, as Ewald supposes, in B.C. 105, and was seventy years old at the time, which cannot be regarded as improbable, his boyhood would have synchronised with the time of Mattathias and Judas, his early manhood with that of Jonathan, and his middle age with the pontificate of Simon, so that the bulk of his history would be an account of the events of his own day. If, on the other hand, he was a comparatively young man when he wrote, he would have had to obtain his facts from those among his elder contemporaries who had witnessed and shared in the transactions. As there are now (1887) living many Waterloo heroes, so in B.C. 105 there would have existed in the Jewish community persons who had seen the "abomination of desolation" on the altar of burnt sacrifice, who had fled into the wilderness with Mattathias, and fought in the early battles of Judas. In default of personal experience the writer would naturally have recourse to these veterans, and would receive at their mouth the graphic descriptions, so minute, so exact, so full of geographical detail, which charm us in his narrative. On the whole, it may be said that the work is most probably based in part upon the writer's personal knowledge of the facts which he records, more largely upon inquiries which he had made of persons present at events which he did not himself witness, and partly also, but to a comparatively small extent, on documents laid up in the Jewish archives or inscribed on bronze tablets and set up in some public place in Jerusalem (chap. xi. 37; xiv. 18, 27).

§ VIII. Religious Tone and Character.

The strong religious feeling of the writer, his deep regard for the Law, the Temple, and the Temple worship, his horror at the profanities of Epiphanes and the blasphemies of Nicanor, and his earnest belief in a superintending Providence, are very apparent. But he is careful not to obtrude the religious element into his narrative unnecessarily. His nature is particularly reverent and reticent. He declines, as a general rule, to introduce into his treatise the Holy Names of "God" and "Lord," whereby the Supreme Being was commonly designated.[1] He does not even expressly refer the triumphant successes of the Maccabean princes to the Divine protection and assistance. It would not, perhaps, be remarkable that he mentions no miraculous occurrence as taking place during the war, but for the fact that the authors of the Second and Third Books relate so many. It is clear that he himself believed the successes of the Asmonæans to have been achieved, without miraculous interference, by the ordinary action of those causes and laws which govern the world. Among these causes, however, he assigned an important place to the action of God upon men's minds, whereby courage is infused or a panic fear produced, so that "the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host" (chap. iii. 19), but "many are shut up into the hands of a few" (ib. 18).

The principle of reticence on sacred subjects may also have caused the absence from his writings of any clear notice of the Messianic hopes which prevailed in his day, and which appear from

[1] See above, § IV., *sub fin.*

the 'Psalms of Solomon' and the 'Book of Enoch,' works of the same age, to have been raised to a high pitch by the successes of the Maccabean princes in their struggle after independence. He has indeed, in one place, a regretful reference to the suspension of prophecy in the past (chap. ix. 27), and twice he "anticipates the future coming of a Prophet as of one who should make a direct revelation of the will of God (chap. iv. 46), and supersede the temporary arrangements of a merely civil dynasty (chap. xiv. 41)."[1] But the Messianic idea occupies no prominent place in his Book, which is narrative, not didactic; and which, so far as it teaches at all, teaches by example, not by inculcation of belief or even definite statements of doctrine.

[1] Westcott in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 174.

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

CHAPTER I.

14 *Antiochus gave leave to set up the fashions of the Gentiles in Jerusalem,* 22 *and spoiled it, and the temple in it,* 57 *and set up therein the abomination of desolation,* 63 *and slew those that did circumcise their children.*

AND it happened, after that Alexander *son* of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of ‖Chettiim, had smitten Darius king of the Persians and Medes, that

B. C. cir. 331.

‖ Or, *Chethiim.*

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Preliminary Historical Sketch.

1–9. The author introduces his narrative by a brief summary of the events which had placed the Jews under Greek rule—to wit, the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the continued power of his successors. These events covered a space of a hundred and fifty-six years (B.C. 331–175), counting from the battle of Arbela. It is remarkable that he makes no mention of the circumstances, that, in the original division of Alexander's empire, Judæa fell to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and that its transfer to Syria did not take place till B.C. 203, when it voluntarily placed itself under the Seleucidæ.

1. *And it happened.*] The Greek words, *καὶ ἐγένετο,* are a translation of the Hebrew *vayĕhi,* so frequently used by the Old Testament writers at the commencement of their narratives (Josh. i. 1; Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 1; 1 Sam. i. 1; Neh. i. 1; Esth. i. 1; Jonah i. 1). The original intention of the phrase was to connect the narrative which it introduced with some previous history; but at the time at which this book was written it had lost this special force, and was a mere archaism. It would be best translated in this place "Now it happened."

Alexander son of Philip.] Alexander the Great is thus distinguished from the Seleucid Alexanders (Balas and Zabinas), with whom the author and his readers would be familiar. They were known respectively as the sons of Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas.

the Macedonian.] The epithet belongs to Alexander, not to Philip. It further distinguishes him from other Alexanders.

the land of Chettiim.] Chettiim, or Chittim (Num. xxiv. 24; Dan. xi. 30), seems primarily to have designated Cyprus (Joseph. 'A. J.,' i. 6, § 1), whose chief town in the more ancient times was Cition; but a later usage extended the term to the islands off the coast of Asia Minor generally, and even to the European coast that lay beyond them. Here "the land of Chettiim" can only be Greece or Macedon. Grimm well compares the loose employment of the word "Frank" by Turks and Arabs.

smitten.] *I.e.* "defeated." The writer uses the verb *παταάσσω* in this sense constantly (see ch. iii. 11; iv. 2; v. 7, &c.). It is a Hebraism, common in the Septuagint (Num. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 33, vii. 2; Josh. viii. 22, 24, &c.).

Darius king of the Persians.] This is Darius III., or Darius Codomannus, the same king whose name occurs in Nehem. xii. 22. Alexander defeated Darius III. twice—at Issus in B.C. 333, and two years later at Arbela, in the ancient Assyria. As it was this last victory which gave him the empire of the East, it is no doubt the one here intended.

and Medes.] It is curious to find "the Medes" still obtaining such honourable mention. No doubt they were always regarded as the chief of the subject nations; but it is in the earlier times of the Persian empire that their rank is most apparent. In Daniel Media even has precedence over Persia (Dan. v. 28; vi. 8, 12, 15). In Esther the position is reversed (Esth. i. 3, 14, 18, 19), except in one place (ch. x. 2). In Ezra and Nehemiah the Medes drop wholly out of sight. It would seem, however, that their honourable position was, in point of fact, maintained until the close of the Empire (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.,' iv. 7, § 2; xii. 4, § 11).

B. C. cir. 331. he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece,

2 And made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth,

3 And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him; whereupon ‖ he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up. B. C. cir. 325.

‖ Or, *his heart was exalted and lifted up.*

he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece.] There is probably some corruption here, or some mistranslation of the Hebrew original. The Syriac version has—"he reigned in his stead, but previously he had reigned over Greece," and this may give us a clue to the real intention of the writer. It is absurd to suppose, with Eichhorn and Hengstenberg, that he was so ignorant of history as to imagine that Darius Codomannus had been King of Greece.

2. *And made many wars.*] Some of these were in Europe, before he crossed into Asia, as those with the Triballi and Getæ, and with the Illyrians. The remainder were in Asia, and included his war with Darius and his conquests, after Darius's death, in Bactria, Sogdiana, Arachosia, and India. Alexander's career of victory covered the space between B.C. 335 and B.C. 324.

and won many strong holds.] As Thebes, in B.C. 335; Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Celænæ, in B.C. 334; Tyre and Gaza, in B.C. 332; Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, in B.C. 331; Ecbatana and Rhagæ in B.C. 330; Bactra and Maracanda, in B.C. 329; Choriene and the rock of Aornus, in B.C. 327. Alexander made it a point of honour to take every stronghold which refused to submit to him (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 30; iv. 17, 18, 22, &c.).

and slew the kings of the earth.] This is scarcely a correct statement, since Alexander's clemency was remarkable. Probably the writer was not intimately acquainted with the great conqueror's history, and moreover expressed himself rhetorically, meaning simply that he prevailed over all his adversaries. It is quite inadmissible to regard him as alluding, in such a connection as the present, to the murder of Clitus, or the execution of suspected officers.

3. *And went through to the ends of the earth.*] Samarcand, the Sutlej, and the Indian Ocean were "ends of the earth" to all but a select few in the first and second centuries B.C. Alexander's soldiers had themselves complained, by the mouth of Cœnus, that he had led them to the extreme limit of the habitable world ("Pæne in ultimo mundi fine consistimus." Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' ix. 3).

and took spoils.] The booty which Alexander acquired in the course of his conquests was, according to all accounts, immense. At Issus the Persian camp was found full of gold and silver plate, the royal tent exceeding all others in magnificence. A large treasure was captured, soon after the battle, at Damascus (Arr. 'Exp. Alex.' ii. 11, § 13; Parmen. ap. Athen. 'Deipn.' xiii. p. 607). Another considerable gain was made at Arbela, after the great fight (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' v. 1). But all these were small matters compared with the enormous captures made at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. The spoils of Babylon enabled the victor to give to every man in his army sums varying from six pounds sterling to eighteen; at Susa the treasury contained 50,000 talents, or above 12,000,000*l.* of our money; while at Persepolis the value of the precious metals captured is reckoned at above 27,000,000*l.* (See Grote, 'History of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 394.) When Alexander reached Ecbatana, he deposited there the almost incredible sum of 180,000 talents, or above 43,000,000*l.* (*Ibid.* p. 400.)

insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.] Literally, "And the earth was quiet before him." No one, *i.e.*, ventured to oppose him (compare ch. xi. 38)—his will was law to all.

he was exalted.] Rather, as in the margin, "his heart was exalted." (Compare Hosea xiii. 6.) The effect produced on Alexander by the intoxication of success is abundantly noted by profane historians. "Here," says Curtius (*i.e.* in Parthia), "he openly gave the rein to his desires, and exchanged restraint and moderation, the highest excellences of exalted fortune, for pride and licence. He laid aside the customs of his ancestors, as unsuited to his own greatness, and, adopting those of the Persian court, aspired to equal the lofty grandeur of the gods. He began to allow himself to be worshipped by prostrate crowds, and aimed at making his victorious companions in arms as base and servile as their vanquished foes. He assumed the diadem of purple spotted with white which Darius had worn, and took the Persian habit, regardless of the evil omen involved in replacing the ensigns of conquest by those of defeat. He boasted that thus he bore the spoils of Asia on his person; but in reality with the spoils he donned Asiatic manners, and added to pride of array an insolent and overbearing spirit" (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' vi. 6, § 1; compare Arrian, 'Exp. Al.' iv. 8, § 7).

B. C. cir. 323.

4 And he gathered a mighty strong host, and ruled over countries, and nations, and ‖ kings, who became tributaries unto him.

‖ Or, *kingdoms which became, &c.*

5 And after these things he fell sick, and perceived ‖ that he should die.

‖ Gr. *that he dieth.*

6 Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.

7 So Alexander reigned twelve years, and *then* died.

8 And his servants bare rule every one in his place.

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4. *he gathered a mighty strong host.*] The army with which Alexander invaded Asia amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 4,500 horse (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 305); but the reinforcements which he received from time to time were large, and at Arbela his troops did not fall far short of 50,000 (Arr. 'Exp. Al.' iii. 12). It is not probable that he ever collected together a much larger force than this. The "strength" of his army was in its quality rather than its numbers.

and ruled over . . . kings.] The marginal "kingdoms" is certainly wrong. By τύραννοι the writer probably means "satraps," or "rulers of provinces." Compare Esther ix. 3, where *akhashdarpĕnim*, "satraps," is rendered by τύραννοι. Alexander for the most part kept up the Persian satrapial system. In some places, however, he allowed petty kings to retain their titles (Arrian, ii. 13, 20; iii. 2, &c.; Justin, xi. 10).

who became tributaries unto him.] It was among the main duties of the satraps under the Persian governmental system to collect the tribute of the several provinces and remit it to the Court. Hence had arisen the immense accumulations already mentioned. (See the comment on *v.* 3.) It was Alexander's intention to continue the same system (Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 469); but he had scarcely time to establish it fully before his premature death.

5. *he fell sick.*] Literally, "he fell upon his bed," or, as we say, "took to his bed." (Compare Judith viii. 3, where nearly the same expression is used.) Alexander's illness lasted nine days (Arrian, vii. 25, 26; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 76); but it was only for the last two days that he remained in bed without rising.

and perceived that he should die.] Alexander seems scarcely to have realised the fact that he was dying until very shortly before he became speechless. Had he done so, he would probably have taken more decided steps with regard to the succession than he did.

6. *he called his servants.*] By "his servants" the writer means "his courtiers." Compare 1 Kings xi. 26, xvi. 9; 2 Kings xxi. 23; Matt. xiv. 2, &c.

such as were honourable.] Or "such as were held in repute."

brought up with him from his youth.] The "Companions," as they were called—reduced by the deaths of Hephæstion, Parmenio, Philotas, and Clitus to some nine or ten—were Antigonus, Cassander, Craterus, Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Meleager, Menander, Perdiccas, Pithon, and Seleucus. The Macedonian system placed the young nobles on a near equality with the heir-apparent.

parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.] Here the author reports an incorrect tradition, or follows an untrustworthy authority. Few facts of history are more certain than that the great Macedonian made no disposition of his dominions before his decease. In his last hours the problem which suggested itself to him was, who should be his successor. He never conceived the idea of dividing his empire. It was to go "to him who was worthiest," according to his last words; to Perdiccas, according to his last act, the transfer to that general of his signet-ring. When, however, political exigencies had produced the partition of his dominions, the rumour soon spread that this had been done by Alexander's desire. The general report was, that he had made the division by will (Q. Curt. 'Hist. Al.' x. 10, § 5; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Mos. Chor. 'Hist. Arm.' ii. 1; Joh. Mal. 'Chronograph.' viii. p. 195; Diod. Sic., xx. 81). It would seem, however, from the present passage, that there was another version of the story also current, by which the distribution made after his demise was said to be in accordance with instructions given by him upon his death-bed. Both reports may be traced to the desire of legitimating what had been done by referring it to the express commandment, spoken or written, of the half-deified king.

7. *Alexander reigned twelve years.*] From July, B.C. 336, to May, B.C. 323 (Clinton, 'F. H.,' vol. ii. pp. 281–284), or twelve years and ten months, seemingly. Diodorus says (xvii. 117), twelve years and seven months; Arrian (vii. 28), twelve years and eight months.

8. *his servants bare rule every one in his*

B. C. cir. 323. 9 And after his death they all put crowns *upon themselves;* so did their sons after them many years: and evils were multiplied in the earth.

10 And there came out of them B. C. 175. a wicked root, Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at

place.] Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Egypt; Pithon in Media; Antigonus in Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia; Eumenes the Cardian in Cappadocia; Leonnatus in Mysia; Lysimachus in Thrace; Menander in Lydia; Asander in Caria; Philotas in Cilicia; Laomedon in Syria; Antipater and Craterus, as guardians and regents for Philip Arrhidæus, in Macedon.

9. *after his death they all put crowns upon themselves.*] The author does not state that the crowns were assumed *immediately* after Alexander's death, nor does he, in all probability, intend his expression, "they *all* put crowns upon themselves," to be taken literally. The greater part of the chiefs above named did assume the diadem; and ultimately all the fragments of Alexander's empire became *kingdoms* under *crowned* rulers. It is the latter fact which the author has specially in his mind.

their sons after them.] All the monarchies formed out of Alexander's empire were hereditary, the right of succession belonging to the eldest son. Naturally, each such prince assumed the diadem on his father's demise.

many years.] From Alexander's death, in B.C. 323, to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, in B.C. 175, was a hundred and forty-eight years—nearly a century and a half. During the whole of this time "evils were multiplied upon the earth." Ewald says of "the Greek age," as he calls it: "The first decades of this period passed away amid the continuous wars of Alexander, and the *still more devastating campaigns of his successors,* which were little favourable to the fusion of the two nationalities. Beneath the tinsel of Greek culture *the times were exceedingly disordered; and all the nations of Asia had much to suffer* from the craving for new dominions and the perpetual wars of the successors of Alexander, whose own thirst for conquest was only quenched by death" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 225, E. T.). Palestine was, during the whole period, the battle-ground between the rival powers of Egypt and Syria, whose armies were continually traversing the territory, and carrying fire and sword into its most sequestered districts and hamlets.

§ 2. ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND COMMENCEMENT OF HELLENIZING PRACTICES.

10–15. From his brief introductory sketch the writer passes at a bound to the special subject of his narrative—the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the events which grew out of it. After noting the accession of the hated monarch, he gives an account of the proceedings soon after taken by a Hellenizing party among the Jews themselves, who were opposed to the ordinary Hebrew exclusiveness, and desired a fusion with the heathen. This party had grown up by degrees under the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule, and embraced a considerable portion of the upper and middle classes, who were attracted by the culture of the Greeks, by their light-heartedness, by the splendour of their cities, and the pleasurable character of their amusements. The Greeks had built numerous towns in Palestine; had introduced their language, literature, and art; had given the Jews privileges at Alexandria and elsewhere, and studied and appreciated to some extent the Jewish sacred writings. Without any violent efforts, such as those made by Epiphanes (*vv.* 41–61), there was serious danger of the Jews relinquishing all their peculiar tenets and usages, and becoming amalgamated with Greco-Macedonians.

10. *a wicked root.*] The word *shôresh* in Hebrew, and its correspondent, ῥίζα, in Greek, though properly meaning "root," are used also to denote a sprout or sapling which springs up from an old stem or stock. (Cf. Is. x. 10, liii. 2; Rev. v. 5, xxii. 16.) And this seems to be its sense here. On the "wickedness" of Antiochus Epiphanes, see Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 288–9: "Antiochus IV. was one of those strange characters in whom an eccentricity, touching insanity on the left and genius on the right, combined with absolute power and lawless passion to produce a portentous result. . . . There was an extravagance, a littleness, in all his demeanour, which agrees with the unintelligible madman of the Gentile writers, and 'the vile person' of the Hebrew poets and historians."

Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes.] Or "illustrious." Appian ridiculously connects the epithet with the sudden appearance (ἐπιφάνεια) of the monarch on his return from his Roman captivity ('Syriaca,' § 45). But it had been previously borne by Ptolemy V. in Egypt, and is evidently on a par with the other flattering titles of the time, Euergetes, Philadelphus, Eupator, Callinicus, and the like. The coins of the king bear the title very commonly.

son of Antiochus.] Epiphanes succeeded

B.C. 175. Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

11 In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them [1]we have had much sorrow. B.C. 174.

[1] Gr. *many evils have found us.*

12 So this device pleased them well.

13 Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them

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his brother, Seleucus IV., Philopator (2 Macc. iv. 7); but he was the son of Antiochus III., commonly called "Antiochus the Great." Antiochus III. reigned from B.C. 223 to B.C. 187; Seleucus IV. from that date to B.C. 175.

who had been an hostage at Rome.] The relative "who" refers to Epiphanes, and not to his father. When the Romans quarrelled with Antiochus the Great, and, having invaded Asia in force, defeated him at Magnesia (B.C. 190), they required him, as one of the terms of peace, to give hostages for his good behaviour. These were twenty in number; and among them was his younger son, Antiochus (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 38). Shortly before his death (B.C. 176) Seleucus, the elder son and successor of Antiochus the Great, exchanged his own son, Demetrius, for his brother, Antiochus; and the latter was on his way home when Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, his treasurer (*ibid.* § 45).

the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.] The "era of the Greeks" commenced in October, B.C. 312, when Seleucus Nicator assumed the diadem. The 137th year of the Greeks would consequently commence in October, B.C. 175, and terminate in October, B.C. 174. Epiphanes probably became king early in this interval. The Seleucid era was not only employed by the Syrians, and therefore, naturally, by their subjects the Jews, but was even adopted by the independent nation of the Parthians, and is found upon their coins down to the very close of the empire, A.D. 226. (See the author's 'Sixth Monarchy,' p. 367.)

11. *In those days.*] A common note of time in Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek. (See Ex. ii. 11; Judg. xviii. 1, xix. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 1; 2 Kings xx. 1; Matt. iii. 1, &c.) It always implies a certain vagueness, meaning, not "at that time," but "about that time."

went there out of Israel wicked men.] Grimm compares Deut. xiii. 13, where the LXX. have ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ἄνδρες παράνομοι. "Wicked men" was probably in the original "sons of Belial." The writer, it will be observed, does Epiphanes the justice to allow that the first steps in the Hellenizing movement, to which he is so much opposed, were taken by an irreligious party among the Jews themselves, who courted the change which Epiphanes afterwards strove to bring about. Such a latitudinarian spirit first shewed itself among the Jews in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, by whom it was sternly, and (as it would seem) for a time successfully, repressed (Ezra ix. and x.; Nehem. xiii. 1–28). Now it had once more broken out, and come to a head. The chief patron of the Hellenizing party was Joshua, a brother of the high-priest Onias, who Grecized his name into Jason, and, betaking himself to Antioch, entered into negotiations with Epiphanes, which had the results indicated in *vv.* 13–15.

Let us . . . make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us.] The author does not mean "with the surrounding heathen generally"—the Syrians, Phœnicians, Philistines, Arabians, Egyptians, &c.,—but only with the Greeks. The Greeks had planted so many cities in every part of Palestine, that they might well be said to dwell "round about" Judæa. That a definite "covenant," or agreement, was made between Jason and Epiphanes appears from 2 Macc. iv. 7–10.

since we departed from them.] *I.e.* "since we separated ourselves off from the rest of the world by our peculiar customs," or, in other words, "since we accepted the law of Moses as the law of the state."

we have had much sorrow.] Literally, as in the margin, "many evils have found us." No doubt certain inconveniences followed on the maintenance by the Jews of their exclusive position as "the people of God," separated from and exalted above all the nations of the earth. The heathen resented their exclusiveness, and were led to hamper their commerce, to inflict on them petty annoyances, and to make them the object of their ridicule. These inconveniences were magnified into "evils" by the Hellenizing party, who proposed to escape them by throwing down every barrier, and effecting a fusion of two incompatible religions and nationalities.

12. *this device pleased them well.*] Literally, "the saying was good in their eyes"—*i.e.* "what was said pleased them."

13. *they went to the king.*] Compare 2 Macc. iv. 7–10, where we learn that Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, led the embassy.

B.C. 174. licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen:

14 Whereupon [a] they [1] built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen;

15 And [b] made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and [c] were sold to do mischief.

16 Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he

B.C. 174. 171.

[a] 2 Mac. 4. 12.
[1] Or, *set up an open school at Jerusalem.*
[b] 1 Cor. 7. 18.
[c] 1 Kings 21. 25.

who gave them licence.] It would seem (from 2 Macc. vii. 9) that a royal licence was needed for the opening of a palæstra, or gymnasium, at Jerusalem. Possibly such a licence was required everywhere, since the gymnasia were centres of attraction, and too many provincial gymnasia would be viewed with jealousy by the metropolis. But perhaps the need arose from the peculiar circumstances of Jerusalem, where it may have been thought that the event might produce an outbreak, and that therefore the express authorization of the king was necessary.

14. *Whereupon they built a place of exercise.*] Or "gymnasium." Gymnasia were courts surrounded by walls, and containing exercise-grounds, rooms, and porticoes, intended for the bodily training of both youths and adults. Their most essential features were an open space, usually either square or oblong, surrounded by colonnades, in which most of the exercises—*e.g.* wrestling, leaping, throwing the quoit, boxing, and throwing the javelin—were performed; a stadium, or course for the foot-race; and a xystus, or quiet recreation-ground, usually planted with trees. Among the rooms were one for dressing and undressing, a cold-bath room, a hot-bath room, a room where oil was rubbed in, a perspiring-room (*sudatorium*), a cooling-room (*frigidarium*), and others. The rooms and exercise-grounds were continually thronged by those who frequented the gymnasia for gymnastic purposes; the porticoes furnished agreeable lounges for philosophers, rhetoricians, artists, and spectators, who wished to while away a leisure hour. Dean Stanley says with much force, in speaking of the erection of this first gymnasium in Jerusalem, "It is startling to think of the sudden influx of Grecian manners into the very centre of Palestine. The modesty of the sons and daughters of Abraham was shocked by the establishment of the Greek palæstra under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12), where, in defiance of some of the most sensitive feelings of their countrymen, the most active of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves, and ran, wrestled, leaped in the public sports, like the Grecian athletes, wearing only the broad-brimmed hat, in imitation of the head-gear of the god Hermes, guardian of the gymnastic festivals. Even the priests in the Temple caught the infection (2 Macc. iv. 14), left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle, as soon as they heard the signal for throwing the discus, which was to lead off the games." ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291.)

15. *And made themselves uncircumcised.*] *I.e.* sought to conceal their circumcision by means of a further surgical operation. (See Celsus, 'De Medic.' vii. 18; and compare 1 Cor. vii. 18.)

forsook the holy covenant.] "The holy covenant" is not so much the covenant of circumcision made with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 10), as that far broader covenant made between God and His people at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 3–8). The expression seems to be adopted from Dan. xi. 28–30, where it is used three times in connection with the wicked doings of Epiphanes.

joined themselves to the heathen.] Literally, "yoked themselves." (Compare 2 Cor. vi. 14.)

were sold to do mischief.] Compare 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17.

§ 3. The War of Epiphanes with Egypt.

16–19. The war of Antiochus Epiphanes with Egypt was not a pure war of aggression. It was provoked by the Egyptian king, Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who claimed Cœlesyria and Palestine as the dowry of his mother, Cleopatra, and, when Epiphanes refused to yield them, flew to arms and actually invaded the Syrian territory (B.C. 172). Antiochus in B.C. 171, having collected a considerable army, undertook the recovery of the places occupied by the Egyptians, and, having succeeded in his object so far, pressed forward into Egypt, defeated the forces of Ptolemy at Pelusium, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole country. He would probably have succeeded, had not the Romans interposed, and required him to relinquish his conquests.

16. *when the kingdom was established.*] Compare 1 Kings ii. 12, 46; 2 Chr. i. 1; 2 Kings xiv. 5. There was usually a time of trouble at the commencement of an Oriental monarch's reign, at the end of which his power became "established." Epiphanes' troubles lasted from B.C. 175 to B.C. 171.

B.C. 171. thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms.

17 Wherefore he entered into Egypt [d] with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,

[d] Dan. 11. 25.

18 And made war against Ptolemee king of Egypt: but Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. B.C. 170

19 Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.

20 And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and [e] went up against Israel 169. [e] Dan. 8. 12.

he thought to reign over Egypt.] Antiochus can scarcely have begun the war with this expectation; but after the battle of Pelusium he no doubt entertained the idea. Had it not been for the Romans, he would probably have effected his purpose.

of two realms.] Rather, "of the two realms"—*i.e.* Syria and Egypt.

17. *he entered into Egypt with a great multitude.*] Rather, "with a strong force." Compare Dan. xi. 25. The number of his forces is nowhere recorded.

chariots, and elephants, and horsemen.] The employment of war-chariots by the Seleucidæ is noticed by Appian ('Syriaca,' § 52), Livy (xxxvii. 40), and others. They are said to have been armed with spears projecting from the pole, and scythes (or rather sickles) attached to the naves of the wheels and the ends of the yokes (Liv. xxxvii. 41; compare 2 Macc. xiii. 2). Elephants were also employed by the Syrian kings in large numbers (Liv. xxxvii. 40, xxxviii. 38; Polyb. xxii. 26, xxxi. 3, &c.). Eighty are said to have been brought by Lysias against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4).

and a great navy.] The march of armies from Syria into Egypt, or from Egypt into Syria, is much facilitated by the support of a "navy." The great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties made Syrian expeditions both by land and sea (Brugsch, 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. i. pp. 371–3, &c.). So did the Psammetichi (Herod. ii. 159, 161). When Cambyses invaded Egypt, he took care to be accompanied by Greek and Phœnician ships (*ib.* iii. 13, 19). Alexander's long delay at Tyre when on his way to Egypt was to secure a naval force. A navy is especially needed when the attack is made from Syria, since not only is it serviceable for conveying supplies, but necessary in order to command the Egyptian waters. The fleet of Epiphanes is mentioned by Livy (xliv. 19; xlv. 11). It proved stronger than the Egyptian fleet.

18. *Ptolemee king of Egypt.*] This king was Ptolemy VI., called Philometor, the son of Ptolemy Epiphanes and of Cleopatra, Antiochus's sister. He was a weak prince, and no more than seventeen years of age at the time of Antiochus's invasion.

Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled.] This is scarcely in accordance with the history as it has come down to us from other writers. At the first great battle near Pelusium Ptolemy appears not to have been present (Diod. Sic. p. 579, ed. Wesseling). Afterwards, fearing perhaps the consequences of further resistance, he submitted to his uncle, and became his tool; but he never fled from any show of force, much less from any actual engagement.

19. *they got the strong cities.*] As Pelusium, Memphis, and others. Alexandria still held out under Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Philometor, whom the Egyptians had placed at their head when Philometor submitted to Antiochus.

§ 4. THE RETURN OF ANTIOCHUS FROM EGYPT, AND HIS PROCEEDINGS AT JERUSALEM.

20. *he returned again.*] The return of Antiochus to Syria in the winter of B.C. 170–169 was partly in consequence of his inability to capture Alexandria, partly on account of the interference of the Romans (Polyb. xxviii. 15, *ad fin.*), whom he did not dare to defy. His proud spirit must have been deeply hurt at the issue of his two years' war; and he was consequently prepared to vent his pent-up anger on the first victim that offered itself.

and went up against Israel and Jerusalem.] A pretext was found in the series of events related in 2 Macc. iv. 23–43; v. 5–7. Jason, outbid and deprived of the high-priesthood by Menelaus, had raised a rebellion, and obtained certain successes. Various other troubles had occurred. But the real ground of the attack was cupidity. The Syrian treasury was exhausted, and needed to be replenished. The wealth of the Temple was well known, and had already provoked one attempt (2 Macc. iii. 6–40). Now another was to be made with greater success. The angry king, smarting under disappointments incurred in Egypt, leads his army against Jerusalem, and, though unresisted, treats it as a captured city.

B. C. 169. and Jerusalem with a great multitude,

21 And [f] entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof,

22 And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, [‖] all which he pulled off.

23 He took also the silver and the gold, and the [‖] precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found.

24 And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly.

25 Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were;

26 So that the princes and elders

[f] Dan. 11. 31.

[‖] Or, *he pilled all things.*

B. C. 169.

[‖] Gr. *desirable.*

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21. *entered proudly into the sanctuary.*] The assault and capture of the city, enlarged upon in 2 Macc. v. 11–14, are omitted by the present writer, who cares for nothing in comparison with the profanation of the Holy Place, and the other sacrilegious acts of the misguided king. Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, served as guide to Epiphanes on the occasion (2 Macc. v. 15), and led him into the inner sanctuary, or Holy of Holies (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 1, 48).

the golden altar.] *I.e.* the altar of incense, which stood inside the Temple, just in front of the veil. (Compare Ex. xxx. 1–6; 1 Kings vii. 48.) Solomon's altar was no doubt carried off by Nebuchadnezzar; but a similar one had been made and placed within the Temple by Zerubbabel or Ezra.

the candlestick of light.] The seven-branched lampstand, which stood against the south wall of the Holy Place (Ex. xxv. 31–37; xl. 24), and was an essential part of the Temple furniture (2 Chr. xiii. 11). Such a "candlestick," however often carried off, was always restored; and the Arch of Titus shews us that the Romans found one in the Temple when they finally captured and destroyed it.

the vessels thereof.] The "lamps," "tongs," and "snuff-dishes" of Ex. xxv. 37, 38, which were all "of pure gold."

22. *And the table of the shewbread.*] See Ex. xxv. 23–30; 1 Kings vii. 48.

the pouring vessels and the vials.] In the original σπονδεῖα καὶ φιάλας—"flagons and chalices"—vessels to contain the wine for the drink-offerings, and cups or goblets out of which to pour them. Compare Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16; where, however, the φιάλαι are called κύαθοι.

the censers of gold.] Incense-pots, in which incense was offered on the table of shewbread, together with the loaves (Lev. xxiv. 5). They are mentioned in Ex. xxv. 29 and xxxvii. 16 (where the A.V. translates by "spoons"), and are represented on the Arch of Titus.

the veil.] See Ex. xxvi. 31, xl. 21; 2 Chron. iii. 14.

the crowns.] Compare below, ch. iv. 57. Whether these "crowns" were votive offerings hung in front of the Temple, or the capitals of the pillars of the porch, is uncertain.

the golden ornaments that were before the temple . . . he pulled off.] Much of the ornamentation consisted of woodwork plated with gold (Ex. xxvi. 29; 1 Kings vi. 20–22; 2 Kings xviii. 16). This Epiphanes stripped off.

23. *the silver and the gold and the precious vessels.*] *I.e.* all the gold and silver vessels that he found in the Temple—an example of *hendiadys*.

also . . . the hidden treasures.] *I.e.* the contents of the various treasuries, whether public or private. (See Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 9, § 4; 2 Macc. iii. 10–12.) The value of the precious metals carried off was estimated at 1800 silver talents, or nearly 350,000*l.* (See 2 Macc. v. 21.)

24. *having made a great massacre.*] At his entry, not at his departure (2 Macc. v. 12–14). The slain were estimated at 80,000; but this was probably an exaggeration.

§ 5. The Mourning of the Jews after his Departure.

25–28. Words are poor to tell of the effect on the Jewish mind of these terrible calamities. Nothing like them had occurred since the destruction of the first Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. The fact that Heliodorus had been so recently baffled in a somewhat similar attempt (2 Macc. iii. 14–29) must have made them the more unexpected. The writer graphically describes in four short verses the general consternation.

26. *the princes and elders.*] Probably the same as the "council" or "senate" of 1 Macc. xii. 6, and of 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27—a body corresponding to the later Sanhedrin,

B. C. 170. mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed.

27 Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness.

28 The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.

167. 29 And after two years fully expired [e] the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude,

[e] 2 Mac. 5. 24.

30 And spake peaceable words unto them, but *all was* deceit: for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel. B. C. 167.

31 And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side.

32 But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle.

33 Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall,

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which was composed of chief priests (heads of courses), elders, and scribes.

§ 6. SECOND ATTACK UPON JERUSALEM, BY APOLLONIUS, CHIEF COLLECTOR OF TRIBUTE.

29–32. The circumstances of this attack are given with some particularity in 2 Macc. v. 24–27. We find there the name of the leader, Apollonius; the number of his army, 22,000 men; and the fact that the attack was made on the sabbath day, suddenly and without a pretext, by the armed soldiers, who had been received peaceably into the town, upon the unarmed Judæans. The intention must have been the same as that of certain *fusillards* in a neighbouring capital in our own day—to strike terror into the inhabitants and reduce them into a state of abject subservience.

29. *after two years.*] In December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167 (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 321).

fully expired.] Literally, "years of days"—a Hebraism. Compare Gen. xli. 1; Lev. xxv. 29; 2 Sam. xiii. 25, &c.

with a great multitude.] Rather, "with a strong force"—an army of 22,000 men (2 Macc. v. 24).

30. *spake peaceable words.*] Compare 2 Macc. v. 25; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4. Had he come as an open enemy, the inhabitants might have shut the gates, and stood on their defence with a good prospect of success.

but all was deceit.] Rather, "deceitfully."

he fell suddenly upon the city.] Waiting for the sabbath, he gave his soldiers orders to arm themselves, and, sallying forth into the streets, to kill all the men whom they met in any part of the town. The women and children they were to seize and sell for slaves. (See 2 Macc. v. 24–26.) The sale of these numerous captives (as Ewald notes) "helped to fill the empty treasury of the king."

31. *he set it on fire.*] There can scarcely have been any intention to burn the city, or the intention would have been carried out. Probably, in the confusion of the plundering, various houses were set on fire accidentally.

pulled down the houses and walls.] *I.e.* demolished the fortifications, or at any rate broke large breaches in them, and destroyed such houses as abutted on the demolished portions of the walls.

32. *and possessed the cattle.*] On the keeping of cattle within the precincts of cities in ancient times, see Jonah iv. 11. The word employed (κτήνη) will, in its Hellenistic use, include horses.

§ 7. PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF A PART OF JERUSALEM BY THE SYRIANS.

33–37. The object of the occupation of "the city of David" was clearly to molest such Jews as wished to visit the Temple from the "upper city" by crossing the Tyropœon, and at the same time to make into a special Syrian stronghold the most commanding position in the whole town. It is to be remembered that the "acra," or "citadel," as it was called, overlooked the Temple (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, 7).

33. *the city of David.*] It is generally agreed that this means the special hill on which had stood the palace of David. But the position of this hill is questioned. Most writers regard it as a portion of the high ground north, or rather north-west, of the Temple. But Colonel Warren, with the most complete local knowledge, has recently argued that it was a portion of the western hill, opposite the Temple ('Transactions of Society of

B. C. 167. *and* with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold for them.

34 And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified *themselves* therein.

35 They stored it also with armour and victuals, and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare:

36 For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.

37 Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it:

38 Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon *the city* was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. B. C. 167.

39 Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, [h] her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. [h] Tobit a. 6. 2 Mac. 6. 6.

40 As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning.

Bibl. Archæology,' vol. vii. pp. 309–315). The whole question of the topography of ancient Jerusalem is still undetermined.

a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers.] All the early fortifications consisted of projecting towers, square or round, with a curtain between them (Rawlinson, 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 405; vol. iii. pp. 76, 82; 'History of Egypt,' vol. i. p. 465; Herod. i. 179, &c.). Numerous towers in the wall of Jerusalem are mentioned by Nehemiah (ch. iii. 1, 11, 25, 26, 27).

a strong hold.] In the original, ἄκρα, a "citadel," or "acropolis." The word became the proper name of this fortress.

34. *a sinful nation.*] Compare Tobit xiii. 6. The Jews divide the world into Jews and Gentiles—"the righteous" and "sinners." Here, however, something more is meant. The Syrian Greeks, as the aiders and abettors of Epiphanes, were considered to be sinners in an especial sense. See the words which follow—"wicked men"—and compare ch. ii. 48, 62; iii. 15, 20, &c.

35. *they became a sore snare.*] We should read ἐγένετο here, rather than ἐγένοντο, and translate—"*It* became a sore snare." Dean Stanley says: "It was regarded as a perpetual tempter, an adversary or devil in stone—as a personal enemy" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295). Compare *v.* 36. Hence the joy and rejoicing when ultimately it was captured (*infra*, xiii. 51).

§ 8. FLIGHT OF THE GODLY JEWS, AND SUPPRESSION OF THE JEWISH RELIGION.

38–53. Unable to frequent the Temple by reason of the perpetual sallies made upon them from the Acra, the religious Jews quitted Jerusalem and gave it up to the Hellenizing party. Antiochus hereupon, regarding all opposition as over, launched his Edict of Intolerance—"That all should be one people, and that every one should leave his laws" (*vv.* 41, 42). A special commissioner was sent down from Antioch to enforce the king's orders (2 Macc. vi. 1). Not only was the practice of the Jewish religion or the observance of any of its ceremonies forbidden under penalty of death (*v.* 50), but active participation in the abominations of idol worship was required of all (*v.* 47; compare 2 Macc. vi. 7). The possession of the sacred writings was also made a capital offence (*v.* 57). Under the chief commissioner were appointed "overseers," whose business it was to carry out the king's orders in all the various cities and towns throughout the whole of Judæa. The determination was to stamp out the Jewish religion absolutely and utterly, and to establish the sensual idolatry of the Greeks in its place.

38. *the city was made an habitation of strangers.*] This must not be understood too broadly. Menelaus, the high-priest, remained at Jerusalem with his partisans, and gave the support of his authority to all the measures of Antiochus. It was among the most bitter trials of the faithful, that many of their own countrymen took part with the heathen against them. (See *vv.* 43 and 52.)

39. *Her sanctuary was laid waste.*] Rather "**was empty**" or "**desolate.**" It was no part of the policy of Epiphanes to destroy, or even to injure, the Temple building. He proposed to retain it as the centre of the new religious worship which he was about to set up. (See 2 Macc. vi. 2–4.)

her feasts were turned into mourning.] As prophesied by Amos (viii. 10), whose words,

B. C. 167. 41 Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people,

42 And every one should leave his laws; so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king.

43 Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath.

44 For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda, that they should follow ‖ the strange laws of the land,

‖ Or, *the laws and rites of the strangers of the land.*

45 And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days:

46 And pollute the sanctuary and holy people; B. C. 167.

47 Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts:

48 That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation:

49 To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.

50 And [i] whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, *he said*, he should die. [i] 2 Mac. 6. 9.

51 In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and [k] appointed overseers over all the people, [k] 2 Mac. 5. 22.

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as rendered by the LXX., are here closely followed.

41. *king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom.*] The special edict directed against the Jews (*vv.* 44–50) seems to have been preceded by a general proclamation of uniformity in religion throughout the whole kingdom. This was a sort of blind, there being no very clear intention of forcing changes on any people except the Jews. Hence the heathen nations generally "agreed" to the edict. (See *v.* 42, and compare ch. ii. 19; but, on the other hand, see ch. iii. 29.)

43. *many . . . of the Israelites consented.*] See note on *v.* 38.

44. *letters . . . unto Jerusalem.*] By the hand of the special commissioner deputed to see the royal commands carried out (2 Macc. vi. 1).

the strange laws of the land.] Rather, as in the margin, "the laws (or customs) of the strangers of the land"—*i.e.* the Syrian Greeks.

45. *burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings.*] *I.e.* offerings of any kind.

46. *And pollute . . . holy people.*] *I.e.* the godly, the faithful. The readiest mode of pollution was forcing them to eat swine's flesh. (See 2 Macc. vi. 18–31; vii. 1.)

47. *groves.*] Rather, "**precincts.**" The "groves" of the Old Testament are certainly not intended. These were idolatrous emblems in wood or metal, resembling probably the "sacred tree" of the Assyrians. (See the author's 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 236.) "Precincts" (τεμένη) were sacred enclosures, surrounded by walls, and generally containing within them a temple or shrine.

chapels of idols.] Or "idol temples." (See 1 Cor. viii. 10.) The word εἰδωλεῖον is used of the heathen temples generally, ναὸς or νεὼς being reserved for the temples of the true God.

unclean beasts.] Literally, "common." Compare Acts x. 14, 15, 28; and for an account of the animals which were "unclean" to the Jews, see Lev. xi. 3–30. The swine was the only animal offered commonly in sacrifice by heathen nations, which the Jews might not offer.

48. *That they should . . . leave their children uncircumcised.*] Could circumcision have been abolished, the whole distinction between Jew and Gentile would very shortly have been done away. Circumcision admitted into covenant; and without it a Jew would have felt that he was not a Jew, but a mere uncovenanted heathen. Hence the strenuous efforts made to stop circumcision (*vv.* 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4, &c.).

50. *he should die.*] Like other thoroughgoing persecutors — Diocletian, Galerius, Isdigerd II., the Inquisition—Epiphanes enforced conformity under the penalty of death. This heroic remedy necessarily results in either submission or insurrection.

51. *In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom.*] I.e. *mutatis mutandis.* But it may be questioned whether any religions but the Jewish and Samaritan were seriously threatened. The various forms of polytheism were too nearly allied to quarrel, and readily understood one another. The Phœnician, Syrian, and Babylonian deities had all of them their Greek counterparts; and a syncretic spirit was so generally prevalent, that we need stronger evidence than is anywhere forth-

B. C. 167. pointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city.

52 Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land;

53 [1]And [l]drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour.

54 Now the fifteenth day of *the* *month* Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up [m]the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side;

55 And burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets.

56 And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.

B. C. cir. 167.

[m] Dan. xi. 31.

[1] Or, *And they made Israel hide themselves in holes in every place of succour.*

[l] 2 Mac. 6. 11. Heb. 11. 38. See ch. 2. 31, 36, 41. cir. 168.

coming to convince us that Epiphanes contemplated imposing on all his subjects complete religious uniformity.

and appointed overseers.] Ewald views these "overseers" as "an army of spies and wardens, accusers and watchmen" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 299); but Dean Stanley is probably right in regarding them as local commissioners, acting under the chief commissioner, and carrying out the king's behests in the provinces ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295).

52. *many of the people were gathered unto them.*] A Hellenizing faction shewed itself in all parts of the land, not in Judæa only, but also in Samaria (2 Macc. vi. 2) and Galilee (1 Macc. v. 15).

53. *drove the Israelites into secret places.*] To escape the persecution of the "overseers," the Israelites were compelled to betake themselves to hiding-places—caves, deserts, and hill fastnesses (2 Macc. v. 27)—just as had been done of old by David and his companions (1 Sam. xx.–xxvi.) when they fled from Saul.

§ 9. The Abomination of Desolation set up in the Temple, and the Persecution carried on relentlessly.

54–64. The finishing touch was now to be put to the whole scheme of persecution. The daily sacrifice had been already abolished (*v.* 45); but, to prevent any pious Jew from surreptitiously offering it, the altar itself was to be polluted by a permanent erection. On the 15th of Chisleu (December B.C. 168, or January B.C. 167) an altar to the Olympian Jupiter was set up on the top of the brazen altar of burnt sacrifice erected by Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2, 3); and ten days afterwards the profanation was completed by the offering of sacrifice to Jupiter upon the new altar. At the same time images of heathen gods were set up at the doors of houses and in the streets, and incense burnt to them. The Books of the Law were searched for, and, when found, were burnt. A vigorous persecution of all who disobeyed the royal edicts was commenced. The mothers of children who had been recently circumcised were put to death with the children, and the dead bodies of the latter were hung about the mothers' necks. Those by whom the operation had been performed were likewise executed. Attempts were made to compel men to eat unclean meats, and their refusal to do so was also punished with death. The author of the Second Book of Maccabees goes into considerable detail on these subjects, relating at length some particular instances of cruel punishments (2 Macc. vi. 10–31; vii. 1–42).

54. *they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar.*] That "the abomination of desolation" was an altar appears from *v.* 59. The phrase is not previously used in the Septuagint, though nearly allied to one in Daniel ix. 27, where an "abomination of *desolations*" is mentioned. The expression in Dan. xi. 31, which refers to the event here recorded, is different. It had been customary from the time of Moses to call idolatrous objects "abominations." The present writer goes further, and marks his hatred of this particular object by attaching to it a further epithet of abhorrence.

and builded idol altars.] "Idol altars" (*βωμοί*) are contrasted with the altar of God (*θυσιαστήριον*). It was common among the Greeks to erect such altars in the streets of towns before images of gods and goddesses, especially Hermes, Dionysus, Apollo, and Artemis. Hence these deities were sometimes spoken of as *θεοὶ ἀγυιεῖς*—"deities of the street."

55. *burnt incense at the doors of their houses.*] It was usual in Greek towns to place images of the household gods in the vestibules or porches of houses (Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. p. 242, E. T.), and to offer to them incense, cakes, and other sacrificial dainties. Artemis was sometimes honoured in this way, and was then called *προθυραία* ('Orph. Hymn.' i. 4).

56. *when they had rent in pieces the books*

B. C. cir. 167.

57 And wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, ‖ the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death.

‖ Gr. *the king's commandment put him to death.*

58 Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities.

59 Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.

60 At which time according to the commandment [n] they put to death certain women, ‖ that had caused their children to be circumcised.

[n] 2 Mac. 6. 10.

‖ Gr. *that had circumcised their children.*

61 And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses and slew them that had circumcised them.

B. C. cir. 167

62 Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.

63 Wherefore they [o] chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.

[o] 2 Mac. 6. 19. & 7. 1, &c.

64 And there was very great wrath upon Israel.

CHAPTER II.

6 Mattathias lamenteth the case of Jerusalem. 24 He slayeth a Jew that did sacrifice to idols in his presence, and the king's messenger also. 34 He and his are assailed upon the sabbath, and make no resistance. 50 He dieth, and instructeth his sons; 66 and maketh their brother Judas Maccabeus general.

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of the law . . . . they burnt them.] Compare the conduct of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxvi. 23). Hatred of God's Word leads wicked men to make its destruction sure.

57. *wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament.*] Rather, "a book of the covenant"—*i.e.* any one of the five books of Moses. It is implied that private persons not unfrequently possessed a portion, if not the whole, of the Pentateuch. A great multiplication of copies had followed on the institution of "scribes."

if any consented to the law.] Mere observance of the law, apart from possession of any portion of it, was made a capital offence.

58. *every month.*] It would seem that each town was visited once a month by its inspector, and a bloody assize held. The country districts were probably under less strict surveillance.

59. *they did sacrifice upon the idol altar.*] Diodorus (xxxiv. 1) says that a herd of a hundred swine was driven into the Temple and slaughtered in the sacred precincts. One huge sow was chosen out of the number for sacrifice upon the newly-erected altar, on which a portion of its blood was poured, while another portion was taken inside the Temple building and poured out within the Holy of Holies. (Compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4.)

60. *that had caused their children to be circumcised.*] Literally, "that had circumcised their children." But no doubt the meaning is that they had authorized the act. See the next verse. From 2 Macc. vi. 10 we gather that only two women were treated with this extreme barbarity

61. *they hanged the infants about their necks.*] Partly to aggravate the sufferings of the mothers; but also to ensure the death of the children, who were precipitated with their mothers from the top of the city wall (2 Macc. *l. s. c.*).

rifled their houses.] *I.e.* gave them up to pillage.

slew them that had circumcised them.] *I.e.* put to death those who had performed the rite.

63. *they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats.*] On the modes of compulsion used, and the noble resistance made, see 2 Macc. vi. 18–31 and vii. 1–41.

64. *there was very great wrath upon Israel.*] The persecution of Epiphanes was looked upon as a judgment sent upon the nation by God on account of its sins. The very martyrs themselves took this view, and acknowledged God's justice in the chastisement (2 Macc. vi. 18, 33). It may be concluded from this that Ps. lxxiv. does not belong to the period, since it contains no confessions of national ill-desert.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. The Family of Mattathias.

1–5. The desperate strait in which the Jewish nation was placed having been sufficiently set forth in ch. i., the writer proceeds in ch. ii. to a theme that is more congenial to him—the mode of the national deliverance; and as this was the special work of a single family, he commences this portion of his history with an account of the family, so far

B. C. 167. IN those days ‖arose Mattathias *the son* of John, *the son* of Simeon, a priest of the sons of [a] Joarib, from Jerusalem, and dwelt in Modin.

‖ Or, *Mattathias the son of John, &c. arose from Jerusalem,* or, *out of Jerusalem.*

2 And he had five sons, Joannan, ‖called ‖Caddis:

3 Simon, called Thassi:

4 Judas, who was called Maccabeus:

5 Eleazar, called ‖Avaran: and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.

B. C. 167.

‖ Or, *Avaron,* or, *Abaron:* See ch. 6. 43.

[a] 1 Chron. 24. 7. ‖ Or, *who was called:* and so afterward in the rest. ‖ *Gaddis.*

as it was known to him. Mattathias, its chief at the time when the sanctuary was profaned, he traces back through two progenitors, his father and his grandfather, to the great priestly clan or course of Joarib (or Jehoiarib), to which David and Solomon had assigned the first place among the attendants on the altar (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). He represents him as having been, at the time when the persecution began, a dweller in Jerusalem, but as having fled thence and taken refuge in his ancestral city, Modeïn, where he was "an honourable man" and "a ruler" (*v.* 8). He was accompanied by his five sons (three of whom became personages of importance)—Joannan or John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Each of these youths enjoyed the distinction of a second name.

1. *Mattathias.*] The name is not wholly new. A "Mattathiah" had supported Ezra when he came forward to read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). Two others appear in St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 25, 26).

a priest of the sons of Joarib.] That descendants of Joarib, or Jehoiarib, returned from the Captivity is declared in 1 Chr. ix. 10 and Neh. xi. 10, xii. 6, 19.

in Modin.] More properly "Modeïn" or "Modeïm." The place has not been mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and occurs only in connection with Maccabean history (ch. ii. 70; ix. 19; xiii. 25, 30; xvi. 4; 2 Macc. xiii. 14). It appears by 1 Macc. xvi. to have lain on the edge of the hill-country overlooking the Philistine plain; and here Jerome places it ('Onomast.' *ad voc.* MODIM), near Diospolis, or Lydda (now Ludd). The exact site is disputed.

2. *Joannan.*] The name is identical with the Johanan or Jehohanan of the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Chr. iii. 15, 24; vi. 9, 10; Jer. xl. 8–16, &c.). It means "Jehovah gave." On the after-career of Joannan see ch. ix. 36–38, and 2 Macc. viii. 22 (where he is by mistake called "Joseph").

called Caddis.] There is no traditional interpretation of this surname. It may perhaps represent the Hebrew "Gaddi" (Num. xiii. 11), which seems to be a denominative formed from "Gad," "fortune," and to mean "fortunate." Compare the Roman "Felix." Or, possibly, it is a transliteration of the Chaldee קַדִּישׁ, "holy."

3. *Simon.*] The career of Simon occupies chaps. xiii.–xv. and ch. xvi. 1–16. He was the fourth Maccabee leader.

called Thassi.] The Syriac has "Tharsi," which may mean "director," or "guide," since Simon was "a man of counsel" (*v.* 65).

4. *Judas, who was called Maccabeus.*] Judas was selected by his father to succeed him as leader (ch. ii. 16). His exploits occupy chaps. iii.–ix. 1–17. He is the great hero of the Second Book of Maccabees. His surname of Maccabeus has been variously derived: 1, from the Hebrew *maccâbâh*, "a hammer;" 2, from *chabah*, "to extinguish;" 3, from עָקַב, in the sense of "to track" or "trace out." (See the Introduction to Judith, § IV.)

5. *Eleazar, called Avaran.*] The surname of Eleazar is given as "Savaran" in ch. vi. 43. The true form, however, is probably Avaran, which may be connected with the Chaldee and Syriac חוּר, "to be pale." For the exploit from which Eleazar got his name, see ch. vi. 43–46.

Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.] On the exploits of Jonathan, see chs. ix.–xii. His surname, Apphus, is thought to mean "the Dissembler," and to have been given him on account of his first exploit against the Beni-Jambri, who had slain his brother John (ch. ix. 37–41).

§ 2. THE LAMENT OF MATTATHIAS OVER JERUSALEM.

6–14. This genuine outpour of natural grief has all the appearance of being a contemporary document, and may well have been the composition of the aged priest on the occasion in question. It is composed on the model of the Davidic Psalms, but with somewhat less of exact balance in the clauses than is customary. The rhythmic effect is wholly spoiled by the arrangement into verses which our translators have followed; the true arrangement is as follows:—

"Woe is me! Wherefore was I born to see
the misery of my people,
And the misery of the Holy City?
And to dwell there when it was delivered into
the hand of the enemy,
And the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?

B. C. cir. 167.

6 And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem,

7 He said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?

8 Her temple is become as a man without glory.

[b] ch. 1. 23, 24.

9 [b] Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy.

10 What nation hath not had a part in *her* kingdom, and gotten of her spoils? B. C. cir. 167.

11 All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bondslave.

12 And, behold, our ‖ sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it. ‖ Or, *holy thing.*

13 To what end therefore shall we live any longer?

14 Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore.

Her temple is become as a man of no reputation:
Her glorious vessels are carried away captive:
Her young children are slain in the streets,
Her youths with the sword of the enemy.
What nation has not inherited part of her kingdom,
Nor gotten a portion of her spoils?
All her adornment hath been taken away from her;
Instead of a free woman, she is become a bond slave.
Behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste;
The nations have profaned it. Wherefore do we still live?"

6. *when he saw.*] "He" refers to Mattathias, the chief subject of the first section.

blasphemies.] Impious deeds, rather than impious words, seem to be intended. (Comp. ch. i. 35–63.) Deeds alone could be *seen.*

in Juda and Jerusalem.] *I.e.* "in Judæa, and especially in Jerusalem."

7. *wherefore was I born to see this misery?*] Rather, "Wherefore was I born **for this, to see** the misery," &c.? The sentiment may be compared with that of Job iii. 3–11, and Jeremiah xx. 14–18. A heathen poet went so far as to say that it would have been better for every man not to have been born (Soph. 'Œd. Col.' l. 1225).

9. *Her glorious vessels.*] Comp. ch. i. 21–23; and note the stress that is laid on the capture of the "vessels" belonging to the earlier temple in the canonical Books of the Old Testament (2 Kings xxv. 14–17; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7; Jer. lii. 17–23; Dan. i. 2, v. 2; Ezra i. 7, &c.).

her infants are slain.] See ch. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

her young men with the sword.] See 2 Macc. v. 24.

10. *What nation hath not had a part?*] The thought of the poet goes back, perhaps, from the present to the past, and shows him Judæa as the prey of a long succession of nations—Egyptians (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), Assyrians (2 Kings xviii. 13–16; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11–13), Babylonians (2 Kings xxiv. 1; xxv. 1–21), Syrians (*ib.* xvi. 5, 6), Moabites (*ib.* xxiv. 2), Ammonites (*ib.*), Persians (Ezra ix. 9), Greco-Macedonians—who had all robbed her, more or less, of her sovereignty, and been partakers of her spoils. Or, perhaps, he only means that the armed force which Antiochus employed to carry out his measures was drawn from all the various nations under his dominion (comp. 2 Macc. viii. 9), and that in this way there was scarcely a people which had not profited by the spoliation of Jerusalem (ch. i. 35). In either case, his language is rhetorical, and not to be pressed to the letter.

11. *of a free woman she is become a bondslave.*] Judæa lost her independence at the time of the Babylonish Captivity, and only recovered it through the efforts of the Maccabee princes. She was subject to Babylon from B.C. 606 to B.C. 538; to Persia from B.C. 538 to B.C. 332; and to the Greco-Macedonians from B.C. 332 to B.C. 168, when Mattathias revolted. But the poet ignores the fact of political subjection, and considers that, so long as she was allowed the free exercise of her religion, she was free.

12. *our sanctuary . . . is laid waste.*] Rather, "**is waste**," "**is desolate**"—*i.e.* has none to worship in it. There had as yet been no damage done to the Temple building. Compare note on ch. i. 39.

the Gentiles have profaned it.] See ch. i. 54, 59.

14. *rent their clothes and put on sackcloth.*] These were usual signs of mourning in the East, and were not peculiar to the Jews.

B. C. cir. 167.

15 In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice.

16 And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together.

17 Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:

18 Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy

B. C. cir. 167.

(See Diod. Sic. i. 72; Herod. viii. 99; Jonah iii. 6, 8; Job i. 20, ii. 12, &c.)

§ 3. THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH MATTATHIAS BEGAN THE REVOLT.

15-28. Mattathias and his sons had withdrawn from Jerusalem, when the persecution grew hot there, and retired to their ancestral city, or village, on the verge of the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain, where they may have expected that they would be unmolested. But, after a short pause, the persecutors spread themselves from the capital over the country. The "king's officers"—probably the "overseers" of ch. i. 51—appeared at Modeïn, and required submission to the royal edict on the part of its inhabitants. As Mattathias was the chief man of the place, and had attended the first meeting which the officer summoned, he was called upon first and foremost to obey the edict and sacrifice. This, in the name of himself, his sons, and his brethren, he solemnly refused to do. As he ceased speaking, one of the Hellenizing party presented himself before the commissioner, and signified his desire to do what Mattathias would not. Mattathias at once slew him, and followed up his bold act by also killing the commissioner and destroying the idol altar. He then went through the city, and summoned all who were zealous for the law to follow him; after which, with his followers, he quitted the city, and betook himself to the mountains. Thus was open war declared between the small band of faithful Jews and the mighty Antiochus.

15. *In the mean while.*] There is no such expression in the original. Probably some weeks intervened between the "mourning" of Mattathias and the arrival of the officers.

the king's officers.] Literally, "the men from the king"—*i.e.* those whom he had commissioned for the purpose of carrying out his orders.

such as compelled the people to revolt.] Rather, "to **apostatize**." The "revolt" intended is rebellion against the laws of God.

to make them sacrifice.] Comp. i. 51.

16. *Mattathias . . . and his sons came together.*] No doubt the inhabitants generally were summoned to appear before the commissioner. Mattathias and his sons came, since it was not for them to anticipate what he was about to say to them. He might have come upon some harmless errand.

17. *answered . . . and said.*] Rather, "**took the word**, and said." The expression is used by the LXX. of opening speeches, without any reference to anything said, or even thought, by the opposite party. See below, ch. viii. 19.

Thou art a ruler.] In the East every petty town and village has its "head-men," who represent it with the government, apportion its taxes, collect them, and otherwise act as its chiefs. Mattathias held such a position at Modeïn, probably from his birth and wealth, not from his priestly character.

an honourable and great man.] Not only a ruler, but one of good repute, and a "great man" compared with the rest of the inhabitants; as Ewald says, "the most important personage of the place."

18. *like as all the heathen have done.*] See note on ch. i. 42.

such as remain at Jerusulem.] An acknowledgment that great numbers had refused to remain, and had left the capital. (See ch. i. 38.)

so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends.] Something more is meant than a promise that they should be accounted loyal subjects. The Persian kings had their "Royal Benefactors," who formed a distinct class (Herod. iii. 140; viii. 85), were known as *Orosangs*, and had probably special privileges. Alexander had his "companions," who were a definite privileged class. The Syro-Macedonian kings seem to have distinguished two classes of persons, one as their "companions," and another as their "friends" (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 7), and to have permitted to each certain distinctions of dress, precedence, and the like. Mattathias and his sons were offered admission into the class of "friends." (Comp. ch. x. 65.)

B. C. cir. 167. children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.

19 Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments:

[c] Josh. 24. 15. 20 [c] Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers.

21 God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

22 We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left. B. C. cir. 167.

23 Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment.

24 Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar.

25 Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he

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honoured with silver and gold.] Gifts of ornaments in the precious metals had been bestowed upon their courtiers by the Persian kings from time immemorial (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2, §§ 7–12). The practice passed from them to the Syro-Macedonians. (See below, ch. x. 20, 89.)

19. *with a loud voice.*] To attract attention. Mattathias desired that his fellow-townsmen should hear him.

Though all the nations.] Mattathias does not question the statement made to him (*v.* 18), that "all the heathen have done according to the king's commandment." True or false, it is the same to him. He will not "follow a multitude to evil" (Ex. xxiii. 2). Though all the world should fall away, yet will he be faithful, and his father's house. His boast was better kept than that of St. Peter (Matt. xxvi. 33).

under the king's dominion.] Literally, "in the house of the king's kingdom."

20. *the covenant of our fathers.*] *I.e.* the covenant (or agreement) which God made with our ancestors at Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 8; xxiv. 3–8).

22. *either on the right hand, or the left.*] Comp. Deut. v. 32; xvii. 20; xxviii. 14.

23. *when he had left speaking.*] Rather, "**as he left** speaking."

there came.] Or, "there approached." The man seems to have come up casually, not having been among those assembled at the first (*v.* 16), and so not having heard the indignant protest of Mattathias. He was no doubt a zealous Hellenizer, anxious to gain favour with the authorities by coming forward among the first. His example, if Mattathias had done nothing, might have had a most demoralising effect.

24. *his reins trembled.*] Comp. Ps. lxxiii. 21, "I was pricked in my reins:" and see also Job xvi. 13, xix. 27; Ps. vii. 9; Lam. iii. 13. The Hebrew physiology connected that inward emotion which stirs men, and forces them to sudden act, as much with the "reins" (*i.e.* kidneys) as with the heart. Hence the two are constantly joined together (Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 2; Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, xx. 12; Rev. ii. 23).

neither could he forbear to shew his anger.] Rather, "**and he poured forth** his anger"—did not restrain it—gave it free vent.

according to judgment.] Or, "to condemnation." In his fury he judged and condemned the man, accounting him worthy of death, either from a natural impulse, or perhaps with conscious reference to the command given in the Law (Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6–9, &c.), that idolaters should be killed without pity. Jewish opinion would entirely approve of such an execution without formal trial or sentence, when the sinner was caught in the act and there could be no doubt of his guilt. (Comp. Ex. xxxii. 27, 28; Num. xxv. 8; 1 Kings xviii. 40; 2 Kings x. 25, xxiii. 25, &c.)

he ran.] His haste shewed his zeal.

upon the altar.] In the very act of sacrificing (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 25). Josephus says that Mattathias, *and his sons*, rushed upon the man, *armed with broad knives* (κοπίδες), and slew him; but probably he draws upon his imagination for these additional facts.

25. *the king's commissioner.*] Josephus calls him "the king's general," and gives his name as Apelles. The Law did not require this act, since the commissioner was a heathen, engaged in executing the orders of his legitimate sovereign. It must be justified, if justified at all, as an act of warfare, one by

B. C. cir. 167. killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down.

26 Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, like as [d] Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom.

[d] Numb. 25. 7 8.

27 And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me.

28 So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city. B. C. cir. 167

29 Then many that sought after justice and judgment went down into the wilderness, to ‖dwell there:

‖ Gr. *sit*, or, *abide*.

30 Both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle; because ‖afflictions increased sore upon them.

‖ Gr. *evils were multiplied upon them*.

which Mattathias consummated, and proclaimed, his rebellion.

the altar he pulled down.] In accordance with the commands given in Ex. xxxiv. 13 and Deut. xii. 3, and after the example of the best kings (2 Kings xviii. 4; xxiii. 13-20). An idolatrous altar was a pollution to the holy land.

26. *like as Phinees did unto Zambri.*] The reference is to Numb. xxv. 7, 8, where the act of Phinehas (Gk. Phinees) is recorded. Phinehas, like Mattathias, had executed divine vengeance on two persons, an Israelite, and a heathen who was partaker in his offence. His "zeal" received the approval of God (*ibid. vv.* 11–13; Ps. cvi. 30, 31).

27. *maintaineth the covenant.*] Literally, "maintaineth covenant"—*i.e.* keeps faith with God. The covenant was entered into by circumcision, and involved a keeping of all the commandments. Mattathias' appeal was intended to rally to him all who were prepared to maintain their religion against the attempt of the king to put it down.

let him follow me.] Mattathias knew that it would be impossible to resist the force that Antiochus had at his command in a petty town like Modein, which was perhaps not even walled. His plan was to withdraw, with such support as he could obtain, into the wildest part of the hill-country of Judæa, where David had so long resisted Saul, and thence to carry on a guerilla warfare against the persecuting king. His success is related in the next section.

§ 4. The War of Independence, as conducted by Mattathias himself.

29–48. At first there was a great want of unity and cohesion among the religious party. They fled to the wilderness in small and separate bodies, as persecution pressed upon them, without any one acknowledged leader, without even any generally accepted plan of defence. They were scattered over a wide extent of country, and it was no doubt difficult for the chief men to meet and consult together. When the war began by the forces of Antiochus entering the hill-country and requiring the submission of the fugitives, it had not even been determined what course was to be pursued with respect to the observance of the sabbath, whether or no the rest commanded was to be regarded as involving a complete suspension of military operations on that day. Among the first of the patriots attacked were some who took the strictest possible view, and felt bound to offer no resistance at all to the enemy on the day of rest. The consequence was at least one serious disaster, involving the loss of a thousand lives (*v.* 38). After this, Mattathias, and those under his immediate command, resolved to take the opposite course, and defend themselves on the sabbath to the utmost of their power, if attacked. Success followed this change of tactics. The scattered bands of fugitives rallied to the leader whose courage and strong sense seemed to promise victory (*v.* 43). The secret adherents of true religion in Jerusalem and other places held by the Syro-Macedonians came flocking in (*v.* 42). Mattathias was able to take the offensive. In many places he and his adherents overthrew the idolatrous altars, drove the apostates away, and re-established the old Jewish customs and usages. The Syro-Macedonians seem to have been afraid to meet him in the field, and to have on certain occasions retreated from his pursuit (*v.* 47).

29. *many that sought after justice and judgment.*] *I.e.* many who were not content to live under the detestable rule of the Syro-Macedonians, by whom the principles of justice were daily outraged, to their constant loss and hurt. (See the next verse.)

30. *their cattle.*] The highlands of Palestine can always afford nourishment to a considerable number of cattle; and all the tribes by whom they have been possessed have always been rich in cattle, as the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 9), the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 9; xxx. 20), the Moabites (2 Kings iii. 4), and others. Jerome says that about Tekoah "there was no village, not even rustic cottages, nor, on account of the dryness and sandiness, were any crops raised; but *the*

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31 Now when it was told the king's servants, and [e] the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone [f] down into the secret places in the wilderness,

[e] ch. 1. 33, 34.

[f] ch. 1. 53.

32 They pursued after them a great number, and having overtaken them, they camped against them, and made war against them on the sabbath day.

33 And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.

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34 But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do [g] the king's commandment, to profane the sabbath day.

[g] ch. 1. 45.

35 So then they gave [‖] them the battle with all speed.

[‖] Or, *the Jews.*

36 Howbeit they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid;

37 But said, Let us die all in our [‖] innocency: heaven and earth shall

[‖] Gr. *simplicity.*

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whole district was full of herdsmen" ('Proleg. in Amos'). Comp. Luke ii. 8.

afflictions.] *I.e.* ill-treatment at the hands of the Syro-Macedonians.

31. *the king's servants.*] Literally, "the king's *men*"—*i.e.* the men placed in authority by the king, to uphold his interests and govern the country—the civil authorities of the land.

the host.] The armed force, placed at the disposal of the civil authorities.

that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David.] Rather, "that was **in Jerusalem, the city of David.**" The two are not distinguished, but identified, according to the existing text. It is conjectured, however, that either "Jerusalem" is a gloss which has crept into the text from the margin, or else that the preposition ἐν has fallen out after "Jerusalem." In the latter case our translation would give the true meaning, and "the city of David" would be the part of Jerusalem which was occupied by the Syro-Macedonian garrison. (Comp. ch. i. 35.)

the king's commandment.] See ch. i. 44–50.

secret places.] See note on ch. i. 53.

32. *made war against them.*] *I.e.* attacked them. No doubt it was known to the Syro-Macedonians, or at any rate suspected by them, that, in their zeal for the Law, the insurgents would feel bound by its letter, and would offer no resistance upon the sabbath. Such an interpretation of the Fourth Commandment was not unnatural in a time of high religious excitement; but it does not appear to have suggested itself to any mind prior to the Captivity.

33. *they said unto them.*] The offer was an amnesty for the past, on condition that the fugitives returned to their several cities or villages, and submitted themselves to the royal decrees—perhaps not bad terms, humanly speaking, under the circumstances.

34. *But they said.*] The terms offered were utterly rejected. "We will not come forth," they said. We refuse to quit our refuge, dry and arid region though it be, since we are not prepared to obey the king's decrees. On the contrary, we are resolved to disobey them. Resistance to the civil authority, when its commands are contrary to the law of God, is the duty of every religious man, and is frequently commended in Holy Scripture. (See Dan. iii. 18–30, vi. 10–26; Acts iv. 19, 20, v. 29, 30, &c.)

to profane the sabbath day.] Comp. ch. i. 45. As the text stands, this can only refer to the royal command issued to all Jews, to profane the sabbath. It is suspected, however, that in the original Hebrew the words were—"neither will we profane the sabbath;" *i.e.* by fighting. There certainly seems to be no reason for the selection of the one point of sabbath profanation out of the many included in the royal decree (ch. i. 44–49).

35. *with all speed.*] Lest they should change their minds, and resolve to resist.

36. *they answered them not.*] They made no response to the attack—took no steps to meet it, but remained absolutely inactive.

neither cast they a stone at them.] The sling was at all times one of the main weapons employed by the Israelites (Judg. xx. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 40; 2 Kings iii. 25; 1 Chr. xii. 2), and was especially suited for an extemporised army of shepherds (*v.* 30) and townsmen.

nor stopped the places where they lay hid.] They would not even block the passes by which their hiding-places had to be approached.

37. *Let us die . . . in our innocency.*] Literally, "in our simplicity."

heaven and earth shall testify.] Rather, "**are witness.**" The remonstrance had no

B. C. cir. 167. testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully.

38 So they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand [i] people.

[i] Gr. *souls of men.*

39 Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore.

40 And one of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth.

41 At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, [k] as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places. B. C. cir. 167. [k] ver. 38.

42 Then came there unto him a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law.

43 Also all they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them.

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effect. In spite of it the Syro-Macedonians fell upon them, and slew every soul—men, women, and children. Not even were the cattle spared. (See the next verse.)

39. *when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof.*] It is evident that the disaster occurred to a body of patriots not under the command of Mattathias. Probably there were many such bodies scattered over the length and breadth of the hill region, fugitives from various parts of Judæa, as yet without concert or even knowledge of each other. Each such band followed its own views of what was right.

40. *one of them said to another.*] The intelligence received set men thinking what was the proper course to pursue. There was no established practice, since the Jews had remained at peace during the whole period of the Persian dominion (B.C. 536–332), and had submitted to Alexander without offering any resistance (Joseph., 'Ant. Jud.,' xi. 8, § 5). What the rule had been in the old wars was forgotten. We can scarcely suppose it to have forbidden resistance to an attack.

41. *they decreed.*] Or "resolved." The form used expresses a resolve taken after deliberation. We must suppose a council to have been held among the chiefs, the question to have been debated, and a decision reached. But the decision was scarcely a "decree."

Whosoever shall come . . . we will fight against him.] The line taken seems to have been that it was lawful to stand on the defensive and resist attack, but not to take the offensive, upon the sabbath. The same course was pursued in the first Roman war (Joseph., 'Ant. Jud.,' xiv. 4, § 3), with the worst results, since the Romans pushed forward their works, drove mines under walls, and in all respects took advantage of their enemies' inactivity upon the sabbath. The Syro-Macedonian strategy appears to have been inferior, and the Jews to have lost little by their resolution.

that were murdered.] Rather, "**killed.**" The Syrians are not reproached for the advantage which they took of their adversaries' scrupulosity.

in the secret places.] Josephus speaks of caves, which certainly abound in the region (1 Sam. xxii. 1; xxiv. 3, &c.), and says that the Syro-Macedonians heaped brushwood against the mouths of the caves, and set it on fire, thus burning or suffocating the inmates ('Ant. Jud.,' xii. 6, § 2). Such a thing has often been done in savage, and even in civilised warfare; but there would seem to have been no necessity for it on the present occasion, since the Israelites offered no resistance.

42. *unto him.*] Rather, "unto **them.**"

a company of Assideans.] This is probably the true reading, instead of the "Judæans" of some MSS. "Assideans" (or rather, "Asidæans"—Ἀσιδαῖοι) is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Khăsidim*, "pious ones"—a name assumed by a section of the religious Jews at this period. (Comp. ch. vii. 13 and 2 Macc. xiv. 6.) The sect seems to have been formed quite independently of the Maccabee family, and to have held more rigid views. Under the circumstances, however, they agreed to a coalition.

43. *all they that fled for persecution.*] The Asidæans were a religious party, spread throughout the whole land. They sent a contingent of warriors. The persons now spoken of were casual refugees, driven to quit their homes and take refuge in the wilderness by the actual pressure of persecution. They joined Mattathias *en masse.*

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44 So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour.

45 Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars:

46 And what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised

‖ Or, *by force.*

‖ valiantly.

47 They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand.

B. C. cir. 167.

48 So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither ‖ suffered they the sinner to triumph.

‖ Gr. *gave they the horn to the sinner.*

49 Now when the time drew near cir. 166. that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation:

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44. *they joined their forces.*] Rather, "they **formed an army.**" The refugees were now numerous enough, and bold enough, to levy an army out of their number, and with it to assume the offensive. Their first attacks were directed against the "sinful" and "wicked"—*i.e.* against such of their own nation as had conformed to the state religion. They attacked outlying Jewish communities of this character, and "smote" them with the sword, regarding them as at once their enemies, and deserving of death for their apostasy. Such as escaped on occasion of these attacks fled to places where the Syro-Macedonians were in force, and could protect them.

for succour.] Rather, "**to save themselves.**"

45. *pulled down the altars.*] *I.e.* the idol-altars which had been set up in the several villages and towns, as at Modeïn (*v.* 23).

46. *children . . . uncircumcised.*] See above, ch. i. 48.

47. *They pursued also after the proud men.*] By the "proud men" (*υἱοὺς τῆς ὑπερηφανίας*) the Syro-Macedonians are clearly intended. Not content with punishing their own apostates, and driving them from their homes (*v.* 44), the party of Mattathias had occasional encounters with the Syro-Macedonian oppressors, put them to flight, and "pursued" them.

the work prospered.] Literally, "the work was put in a right way"—*i.e.* a good commencement was made. It was only needful that the resistance should be carried on in the same spirit for success to be assured.

48. *they recovered the law.*] The Law is regarded as captured and enslaved by the Syro-Macedonians, from whom Mattathias and his followers rescued it.

out of the hand of kings.] Literally, "out of the hand of *the* kings." The officers of Antiochus, who carried out his will in the provinces, are viewed as "kings" in a certain sense, since they shared in the royal authority.

neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.] *I.e.* "they prevented the Hellenizers among the Jews from succeeding in their attempts." (See above, *v.* 44.)

§ 5. The Last Words of Mattathias, and his Death.

49–70. It appears from *v.* 70, that Mattathias continued at the head of the patriotic movement only for about a year. He was, no doubt, far advanced in years when the persecution broke out, and the hardships of warfare and of a desert life would tell upon him more than upon younger men. In the course of the first year of the war he found his end approaching, and felt that it devolved on him to make arrangements for the future. Accordingly, he called his sons together, and made them the speech recorded in *vv.* 49–68, exhorting them to faithfulness by the examples of the men of old time, and appointing his son Simon as chief counsellor and ruler, his son Judas as captain. After this he blessed all his sons, and so died. He was buried by his sons at Modeïn, which was one of the places already recovered (*vv.* 45–48), in the sepulchre of his fathers.

49. *when the time drew near that Mattathias should die.*] The form of expression implies a natural death in a ripe old age. (Comp. Gen. xlvii. 29; 1 Kings ii. 1.)

he said unto his sons.] The second address of Mattathias has not the rhythmic perfection of the first. Still, it is cast in a poetic mould; and a balance of clauses may be traced throughout. We can scarcely suppose that either speech does more than follow the general outline of what Mattathias said.

Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength.] The "pride" is that of the Syro-Macedonians, who (in *v.* 47) are called "sons of pride." The "rebuke" is that to which the people of God were exposed at the hand of scoffers.

the time of destruction and the wrath of

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50 Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers.

51 Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their [1]time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.

[1] Gr. *generations.*

[i] Gen. 22. 9, 10. Rom. 4. 3. Jam. 2. 21, 22, 23.

52 [i] Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness?

[k] Gen. 41. 40.

53 [k] Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and was made lord of Egypt.

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54 [l] Phinees our father in being zealous and fervent obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.

[l] Numb. 25. 13. Ecclus. 45. 23, 24.

55 [m] Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge in Israel.

[m] Josh. 1. 2.

56 [n] Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land.

[n] Numb. 14. 6, 7, 24. Josh. 14. 9, 13.

57 [o] David for being merciful possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.

[o] 2 Sam. 2. 4. & 7. 16.

58 [p] Elias for being zealous and

[p] 2 Kings 2. 11.

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indignation.] Rather, "a time of destruction and **a passion of rage.**"

50. *be ye zealous for the law.*] The commendation of "zeal for the law," which marks the Maccabee period (ch. ii. 24, 26, 27, 54, 58), led ultimately to the formation of the sect of "zelots," which so greatly distinguished itself in the last siege of Jerusalem, and of which the apostle, Simon Zelotes, was a member (Luke vi. 15).

the covenant of your fathers.] See note on *v.* 20.

51. *in their time.*] Literally, "in their generations."

so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.] Greek ideas had to a considerable extent leavened the whole mass of the Jewish nation, even the most religious. In the old times the Jews did not fight for their own honour, or to "get them a name," but for God's glory, that *His* name might be held in honour, and *His* might shewn forth to the heathen. But now it was different. The low motive of personal ambition and desire of posthumous fame was allowed to influence conduct, and is continually mentioned as the predominant incentive to great deeds and exploits. (See below, ch. v. 57, vi. 44, ix. 10, xiv. 29; 2 Macc. vi. 23, &c.)

52. *Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation.*] *I.e.* when tried whether he would be willing to sacrifice Isaac or no. (Gen. xxii. 1–12; Heb. xi. 17; Ecclus. xliv. 20.)

it was imputed unto him for righteousness.] The words are an exact quotation from the Septuagint version of Gen. xv. 6. (So St. James in his epistle, ch. ii. 23; and St. Paul in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6.) "Reckoned," or "counted," is, on the whole, a better rendering of the original than "imputed." (See the Revised Version.)

53. *Joseph . . . kept the commandment.*] See Gen. xxxix. 7–12.

54. *Phinees our father.*] Mattathias means to claim descent from Phinehas, who at any rate was of the same tribe with him and his sons. On the great deed which distinguished Phinehas, see note on *v.* 26. On his obtaining, in reward for his deed, "the covenant of an everlasting priesthood," see Num. xxv. 13; and comp. Ecclus. xlv. 24.

55. *Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge.*] Joshua received his appointment on account of his general obedience to God's word, not on account of any single act. He was "a man in whom was the spirit" (Num. xxvii. 18), and had fulfilled every duty laid upon him up to the time of his appointment. (See Ex. xvii. 10–13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11; Num. xiv. 6–9.)

56. *Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation.*] Caleb was joined with Joshua in one of his righteous acts. Like Joshua, he gave a true report of the land of Canaan and its inhabitants after being sent to spy it out. This was the "witness" which he bore "before the congregation" (Num. xiv. 6–9), and for bearing it he ran a near risk of being stoned.

received the heritage of the land.] *I.e.* was allowed to enter the holy land (Num. xiv. 30–38), and given a heritage in it (Josh. xiv. 13).

57. *David for being merciful.*] The mercifulness of David is not elsewhere commended; but it is to be remembered that he twice spared Saul's life when he might have taken it (1 Sam. xxiv. 4–11; xxvi. 5–12), and also allowed Shimei to live, notwithstanding that he had cursed him (2 Sam. xix. 23; 1 Kings ii. 8).

possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.] For the promise made to him of such a kingdom, see 2 Sam. vii. 13, 16. The continuance of the temporal kingdom was conditional (Ps. cxxxii. 12), and ultimately the promise was so far forfeited. But the spiritual kingdom remains in the line of David for ever and ever through the eternity of the kingdom of Christ.

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fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.

[q] Dan. 3. 16, 17, 18, 26.

59 [q]Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame.

[r] Dan. 6. 22.

60 [r]Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.

61 And thus consider ye throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome.

62 Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms.

63 To day he shall be lifted up, and to morrow he shall not be found, because he is [s]returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing.

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[s] Gen. 3. 19. Ps. 146. 4

64 Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant, and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory.

65 And, behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you.

66 As for Judas Maccabeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even

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58. *Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law.*] Comp. 1 Kings xviii. 19–40, xix. 10, xxi. 20–24; 2 Kings i. 3–12.

was taken up into heaven.] See 2 Kings ii. 11, and comp. Ecclus. xlviii. 9.

59. *Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.*] See Dan. i. 6–19; ii. 17, 49; iii. 12–30. The occurrence of these names, and the simplicity and brevity of the statement, that they "were saved out of the flame"—so closely parallel to the antecedent statements with respect to Abraham, Joseph, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, David, and Elijah—is strong evidence that the Book of Daniel was received into the Canon at the time when this work was written—nay, at the time of Mattathias' death. His dying words were tolerably sure to have been remembered; and their recorder would have shrunk from interpolating into them a passage which, if Daniel were a historical romance, written in the thick of the struggle, his contemporaries would have known that Mattathias could not have uttered.

by believing were saved.] See Dan. iii. 17. They believed that they would be saved; and their faith gave them the strength which carried them through the terrible ordeal.

60. *Daniel for his innocency was delivered.*] The reference to Dan. vi. 22 is palpable, though the Greek word translated "innocency" is different in the two passages.

61. *throughout all ages.*] Literally, "from generation to generation."

shall be overcome.] Rather, "shall **fail**," or "**be without strength.**"

62. *the words of a sinful man.*] The "sinful man" especially glanced at is Antiochus, and the "words" are those of his decrees; but the warning passes beyond the particular case to all others resembling it. The words of those who can do no more than "kill the body" are at no time to be "feared" when they run counter to the commandments of God.

his glory shall be dung and worms.] *I.e.* "shall rot and perish." There is no allusion to the "worms" which "rose up out of the body" of Antiochus (2 Macc. ix. 9).

63. *his thought.*] Literally, "his calculations," *i.e.* the expectations that he formed of the results which he was about to accomplish. Comp. Ps. cxlvi. 4, where the LXX. use the same word—διαλογισμοί.

64. *be valiant and shew yourselves men.*] Comp. Josh. i. 9; x. 25.

shall ye obtain glory.] See note on *v.* 51.

65. *your brother Simon is a man of counsel.*] In the Greek, it is "Simeon" here, though elsewhere always "Simon" (ch. ii. 3; xii. 33, 38; xiii.–xvi. *passim*). He appears to have been the least warlike of the five brethren, and was not made "captain" till the other four were dead (ch. xiii. 8, 9). We do not hear of his advice being sought by the others during their terms of office; but his own conduct of affairs is remarkable for the preference shewn to prudent management over brute force (ch. xiii. 33, 47, 50; xiv. 10, 24; xv. 26).

a father.] Grimm explains this as "patriarchal chief," or "head of the family." But it is unnecessary to suppose that John, the eldest son (*v.* 2), was deposed from this position. "Father" means here, rather, "counsellor and guide."

66. *Judas Maccabeus.*] His surname evidently attached to Judas with peculiar closeness (comp. ch. iii. 1, and 2 Macc. v. 27), so that even his father called him by it. On its meaning, see note on *v.* 4.

mighty and strong.] Literally, "mighty in strength." The author of the Second Book of Maccabees seems to consider that Judas took a prominent part in the original withdrawal of the patriots into the wilderness

B. C. cir. 166. from his youth up: let him be your captain, and [1]fight the battle of the people.

67 Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of your people.

68 Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law.

69 So he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers.

166. 70 And he died in the hundred forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

[1] Or, *fight ye the battle of the people.*

CHAPTER III.

B. C. cir. 166.

1 *The valour and fame of Judas Maccabeus.* 10 *He overthroweth the forces of Samaria and Syria.* 27 *Antiochus sendeth a great power against him.* 44 *He and his fall to fasting and prayer,* 58 *and are encouraged.*

THEN his son Judas, called Maccabeus, rose up in his stead.

2 And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that held with his father, and they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel.

3 So he gat his people great honour, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and he made battles, protecting the host with his sword.

(2 Macc. v. 27; viii. 1), being the military leader, rather than Mattathias, from the first. But he perhaps over-glorifies his hero.

of the people.] Rather, "of the **peoples**" —the Jews and the Syro-Macedonians.

69. *he blessed them.*] Compare the acts of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 4–40), Jacob (*ibid.* xlix. 3–28), and Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 1–29).

was gathered to his fathers.] An ordinary phrase for dying among the Hebrews (Judg. ii. 10; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 28; Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 1; Acts xiii. 36), alternating with the still more usual one, "was gathered unto his people" (Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29; Num. xxiv. 26; Deut. xxxii. 50, &c.).

70. *in the hundred forty and sixth year.*] B.C. 167–6, the year after the persecution began (ch. i. 54).

at Modin.] Modeïn must, therefore, have been among the places recovered from the Syro-Macedonians during the lifetime of Mattathias. (See *vv.* 44–47.)

all Israel made great lamentation for him.] By "all Israel" we must understand all those who were in arms for their religion. On the lamentations usual at the deaths of great men, see Gen. l. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 8; 2 Sam. i. 12; 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, 25, &c.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. General Account of Judas Maccabæus, his Character and Fame.

1–9. There can be no doubt that Judas was the most popular of the Maccabean heroes. As Dean Stanley says, "he became the Jewish ideal of 'the Happy Warrior.'" His appearance, his gestures, his voice, his character, were equally objects of admiration and of delightful remembrance. We see in the Second Book of Maccabees how entirely by some the whole glory of the revolt and deliverance was ascribed to him. His great fame rested principally on his recovery of Jerusalem and the Temple (ch. iv. 36–54; 2 Macc. x. 1–5); but other circumstances were not without an influence upon it. His commanding stature, like that of a giant of old time (*v.* 3), challenged the admiring regard of a people which set much store by physical strength. His battle-cry had a ring in it which caused it to be compared to a lion's roar (*v.* 4), and stirred the hearts of all who heard it. His long career of victory, scarcely chequered by a reverse until his defeat and death at Eleasa (ch. ix. 12–18), added to his reputation, and made the later scenes of the struggle seem tame by comparison. No exploit in the entire war was thought equal to the triumph over Nicanor (ch. vii. 31–49; 2 Macc. xv. 20–37). Hence Judas remained the great national hero so long as Judæa was an independent country; his life was written and re-written; and the name originally peculiar to him (1 Macc. ii. 4) prevailed and became the best-known title of the entire family, as the five extant books of 'Maccabees' sufficiently indicate.

2. *all they that held with his father.*] See ch. ii. 42–44. The union among all the patriots, established by Mattathias after the first disaster (ch. ii. 38), continued under Judas. All accepted him as leader *cheerfully.*

3. *as a giant.*] Some allusion to his personal appearance seems to be intended. Dean Stanley says, "His countrymen delighted to remember the *stately appearance,* as of an ancient giant, when he fastened on his breastplate" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 306).

protecting the host.] Literally, "the camp;" but no doubt the host is intended.

with his sword.] On the sword of Judas,

B. C. cir. 166.

4 In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey.

5 For he pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people.

6 Wherefore the wicked shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled, because salvation prospered in his hand.

7 He grieved also many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever.

8 Moreover he went through the cities of Juda, destroying the ungodly out of them, and turning away wrath from Israel: B. C. cir. 166.

9 So that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he ‖received unto him such as were ready to perish. ‖ Gr. *gathered together.*

10 Then Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria, to fight against Israel.

11 Which thing when Judas per-

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see verse 12, and compare 2 Macc. xv. 15, 16.

4. *In his acts he was like a lion.*] Judah, Israel, and Gad are compared to lions in the Pentateuch (Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiv. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 20). Saul and Jonathan are said to have been "stronger than lions" (2 Sam. i. 23) by David. The metaphor is not common with the later Jewish writers, but is found, applied to Judas and his companions, in 2 Macc. xi. 11.

5. *he pursued the wicked.*] Literally, "the lawless ones," *i.e.* those who had cast aside the observance of the Law. (See ch. i. 43, 52; ch. ii. 23.)

burnt up those that vexed his people.] *I.e.* "consumed with fire the cities and strongholds of the Syro-Macedonians." (See below, ch. v. 5, 28, 35, &c.; and comp. 2 Macc. viii. 6, x. 36, &c.) Occasionally, the defenders were burnt with their strongholds (2 Macc. x. 36).

6. *salvation prospered in his hand.*] *I.e.* the work of shaking off the Syro-Macedonian tyranny, and rescuing the Jewish people from it, went on prosperously under his guidance.

7. *He grieved also many kings.*] Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter are especially intended; but the term "king" is probably used with some vagueness, as in ch. ii. 48.

his memorial is blessed for ever.] See note on ch. ii. 51.

9. *he received unto him such as were ready to perish.*] This has been supposed to point to a chivalrous readiness to receive and protect persons in extreme distress or danger (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' *l.s.c.*); but it may be questioned whether more is meant than that he gathered to his standard, and united in one, the scattered Jews who were otherwise on the point of perishing. (Comp. ch. ii. 43, 44.)

§ 2. THE FIRST BATTLES OF JUDAS—HE DEFEATS APOLLONIUS AND SERON.

10–26. The force under the command of Judas amounted to six thousand warriors (2 Macc. viii. 1). With this he assumed the offensive, and beginning with night attacks (*ib.* verse 7), he took town after town from the enemy, enlarging his own borders and narrowing theirs. After a time, Apollonius, the "chief collector of tribute," who had made the assault on Jerusalem in B.C. 167 (*supra*, i. 29–32; 2 Macc. v. 24–26), and was apparently established as governor of Samaria, thought it incumbent on him to endeavour to put down the rebellion, and, having collected a large army, marched against Judas, who boldly met his attack half-way, defeated and slew him, and took his sword to be his own weapon (*vv.* 10–12). This futile effort was followed by the attempt of Seron, governor of Cœlesyria, who seems to have brought a very considerable force against the Jewish leader (*vv.* 15–19), and to have invaded the hill country in the neighbourhood of Beth-horon. He too was met and defeated, with the loss of 800 men, and his army was driven to take refuge in Philistia (*vv.* 23, 24). The military talent of Judas was sufficiently established by these two engagements, and his reputation spread far and wide (*vv.* 25, 26).

10. *Apollonius.*] Probably the same as the "chief collector of tribute" mentioned in ch. i. 29, whom the author of the Second Book calls "that detestable ringleader" (2 Macc. v. 24). Josephus calls him "commandant of Samaria" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 5); and we may conclude that he exercised satrapial authority over that district.

gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host out of Samaria.] The army which he collected consisted in part of Syro-Macedonians ("Gentiles"), in part of Samaritans, always hostile to the Jews, and now especially estranged from them. For the history of the

B. C. cir. 166. ceived, he went forth to meet him, and so he smote him, and slew him: many also fell down slain, but the rest fled.

12 Wherefore Judas took their spoils, and Apollonius' sword also, and therewith he fought all his life long.

13 Now when Seron, a prince of the army of Syria, heard say that Judas had gathered unto him a multitude and company of the faithful to go out with him to war;

14 He said, I will get me a name and honour in the kingdom; for I will go fight with Judas and them that are with him, who despise the king's commandment. B. C. cir. 166.

15 So he made him ready to go up, and there went with him a mighty host of the ungodly to help him, and to be avenged of the children of Israel.

16 And when he came near to the going up of Bethhoron, Judas went

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enmity, see Ewald's 'History of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 213–222, E. T. Its germ may be found in the refusal of Zerubbabel to let the semi-heathen nation take part in the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra iv. 2–4), its expansion in the circumstances connected with the establishment of Manasseh at Samaria as Samaritan high priest (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 7, § 2 *et seqq.*), and its full development in the establishment of a rival Temple, with a rival "Law" and a rival worship, on Mount Gerizim soon after the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander. The bitter feeling of the Jews against their neighbours shortly after this time is strongly indicated by the words of the Son of Sirach at the close of his book: "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation:—they that sit on the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem" (Ecclus. l. 25, 26).

11. *Judas . . . went forth to meet him.*] It was a part of the system of strategy adopted by Judas to take the offensive as much as possible. He never retreated before an enemy or avoided an engagement. Even when sought out by an aggressive foe, he always met him half-way. (See *vv.* 16, 23; and comp. ch. iv. 12, 29, 34; v. 3, 6, 39, &c.)

he slew him.] Not "with his own hand," as Scholz supposes, or the expression would have been different. All that is meant is, that Apollonius fell in the battle.

many fell down slain.] Or "were wounded to death," as the same phrase is rendered in ch. i. 18.

12. *Judas took . . . Apollonius' sword.*] Dean Stanley well compares David's use of the sword of Goliath (1 Sam. xxi. 9). It was one of the main disadvantages of the patriotic party that they were ill-armed (ch. iv. 6). The Jewish sword appears to have been a short straight weapon, like the Persian ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 114), not much better than a dagger. The Macedonian sword was of the same shape, but probably longer and better tempered.

13. *Seron.*] Seron is not known as a Greek name. Perhaps it represents the Phœnician Hiram, which was sometimes rendered into Greek by Seirômus or Seirom (Herod. vii. 98).

a prince of the army of Syria.] Rather, "**the commander** of the army of Syria." Josephus calls him "the general of Cœlesyria"—*i.e.* the commander of the troops stationed in that province, which adjoined Palestine on the north. It would be the duty of such an officer, without special orders, to undertake the suppression of a rebellion in Judæa as soon as the governor of Samaria had made an attempt and failed.

a multitude and company of the faithful.] *I.e.* not an organised army, but a mere mob of untrained men; in contrast with the "mighty host" of *v.* 15.

14. *who despise the king's commandment.*] Literally, "who set at nought the word of the king." (Comp. ch. i. 62; ii. 19–22, 34.)

15. *a mighty host of the ungodly.*] *I.e.* "a powerful army of Syro-Macedonians"—probably all the troops stationed in the province, who may have amounted to some 10,000 or 12,000 men.

16. *he came near to the going up of Bethhoron.*] Rather, "**they** came near." The "going up of Beth-horon" was the ascent from the Philistine plain to the highland of Judæa, which led from the coast to Jerusalem by way of Lydda, Gimzo, the two Beth-horons, and Gibeon. Seron, like most invaders, had kept the low ground until he reached the enemy's country, when he had to make the ascent from the Shefelah to the highland. His route must have led him near Modeïn. It is thought to have been that followed by Sennacherib. (See note on Josh. x. 10 in the 'Speaker's Commentary on the Old Testament,' vol. ii. p. 49.)

Judas went forth to meet him.] See note

B. C. cir. 166. forth to meet him with a small company:

17 Who, when they saw the host coming to meet them, said unto Judas, How shall we be able, being so few, to fight against so great a multitude *and* so strong, seeing we are ready to faint with fasting all this day?

18 Unto whom Judas answered, [a] It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with *the God of* heaven it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company:

19 For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host; but strength cometh from heaven.

20 They come [1]against us [1]in much pride and iniquity to destroy us, and our wives and children, and to spoil us:

21 But we fight for our lives and our laws.

22 Wherefore the Lord himself will overthrow them before our face: and as for you, be ye not afraid of them.

23 Now as soon as he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and so Seron and his host was overthrown before him.

24 And they pursued them [1]from the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, where were slain about eight hundred men of them; and

B. C. cir. 166.

[a] 1 Sam. 14. 6. 2 Chron. 14. 11.

[1] Or, *unto us.*

[1] Gr. *in multitude of pride, or, envy and iniquity.*

[1] Gr. *in the going down.*

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on *v.* 11. The MSS. vary between "to meet *him*" and "to meet *them*."

with a small company.] Literally, "with a few out of many." Judas probably regarded the pass of Beth-horon as affording space for only a small number, and therefore occupied it with a small picked force.

17. *when they saw the host coming to meet them.*] The "little company" with Judas, posted at the head of the pass, would have a clear view of the "mighty host" of Seron as it ascended the long valley from the plain, and may be excused if it misdoubted its ability to resist so great a multitude. How it had happened that the men had been allowed to become "faint with fasting" we are not told, and can only conjecture. Perhaps Judas had expected Seron's troops to arrive earlier at the point where he designed to give them battle, and in this expectation had not encumbered himself with a commissariat.

18. *It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few.*] Or, "delivered into the hands of a few." (Comp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 12, xxiv. 18; 2 Sam. xviii. 28.) God, that is, can with the greatest ease deliver many into the hands of a few, to be destroyed by them. This is a lesson constantly taught in the Old Testament (Judg. vii. 2–7; 1 Sam. xiv. 6–16; 2 Chr. xiv. 9–13, xx. 12–24), and is one for all time. Heaven is not always on the side of "big battalions."

with the God of heaven.] Several MSS. omit τοῦ θεοῦ—"the God;" and it is more consonant with the general practice of the author to omit the Holy Name than to express it. (See the Introduction, § 4.)

it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company.] Comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 6, and 2 Chron. xiv. 11, where the sentiment is exactly the same, though the expressions slightly differ.

20. *They come against us in much pride and iniquity.*] Rather, "**with great insolence and lawlessness.**" The proceedings of Antiochus were altogether contrary to the engagements which Alexander had made with the Jewish nation, and also with the understanding upon which they had transferred their allegiance from the Ptolemies to the Seleucidæ. This is perhaps the lawlessness (ἀνομία) intended. Or it may be the non-observance by the Syro-Macedonians of the ordinary laws of warfare among civilised nations, as indicated in the remainder of the verse. The Greeks did not commonly make war on "women and children."

22. *the Lord himself will overthrow them.*] Our translators supply the nominative, "the Lord;" which is not expressed in the original. The writer of the Book avoids, as much as possible, all mention of the Divine Name. (Compare the practice of the writer of Esther.)

23. *he leapt suddenly upon them.*] Those who hold a pass line its sides, concealing themselves. At a given signal they rise, and (as it were) "leap upon" the foe.

24. *they pursued them from the going down of Beth-horon unto the plain.*] Rather, "they pursued **him along** the going down of Beth-horon." The Jews hung upon the defeated enemy all along the descent into the Philistine plain, as their ancestors under Joshua had hung upon the defeated Canaanites (Josh. x. 10, 11), and as their descendants

B. C. cir. 166. the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.

25 Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren, and an exceeding great dread, to fall upon the nations round about them:

26 Insomuch as his fame came unto the king, and all nations talked of the battles of Judas.

27 Now when king Antiochus heard these things, he was full of indignation: wherefore he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, *even* a very strong army. B. C. cir. 166.

28 He opened also his treasure, and gave his soldiers pay for a year, commanding them to be ready ‖ whensoever he should need them.

‖ Gr. *at every need.*

29 Nevertheless, when he saw that the money of his treasures failed, and ‖ that the tributes in the country were small, because of the dissension

‖ Gr. *that the collectors of tribute in the country were few.*

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in the great Roman war hung upon Cestius Gallus and his legionaries (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 19). Under the circumstances, the slaughter of "eight hundred men" is less than we should have expected, and indicative of a retreat in tolerably good order, which at no time became a rout.

the land of the Philistines.] The low tract between the hill country of Judæa—known as the *shefelah*—was still in possession of the Philistines, but belonged to the Syrian king. Its strong cities afforded the defeated troops of Seron a safe refuge.

25. *Then began the fear of Judas and his brethren.*] Hitherto the revolt had been looked upon as a trouble and annoyance, but not as a danger. Now that Judas, with only a small portion of his forces, had defeated a large detachment of the Syrian army, it was recognised that the consequences might be of serious importance to the Syrian empire and its dependencies—"the nations round about them."

26. *his fame came unto the king.*] Antiochus came to hear of Judas by name, and to understand that the Jews were acting under his leadership.

all nations.] A usual hyperbole—meaning all the nations of that part of the world.

§ 3. ANTIOCHUS GOES TO PERSIA, LEAVING LYSIAS TO CONDUCT THE WAR AGAINST JUDAS.

27–37. The ill-success of Seron moved Antiochus to increased exertion. He levied his whole military force, consisting probably of above 100,000 men, and gave them a year's pay in advance, perhaps to quiet apprehensions, which may have existed, that pay would not be forthcoming. He then found his treasury exhausted; and, as the tributes of some provinces were unpaid, he resolved to divide his troops, and proceed with one half of them to the eastern portion of the empire, for the purpose of collecting the arrears due to him there, leaving the other half under the command of a general named Lysias, to conduct the war against the Jews. Lysias was instructed to invade Judæa in force, and crush the rebellion by killing, or selling for slaves, the entire Jewish nation, after which he was to people the land with foreigners brought from a distance. Having given these commands, Epiphanes quitted Antioch, and proceeded through Mesopotamia to Persia.

27. *all the forces of his realm.*] According to the numbers assigned in ch. ii. 39 and ch. iv. 28 to the troops collected by Lysias, the entire armed force of the Syrian monarchy at this time should have considerably exceeded 100,000 men, since Lysias was left with only one half of the army (*v.* 34). The estimate does not seem to be unreasonable, since Antiochus the Great had 170,000 men at Magnesia (Appian, 'Syriaca,' p. 32), and Sidetes is said to have had 128,000 at Dora (ch. xv. 13).

28. *He . . . gave his soldiers pay for a year.*] The exhaustion of the Syrian treasury under Epiphanes has been already mentioned in the notes on ch. i. 20. His expenditure was reckless (see especially Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4); and it may well be that the soldiers were often left without pay, while huge sums were lavished on shows and games. Thus it was necessary, in order to secure the goodwill of the troops, to make them at the beginning of the campaign an advance of a year's pay.

29. *the money of his treasures failed.*] Polybius says, "he needed supplies of money" (xxxi. 11). It seems certain that the Syrian finances were seriously disordered under Antiochus Epiphanes, and that his policy was largely influenced by the necessity of obtaining supplies from one quarter or another. Hence his original attack upon the Temple of the Jews (ch. i. 21–23); and hence his present expedition into the eastern provinces which may, however, have embraced also other objects.

the tributes in the country were small.] Rather, "**the tribute collectors** in the country **were few**." Headmen of villages

and plague, which he had brought upon the land ‖in taking away the laws which had been of old time;

30 He feared ‖that he should not be able to bear the charges any longer, nor to have such gifts to give so liberally as he did before: for he had abounded above the kings that were before him.

31 Wherefore, being greatly perplexed in his mind, he determined to go into Persia, there to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money.

32 So he left Lysias, a nobleman, and one of the blood royal, to oversee the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt:

33 And to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again.

34 Moreover he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all things that he would have done, as also concerning them that dwelt in Juda and Jerusalem:

35 *To wit*, that he should send an army against them, to destroy and root out the strength of Israel, and

B. C. cir. 165.

‖ Or, *for the taking away of the laws.*

‖ Gr. *that he should not have*

B. C. cir. 165.

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are the main collectors of taxes in the East. When a population became disaffected, they would refuse to act. The taxes would remain uncollected, and the result would be as expressed in the text.

because of the dissension and plague.] It would seem, from the expressions here used, that the general proclamation issued by Epiphanes, commanding uniformity in religion (ch. i. 41, 42), had provoked troubles in some regions besides Judæa, and led to a disorganisation which had told on the revenue. Setting aside Judæa, there was no part of the empire where religious reforms were so likely to be resisted as in Persia (see *v.* 31, and comp. ch. vi. 1–4), which clung to the religion of Zoroaster, and ultimately re-established it as the religion of the state.

in taking away the laws.] See above, ch. i. 42, "Every one should leave his laws."

30. *the charges.*] "The charges" are the ordinary expenses of the government, to which Epiphanes added greatly by his reckless liberality to individuals and states—often when they had absolutely no claim upon him. On occupying Naucratis, in Egypt, he went out of his way to present a gold piece to each of its Greek inhabitants (Polyb. xxviii. 17, § 11). On another occasion he sent a golden crown (worth fifty talents) to the Romans, and at the same time he sent a hundred talents to a certain number of the Grecian states (*ib.* 18, § 3). Polybius praises his "liberality;" but it was rather a culpable profusion that distinguished him.

liberally.] Literally, "with a lavish hand."

31. *he determined to go into Persia.*] "Persia" seems to be used vaguely in the two books of the Maccabees for the more eastern portion of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom. (Comp. ch. vi. 1, 5, 56; 2 Macc. i. 13, ix. 1, 21.)

to gather much money.] Antiochus did not look to obtain money solely by collection of the tribute due to him, but also by war and plunder, by the robbing of temples, and perhaps by other equivocal means. He led an expedition into Armenia early in B.C. 165, defeated the king, Artaxias, and took him prisoner (Appian, 'Syriac.' p. 117, B), and carried off a large booty (Diod. Sic. in C. Müller's 'Fragm. Hist. Gr.' vol. ii. p. x.; Strab. xi. p. 531, &c.). In the ensuing year, B.C. 164, he made the attempt to plunder the temple of Nanæa, or Anaïtis, which is recorded in ch. vi. 1–4, and in 2 Macc. ix. 2.

32. *Lysias, a nobleman.*] Rather "**a man of note**." Lysias is mentioned by Polybius, Livy, Appian, and Porphyry, as guardian of Antiochus Eupator, and regent during his minority. He was a man of considerable ability, though of no great military talent.

one of the blood royal.] Comp. 2 Macc. xi. 1.

33. *his son Antiochus.*] *I.e.* Antiochus Eupator, who succeeded his father at the age of nine (Appian) or twelve (Porphyry), and reigned two years—from B.C. 164 to B.C. 162—when he was put to death by Demetrius (ch. vii. 3, 4).

34. *the half of his forces.*] On their numbers, see the comment on *v.* 27.

and the elephants.] On the employment of war-elephants by the Syro-Macedonian kings, see note on ch. i. 17. In B.C. 164 Lysias is said to have brought eighty of these beasts against Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 4). Epiphanes knew that he could not make use of them in the mountain-region of Armenia, and therefore left the entire force to his officer.

35. *to destroy and root out the strength of Israel.*] It was not an ordinary war, but a war of extermination, that Lysias was commanded to wage. The Jews were to be utterly rooted out, and their places supplied

B. C. cir. 165. the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place;

36 And that he should place strangers in all their quarters, and divide their land by lot.

37 So the king took the half of the forces that remained, and departed from Antioch, ‖his royal city, the hundred forty and seventh year; and having passed the river Euphrates, he went through the high countries.

38 Then Lysias chose Ptolemee the *son* of Dorymenes, and Nicanor,

B. C. 165.

‖ Gr. *a city of his kingdom.*

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by strangers. Such a system had often been followed by the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs, and had generally proved successful. One of the best known instances was the deportation of the Israelites to Mesopotamia and Media by Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, and the re-peopling of their country by colonists from Babylon, Cutha, Susiana, Elymais, &c., by Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 6, 24; Ezra iv. 9, 10). The design of Epiphanes was to effect a similar result, but by means of even greater severity, since the Jews, instead of being deported to a new locality, were to be either slain or sold as slaves. (See *v.* 41, and comp. 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.)

the remnant of Jerusalem.] *I.e.* "the few Jews left at Jerusalem" (ch. i. 38, 53).

36. *that he should place strangers.*] Literally, "that strangers should settle." But perhaps the true reading is κατοικίσαι, which would give the sense of the text.

37. *the half of the forces that remained.*] Rather, "the half that remained of the forces." The other half, which had been assigned to Lysias, must have previously quitted Antioch.

Antioch, his royal city.] Originally Babylon had been fixed upon as the capital of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom; but Seleucus Nicator transferred the seat of government first to Seleucia, upon the Tigris, and afterwards to Antioch, which he built and called after his son. No doubt there were important interests which were best served by having the seat of government in the west; but Syria was weakened both for attack and defence by having its capital at one extremity of a long straggling territory. Antioch was from the first a flourishing city. Epiphanes had added greatly to its magnificence by carrying a broad colonnaded street through the heart of the place from one end to the other. (See K. O. Müller's 'Antiquitates Antiochenæ,' Göttingen, 1839.)

the hundred forty and seventh year.] B.C. 166–5. The departure from Antioch was probably in the spring of B.C. 165. Armenia could not be invaded with effect till about April.

having passed the river Euphrates.] The Euphrates would probably be crossed at Bir, and the march would then be by way of Orfah (Edessa) to Diarbekr (Amida), whence the way lay open into Armenia by any of the head-streams of the Tigris. The "high countries" are the mountainous tracts of upper Mesopotamia, in contrast with the low regions, which extend from the foot of the mountains to the Persian Gulf.

§ 4. LYSIAS SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST JUDÆA UNDER PTOLEMY, NICANOR, AND GORGIAS.

38–41. Lysias, being left as regent of the western provinces, and under-estimating, it may be, the importance of the Jewish revolt, thought it sufficient to *send* an army to carry out the designs of the king, and did not lead it in person. Probably he remained at Antioch. The generals whom he selected were Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia (2 Macc. viii. 8); Nicanor, the son of Patroclus (*ib. v.* 9); and Gorgias, a captain of great experience (*ibid.*). The army under their command consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse, according to our author; but of 20,000 men only, according to the writer of the Second Book of the Maccabees (*l. s. c.*). Like Seron's army, it took the line of the coast tract, and moved into the Philistine plain, where it occupied a station near Emmaus. The army was swollen by some native Syrian and Philistine levies, while the camp was crowded with merchants from the same regions, attracted by the expectation of a large sale of Jewish captives at low prices (2 Macc. viii. 11).

38. *Lysias chose Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes.*] "Ptolemee, the son of Dorymenes," seems to be the same person as the "Ptolemy surnamed Macron," of 2 Macc. x. 12. If so, he was quite unconnected with the Egyptian Ptolemies, being the son of an Ætolian. He had, however, taken service under Ptolemy Philometor, and been by him made governor of Cyprus, but deserted this post, and transferred himself to the service of Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 12, 13), who received him with favour, and gave him the government of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia (*ib.* viii. 6). At this time Ptolemy had been apprised by "Philip the Phrygian," governor of Jerusalem (2 Macc. v. 22), of the perilous state of affairs in Judæa, and had probably made a

B. C. cir. 165. and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's friends:

39 And with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen, to go into the land of Juda, and to destroy it, as the king commanded.

40 So they went forth with all their power, and came and pitched by Emmaus in the plain country.

41 And the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much, with ‖servants, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves: a power also of Syria and of the land ‖of the Philistines joined themselves unto them. B. C. cir. 165

‖ Or, *fetters.*

‖ Or, *of strangers.*

42 Now when Judas and his brethren saw that miseries were multi-

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report on the subject to Lysias, who thereupon gave him a command.

Nicanor.] Nicanor is placed at the head of the expedition by the writer of the Second Book (ch. viii. 9–24), who gives Ptolemy no part in it, and barely mentions the name of Gorgias (*ibid. v.* 9).

39. *forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen.*] These numbers are confirmed by Josephus, and are not intrinsically improbable. The Syriac version has, however, "ten thousand" in the place of forty thousand, and the author of the Second Book estimates the entire force at 20,000 (2 Macc. viii. 9).

40. *by Emmaus in the plain country.*] This Emmaus is undoubtedly the city known afterwards as Nicopolis, which was twenty-two Roman miles distant from Jerusalem and ten from Lydda. (See 'Itin. Hieros.' p. 600, Wesseling.) It lay in the Philistine plain, at the foot of the mountains of Judæa, and is now represented by the small village of Amwas (Robinson, 'Researches in Palestine,' vol. iii. p. 147). The "Emmaus" of St. Luke's Gospel (xxiv. 13) must have been a different place.

41. *the merchants of the country.*] The dealers were probably, in the main, Phœnicians, though the seaport towns of Philistia may have furnished some. According to the author of the Second Book, Nicanor had apprised the merchants of his intention to sell the Jewish captives, and had fixed the low rate of ninety for a talent (less than 3*l.* each) as the price at which they would be sold (2 Macc. viii. 11).

with servants.] It is not very clear why these "servants" should be mentioned. The Syrian version has "fetters and chains," Josephus "fetters." We may suspect the mistake of a copyist, who wrote παῖδας for πέδας. The dealers brought "fetters" to place upon such of their purchases as they might deem dangerous.

a power also of Syria.] *I.e.* native Syrians not enrolled in the Syro-Macedonian army. They were attracted probably by the hope of plunder.

of the land of the Philistines.] Literally, "the land of foreigners." But the expression is often used, both in the Canonical and the Apocryphal books, to designate the Philistines. (See below, ch. iv. 30; v. 66, 68, &c.)

§ 5. JUDAS TAKES HIS FORCES TO MIZPEH, OVER AGAINST JERUSALEM, AND MAKES APPEAL TO GOD IN SIGHT OF THE HOLY CITY.

42–54. On learning the extreme danger that now threatened the patriots—their extermination decreed, and nearly 50,000 men sent to effect the execution of the decree—Judas took a remarkable resolution. He resolved, before engaging his new adversaries, to approach Jerusalem as closely as he could, and in the sight of the Temple and the Holy City to "make prayer to God, and ask mercy and compassion" (*v.* 44). He accordingly "led his scanty host over the mountains to the ridge of Mizpeh—the spot where Alexander had met Jaddua, and where, after the Chaldæan capture of Jerusalem, the pilgrims had come to wail over the Holy City. It was a mournful scene. They could see from that high rocky platform the deserted streets, the walls and gates closed as if of a besieged town, the silent precincts of the Temple, the Greek garrison in the fortress. Before that distant presence of the Holy Place, to which they could gain no nearer access, the mourners came wrapt in tatters of black hair-cloth, with ashes on their heads. They spread out the copies of the law . . . . they waved the sacerdotal vestments . . . . they shewed the animals and the vegetables due for firstfruits and tithes, they passed in long procession the Nazarites with their flowing tresses, who were unable to dedicate themselves in the sanctuary." (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 307–8.) After this, they called on God to be their helper, and concluded their "sorrowful ceremony" with a blast of trumpets, emblematic of expected triumph.

42. *when Judas . . . . saw that miseries were multiplied.*] Rather, "that evil increased upon them." Each success

B. C. cir. 165. plied, and that the forces did encamp themselves in their borders; for they knew how the king had given commandment to destroy the people, and utterly abolish them;

43 They said one to another, Let us restore the decayed estate of our people, and let us fight for our people and the sanctuary.

44 Then was the congregation gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask mercy and compassion.

45 Now Jerusalem lay void [b]as a wilderness, there was none of her children that went in or out: the sanctuary also was trodden down, and aliens kept the strong hold; the heathen had their habitation in that place; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased. B. C. cir. 165. [b] ch. 1. 38, 39.

46 Wherefore the Israelites assembled themselves together, and came to [f]Maspha, over against Jerusalem; for [c]in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel. [f] Or, *Mitzpa.* [c] Judg. 20. 1. 1 Sam. 7. 5.

47 Then they fasted that day, and

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seemed only to bring them into greater difficulty.

for they knew.] Rather, "**and knew.**"

to destroy the people, and utterly abolish them.] See above, *vv.* 35, 36. The extremity of their danger aroused extreme enthusiasm. The resistance would have been less desperate, and might possibly have been less successful, had Antiochus been content with milder measures.

43. *They said one to another.*] The movement is represented as spontaneous and general. "Each man said to his neighbour, Let us upraise the low estate of our people," &c. No doubt, Judas directed the general enthusiasm; but it burst forth of itself, and required no stimulus. The congregation gathered itself together (*v.* 44), and was ready either for battle or for supplication. Judas took advantage of the stir of feeling, and, quitting the neighbourhood of Emmaus, took his army to the heights of Mizpeh.

45. *Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness.*] This is not to be taken quite literally. A certain number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had conformed to the decrees of Antiochus (ch. i. 52), and had "remained" in the city (ch. ii. 18). But her true children had left her. And to those who gazed from Mizpeh into her comparatively empty streets and squares, it seemed as if the populous city had become a desert, and was no more inhabited.

aliens kept the strong hold.] See ch. i. 33–36. A Syro-Macedonian garrison held the fortress, which had been seized and fortified when Apollonius made his first attack.

the heathen had their habitation in that place.] Rather, "**she was a dwelling-place for the heathen.**" Jerusalem, deserted (in the main) by her own children, had become a city of the heathen.

the pipe with the harp ceased.] Isaiah, speaking of the Israelites, says that "the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, were in their feasts" (ch. v. 12). A similar employment of music at festivals is touched upon by Amos (ch. vi. 5). Under the existing calamities there was an end of feasting, and consequently a cessation of music. (Cf. Is. xiv. 11.)

46. *Maspha.*] Literally, "Massepha." The identity of "Maspha," or "Massepha," with Mizpah or Mizpeh, is generally allowed. The LXX. express Mizpah by "Maspha" in 2 Chron. xvi. 6 and Neh. iii. 7, 15; in 1 Sam. they use the longer form "Massephath," which is almost identical with the "Massepha" of the present passage, *th* being a mere feminine ending. The exact situation, however, of Mizpeh has been much controverted. Dr. Robinson places it on Neby-Samwil, five miles from Jerusalem, to the north-west ('Researches,' vol. i. p. 460). But this seems too far off to suit the present description. Recent travellers have therefore sought another site for Mizpeh, and have found it on the broad ridge directly north of the city, which is a continuation of the Mount of Olives, whence there is an excellent view of both the city and the temple site. The distance is considerably less than a mile; and the site is undoubtedly that of the "Scopus" of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' v. 2, § 3), which seems to be a Greek translation of the Hebrew Mizpeh, "a watch-tower." Here is a village called Safat, or Shafat, which seems to be a corruption of the ancient name.

in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel.] On the sacred character attaching to Mizpeh in early times, see Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6; x. 17–25. Jerome says that it is one of the places where the ark abode for a time ('Quæst. Heb.' on 1 Sam. vii. 2).

47. *they fasted, &c.*] They began with humiliation, accumulating all its various signs

B. C. cir. 165.

put on sackcloth, and cast ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes,

48 And laid open the book of the law, ‖wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images.

‖ Or, *for the which the heathen had made diligent search, that they might paint therein the likeness of their idols.*

49 They brought also the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and the [d]Nazarites they stirred up, who had accomplished their days.

[d] Numb. 6. 2, 13.

50 Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven, saying, What shall we do with these, and whither shall we carry them away?

B. C. cir. 165.

51 For thy sanctuary is trodden down and profaned, and thy priests are in heaviness, and brought low.

52 And, lo, the heathen are assembled together against us to destroy us: what things they imagine against us, thou knowest.

53 How shall we be able to stand against them, except thou, *O God*, be our help?

54 Then sounded they with trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.

—sackcloth, clothes rent, ashes on the head, and fasting. (Comp. 1 Kings xxi. 27; Jonah iii. 6.) The intention, no doubt, was to acknowledge their own sinfulness in God's sight, before entreating His favour.

48. *And laid open the book of the law.*] It would seem by the expression used that they had but one copy, or at any rate that they produced only one. The Syro-Macedonians had torn up and burnt the greater number of the copies at the beginning of the persecution (ch. i. 56). They had been content, however, with disfiguring some by pictures of their own idols, or perhaps rather of their deities. It was to exhibit this profanation before the eye of God that the Book was "laid open." Compare the act of Hezekiah, when he "spread before the Lord" the blasphemous letter of Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 14).

the heathen had sought to paint the likeness.] Only a few of the MSS. preserve the true reading. The majority, and most of the printed texts, omit the mention of "painting."

49. *They brought also the priests' garments.*] On the holy garments commanded for the Jewish priests, see Ex. xxviii. 4–42. Apparently, they were now exhibited to shew that Judas and his followers were ready and anxious to resume the Temple worship, and only hindered by Jerusalem being in hostile hands. It was recognised that there could be no sacrificial worship outside the Temple.

and the firstfruits, and the tithes.] It had been determined in the time of Nehemiah, that all the firstfruits, and "the tithe of the tithes"—*i.e.* the priests' portion—should be carried every year to the Temple, and there made over to the sacerdotal authorities, who were thus to be spared the trouble and expense of collection (Neh. x. 35–39). The firstfruits and tithes were now brought as near to the Temple as possible under the circumstances, to indicate the readiness of the people to conform to the law of God in all things, so far as they could.

and the Nazarites they stirred up.] The completion of the ordinary, or limited, Nazarite vow could only take place in the Temple, where certain offerings had to be made, and the hair, which had been left untouched during the term of the vow, had to be cut off and burnt under the sacrifice upon the altar (Num. vi. 13–18). The Nazarites were now "stirred up" to come and present themselves as near the Temple as possible, to shew their readiness to complete their vows, unless hindered by the heathen.

50. *Then cried they with a loud voice toward heaven.*] "Crying toward heaven" is the ordinary expression of the writer for making an appeal to God. (See ch. iv. 10, 40; v. 31; ix. 46, &c.)

What shall we do with these?] *I.e.* How shall we enable them to complete their vow? Whither shall we take them? We cannot take them to the Temple. Will not God shew us a way out of these difficulties?

53. *except thou, O God, be our help.*] The first thing is humiliation (*v.* 47); the next, an exposition of their enemies' impiety (*v.* 48); the third, a setting forth of their own needs (*vv.* 49–52); in conclusion, there is an appeal to God for aid (*v.* 53). This appeal is accompanied by a loud blare of trumpets, and a shout that was heard far and wide (*v.* 54). The blast of trumpets was not a mere signal for breaking up the camp (Num. x. 2)—united, as it was, with the loud shout, we must understand it as in part a defiance to the garrison in Jerusalem, in part an expression of confidence in the speedy triumph of the good cause.

§ 6. MILITARY MEASURES TAKEN BY JUDAS IN VIEW OF THE IMPENDING DANGER.

55–60. It would seem that hitherto the Jews under Judas had fought as an un-

B. C. cir. 165.

55 And after this Judas ordained captains over the people, *even* captains over thousands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens.

[e] Deut. 20. 5, &c.

56 But as for such as [e] were building houses, or had betrothed wives,

[f] Judg. 7. 3.

or were planting vineyards, or [f] were fearful, those he commanded that they should return, every man to his own house, according to the law.

57 So the camp removed, and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.

58 And Judas said, Arm yourselves, and be valiant men, and see that ye be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these nations, that are assembled together against us to destroy us and our sanctuary:

B. C. cir. 165.

59 For it is better for us to die in battle, than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary.

60 Nevertheless, [g] as the will of *God* is in heaven, so let him do.

[g] 2 Sam. 10. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

6 *Judas defeateth the plot,* 14 *and forces of Gorgias,* 23 *and spoileth their tents,* 34 *and overthroweth Lysias.* 45 *He pulleth down the altar which the heathen had profaned, and setteth up a new:* 60 *and maketh a wall about Sion.*

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disciplined mass, with no officers but Judas and his brothers to guide them. Now that he had to contend with half the might of Syria (*v.* 34), the leader recognised the necessity of having recourse to something more of system. A decimal organisation seemed the easiest, and was already familiar to the thoughts of the nation from its adoption in former times. (See Ex. xviii. 21; Judg. xx. 10; 1 Sam. viii. 12; 2 Kings i. 9; xi. 4; 2 Chr. xxv. 5.) Accordingly, he introduced it in the old familiar shape, which, though not theoretically perfect, had been practically found convenient. A petty officer was appointed to each ten men, a superior one to five such bodies, a captain to each hundred, and a colonel to each thousand. Before, however, this arrangement had been made, the army was weeded of its less willing members—the timorous, the newly-married, and the immersed in worldly business—according to the injunctions laid down in Deuteronomy (ch. xx. 5–8)—and a picked force was thus obtained. The enemy was then sought out, the army returning to the neighbourhood of Emmaus; and in a short spirited harangue Judas bade them prepare to give the Syrians battle on the morrow.

55. *Judas ordained captains over the people.*] The arrangement is identical with that recommended by Jethro to Moses for judicial purposes (Ex. xviii. 21). It differs from the ordinary Jewish military system by the institution of "captains of tens."

56. *such as were building houses.*] These may have been a tolerably numerous class, since the patriots were to a large extent fugitives from Jerusalem and other towns, who, having quitted their houses, would have to build others.

or were fearful.] Compare the action of Gideon (Judg. vii. 3), who, by dismissing the "fearful," reduced his army from 32,000 to 10,000. The reduction may not have been great in the present instance, since few but brave men would have been likely to join the patriots.

57. *So the camp removed.*] Judas never sought to avoid battle, or stood simply on the defensive. When a force was sent against him, his object was to engage it—in the confident belief that, with God's help, he would overcome it. So, having held his prayer-meeting at Mizpeh, he broke up his camp, and marched westward, a distance of above twenty miles, to meet the enemy, whose position at Emmaus was well known to him.

and pitched upon the south side of Emmaus.] Emmaus was at the northern foot of a spur which projected into the Philistine plain from the hill-country of Judæa. Judas, while encamping south of Emmaus, still remained on the high ground.

58. *Arm yourselves.*] Literally, "gird yourselves," but in the general sense of "prepare"—"make ready."

60. *as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do.*] Absolute resignation to the will of God is nowhere better expressed. Judas was content to succeed or fail, as God chose. Only, he hoped that, if he failed, he might be allowed to die (*v.* 59).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. JUDAS AND HIS MEN DEFEAT AND DISPERSE THE FORCES UNDER NICANOR AND GORGIAS.

1–27. The army under Judas is said in 2 Macc. viii. 16 to have numbered six thousand men. As the Syro-Macedonians were more than seven times as numerous (ch. iii. 39), it did

B. C. cir. 165. THEN took Gorgias five thousand footmen, and a thousand of the best horsemen, and removed out of the camp by night;

2 To the end he might rush in upon the camp of the Jews, and smite them suddenly. And the men of the fortress were his guides.

3 Now when Judas heard thereof, he himself removed, and the valiant men with him, that he might smite the king's army which was at Emmaus, B. C. cir. 165.

4 While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp.

5 In the mean season came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas: and when he found no man there, he sought them in the mountains: for said he, These fellows flee from us.

6 But as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain with

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not seem a risk to their commanders to divide their force in two, and send a portion into the mountains to attack the Jewish camp, if a favourable opportunity offered, while the main body still continued in the plain. The command of the attacking force, which just equalled the army of Judas, was taken by Gorgias, the captain of "great experience" (2 Macc. viii. 9), while Nicanor remained at the head of the others, who occupied a fortified camp in the plain. Nothing is heard of Ptolemy, who was apparently absent. Gorgias hoped to surprise Judas, and to this end made a night march from Emmaus into the hill-country; but Judas, learning his intention, frustrated it by a counter-movement, abandoning his camp to Gorgias, while he flung himself on the forces of Nicanor. The result was a complete victory (*vv.* 14, 15; 2 Macc. viii. 24, 25). Nicanor's army was routed and dispersed, after which battle was offered to Gorgias, who declined it, and retreated with precipitation (*vv.* 16–22). The first attempt of Lysias thus completely failed. Out of the 47,000 men engaged in the war, 9000 were slain outright, and probably a still larger number wounded (2 Macc. viii. 24). Lysias was greatly disappointed and discouraged, but still determined to make a further effort to carry out the king's designs in the ensuing year.

1. *Then took Gorgias five thousand footmen.*] It is not clear whether Gorgias made his movement at the request of Nicanor, and in concert with him, or whether he had an independent command, and acted on his own responsibility. Dean Stanley supposes him to have been "commander of the forces *at Jerusalem*" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 308). But nothing has been said of his having quitted Emmaus (ch. iii. 38–40); and it seems best to suppose that he had remained there till now. Verse 4 makes this almost certain.

removed out of the camp by night.] Rather, "**his camp**" or "**his army removed** by night."

2. *the men of the fortress were his guides.*] This is generally explained as "apostates from the citadel of Jerusalem." But the "fortress" intended may be the citadel of Emmaus. Persons belonging to the neighbourhood were likely to be better guides than men who came from a distance.

3. *when Judas heard.*] Judas had his "intelligence department," and was quickly apprised of the enemy's movement. To him the division of the Syro-Macedonian force seemed a strategic mistake, and he resolved at once to take advantage of it. "While as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp" (*v.* 4), he determined to make an onslaught on those who remained to guard it. He may not have known their numbers, but he felt that at any rate it was best to fight before the troops of Gorgias rejoined those of Nicanor. (Cf. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4.)

5. *came Gorgias by night into the camp of Judas.*] This was what Judas had intended: he had left his tents standing, and had thus drawn Gorgias on. He may even have left booty in the camp, to occupy the attention of the soldiers. Meanwhile he had himself descended into the plain with 3000 men (*v.* 6), leaving perhaps 3000 as a reserve on the outlying hills.

he sought them in the mountains.] Gorgias thought that the soldiers of Judas, learning his approach, had fled and concealed themselves in the fastnesses of the mountains, and proceeded inland, in search of them.

6. *as soon as it was day, Judas shewed himself in the plain.*] On the Jews' part the time for night attacks was past (2 Macc. viii. 7). Broad daylight best suits a foe who is confident of victory, either in his own strength, or through trust in a strength that is not his, but vouchsafed to him. Judas descended into the plain by night, but waited for the day to make his dispositions, and proceed to the assault. The exact dispositions which he made are given in the Second Book (2 Macc. viii. 22, 23); which, however, doubles the number of the Jewish army engaged in the struggle.

B. C. cir. 166.

three thousand men, who nevertheless had neither ‖ armour nor swords to their minds.

7 And they saw the camp of the heathen, that it was strong and well harnessed, and compassed round about with horsemen; and these were expert of war.

8 Then said Judas to the men that were with him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their assault.

[a] Exod. 14. 30.

9 Remember how [a] our fathers were delivered in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them with an army.

10 Now therefore let us cry unto heaven, if peradventure the Lord will have mercy upon us, and remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this host before our face this day:

B. C. cir. 166.

11 [b] That so all the heathen may know that there is one who delivereth and saveth Israel.

[b] 1 Sam. 17. 46.

12 Then the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them.

13 Wherefore they went out of the camp to battle; but they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets.

14 So they joined battle, and the heathen being discomfited fled into the plain.

‖ Or, *targets.*

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who . . . had neither armour nor swords to their minds.] See note on ch. iii. 12.

7. *the camp of the heathen.*] Some translate, "the *host* of the heathen," but probably the camp is intended. (Comp. *v.* 13.)

well harnessed.] *I.e.* well guarded with a rampart or breastwork. So θώρηξ is used by Herodotus (i. 181), and θωράκιον by Diodorus (xvii. 44), Philo (ii. 324), and others.

compassed round about with horsemen.] Patrols of horse guarded the camp on every side, so that it was impossible to surprise it.

8. *Then said Judas, &c.*] This seems to be the place where the fuller account of 2 Macc. viii. 16–23 properly comes in. Judas addressed his men at some length; exhorted them not to be afraid of the enemy (2 Macc. viii. 16); reminded them of the wrongs which they had suffered at their hands (*ib. v.* 17); spoke of former deliverances—that from Pharaoh at the Red Sea (1 Macc. iv. 9), that from Sennacherib (2 Macc. viii. 19), and that from the Celtic invaders of Asia somewhat recently (*ib. v.* 20); and finally bade them make an earnest appeal to heaven for help and salvation (1 Macc. iv. 10, 11); after which he made a fresh disposition of his force. Dividing it into four equal bands, assuming the command of one of them himself, and assigning the other three to his brothers John, Simon, and Jonathan respectively, he ordered the fifth brother, Eleazar, to recite from the Holy Book (2 Macc. viii. 21–23); and then, while the words sounded in their ears, commanded his army to advance to the attack, himself leading the way.

Fear ye not.] Comp. ch. iii. 22.

their multitude.] Even if Judas advanced with his entire force of six thousand men (2 Macc. viii. 16, 22), still he was outnumbered at least sevenfold (ch. iii. 39, 41; iv. 1).

11. *That so all the heathen may know.*] Comp. Ex. xv. 14; Ps. lix. 13, lxxix. 10; lxxxiii. 18, xcviii. 2, &c. The vindication of God's honour in the sight of the heathen is one of the most legitimate objects of human effort; and the saints of God make it the subject of frequent petition. Moses in the wilderness has no more potent argument either when he requests God's aid, or when he deprecates the punishments which the people's sins have deserved. (See Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 15, 16; Deut. ix. 28; xxxii. 27, &c.)

12. *the strangers lifted up their eyes.*] The enemy, to their surprise, saw the small Jewish force rapidly advancing upon them across the plain. They could not for very shame decline the combat, so they quitted their walled camp (*v.* 7), and drew themselves up in order of battle (*v.* 13). The Jews, as they charged, blew their well-known trumpet-blast, an encouragement to themselves, a terror to the adversary.

14. *being discomfited.*] The expression used in the original is stronger, implying a *crushing* defeat.

fled into the plain.] There is a slight difficulty here, since Emmaus itself was "in the plain" (ch. iii. 40), and Judas has descended "into the plain" (ch. iv. 6), in order to attack the Syro-Macedonian army. Probably the writer is thinking of the entire broad tract of Philistia, and regarding that as the true plain, rather than the embayed recess about Emmaus, which was a sort of valley connected with the plain.

B. C. cir. 165.

15 Howbeit all the hindmost of them were slain with the sword: for they pursued them unto ‖ Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia, so that there were slain of them upon a three thousand men.

‖ Gr. *Assaremoth.*

16 This done, Judas returned again with his host from pursuing them,

17 And said to the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us,

18 And Gorgias and his host are here by us in the mountain: but stand ye now against our enemies, and overcome them, and after this ye may boldly take the spoils.

B. C. cir. 165.

19 As Judas was yet speaking these words, there appeared a part of them looking out of the mountain:

20 Who when they perceived that the Jews had put their host to flight, and were burning the tents; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done:

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15. *they pursued them unto Gazera.*] The position of "Gazêra" (or Gazara), long regarded as uncertain, seems to have been fixed by the discoveries of M. Clermont-Ganneau, who first found a Tel-el-Jezer mentioned by the Arabian geographers in the required locality, then obtained the same name from the present inhabitants, and finally came upon a rock inscription in which the name of Gezer was repeated twice ('Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund,' Oct. 1875, pp. 200–1). The position is one three miles W. of Khulda, and about six E. of Akir (Ekron), at a village called Abu-Shooshah, of which the Tel forms a part. The distance from Emmaus (Amwas) is about eight miles.

the plains of Idumea, &c.] The defeated army, having kept together as far as Gazara, there separated, and fled in three directions, westward to "the plain of Jamnia," marked by the modern Yebneh, in the Sorek valley; south-westward to "the plain of Ashdod," marked by the modern Esdûd; and southward or south-eastward to "the plain of Idumæa," the country south of Judæa, between Hebron and Beersheba. The limits of Idumæa, vague at all times, are perhaps extended by the writer so as to include the flat country about Tel-el-Safi and Merash or Mareshah.

Azotus.] The identity of the ancient Ashdod (or Azotus) with the modern Esdûd is generally allowed. Esdûd is situated about three miles from the coast, a little south of the water-course known as the "valley of Elah." It stands on a slight elevation, which looks down upon the plain, and makes the situation a commanding one. Ashdod was one of the most ancient of the Philistine towns (Josh. xv. 47; 1 Sam. v. 5). It was taken by Sargon in B.C. 711, and by Psamatik I. about B.C. 630, after a long siege (Herod. ii. 157).

Jamnia.] "Jamnia" appears as Jabneel in Joshua (xv. 11), and as Jabneh in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). It was some three or four miles from the sea, but had a port dependent on it, which bore the same name (2 Macc. xii. 9; Plin. 'H. N.' v. 12). Ordinarily, it was a Philistine possession. The site seems to be marked by the modern Yebneh, a small village south of the Sorek, eleven miles from Joppa, and sixteen from Esdûd.

there were slain of them upon a three thousand.] The writer of the Second Book says "*nine* thousand" (2 Macc. viii. 24), which is more in accord with the strong expression used above, in *v.* 14. He adds that "the most part of Nicanor's host" was "wounded and maimed" by the patriots.

16. *Judas returned again . . . . from pursuing them.*] The battle took place upon the sixth day of the week, and by the time that Gazara was reached the sabbath was approaching. Judas therefore withdrew his men, being unwilling to desecrate the sabbath, and contented himself with firing the camp and despoiling the slain of their armour (2 Macc. viii. 27). The other reason here alleged for the recall—the near presence of Gorgias—may also have actuated him.

17. *Be not greedy of the spoils.*] *I.e.* "wait for the present—do not attempt to plunder the camp—if you were once engaged in plundering, Gorgias might take you at a disadvantage."

there is a battle before us.] Rather perhaps, "there is *war* before us," the entire force of the enemy is not accounted for—Gorgias still remains somewhere in our neighbourhood: the war is not over.

18. *in the mountain.*] Rather, "in the hill-country." (Cf. *v.* 5.)

boldly.] Or "confidently." Without any fear of a hostile attack upon you on the part of Gorgias.

19–22. The detachment under Gorgias, having searched the interior of the hill-country

B. C. cir. 165.

21 When therefore they perceived these things, they were sore afraid, and seeing also the host of Judas in the plain ready to fight,

22 They fled every one into the land of strangers.

23 Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold, and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches.

24 After this they went home, and sung a song of thanksgiving, and [c] praised the Lord in heaven: because [‖] it is good, because his mercy *endureth* for ever.

B. C. cir. 165.

[c] Ps. 136. 1.

[‖] Or, *he.*

25 Thus Israel had a great deliverance that day.

26 Now all the strangers that had escaped came and told Lysias what had happened:

27 Who, when he heard thereof, was confounded and discouraged, because neither such things as he would were done unto Israel, nor such things as the king commanded him were come to pass.

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near Emmaus and found no trace of Judas or his army, had returned to the outskirts, and "looked out" from some high position upon the plain. The sight revealed to them was that of Nicanor's camp in flames, and his troops dispersed far and wide over the Shefelah (*v.* 15), while the army of Judas was drawn up in battle array, ready for combat. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, his troops "were sore afraid," and "fled every one" into the Philistine country, seeking to rejoin the troops of Nicanor.

23. *Judas returned to spoil the tents.*] Rather, "the **camp**"—no doubt the camp of Nicanor, near Emmaus. The inflammable portions had been burnt; but the flames would have made small impression on the more valuable portion of the spoil. There would remain an abundance of arms and armour (2 Macc. viii. 27), sorely needed by the patriots (1 Macc. iv. 6); there would be silver and gold, in specie, in ornaments, in vases and drinking-cups; there would be precious stuffs and fabrics, damaged, it may be, more or less, but still of considerable value. Judas and his men "got much gold, and silver, and blue (silk), and purple of the sea, and great riches."

blue silk.] There is no word expressive of "silk" in the original; and it is more than doubtful whether "silk" is intended. The blue of the Tabernacle was either a woollen or a linen fabric (Ex. xxxv. 25); and the same may be said of the "blue" of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr. ii. 7, 14). There is no distinct reference to silk in the Old Testament; and it is scarcely likely to have been found in the camp of Nicanor. The blue, or rather violet, apparel found, would probably be of wool, as would be also the purple (or crimson) apparel.

purple of the sea.] *I.e.* apparel dyed with the juice of the *Murex trunculus*, a shell-fish common in the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly abundant upon the coast of Phœnicia. The hue varied from a deep purple to a light crimson. It was greatly affected by the Eastern nations (Ex. xxv. 4; Judg. viii. 26; 2 Chr. iii. 14; Esther i. 6, viii. 15; Prov. xxxi. 22; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16; Ecclus. xlv. 10; Baruch vi. 12; 1 Macc. x. 20; 2 Macc. iv. 38, &c.).

24. *they went home.*] Literally, "they returned"—*i.e.* quitted the plain, and re-occupied the hill-country.

praised the Lord in heaven.] Rather, "they praised the Lord **unto the heaven**"—*i.e.* with eyes and voices lifted up to heaven.

because it is good, &c.] *I.e.* they sang the usual hymn of thanksgiving—the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm—"the national anthem" (as it has been called) "of the Jewish race" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 308–9). Cf. 1 Chr. xvi. 41; 2 Chr. v. 13, vii. 3, xx. 21; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iii. 11.

26. *all the strangers.*] The Syro-Macedonian soldiers. (Cf. *v.* 12.)

§ 2. Attack made on Judas by Lysias in person.

28–35. The defeat of his generals induced Lysias to take the field in person. Having spent the winter in collecting a force almost half as numerous again as the former one—60,000 foot and 5000 horse—he marched early in the ensuing year, B.C. 164, into Idumæa, and took up a position at Bethsura, or Beth-zur, on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, about five miles from the former and thirteen from the latter place. Here Judas met him, with an army of 10,000 men. After the Jewish chief had prayed earnestly for a blessing on his arms (*vv.* 30–33), the two hosts joined battle, and once more the Syro-Macedonians suffered a complete defeat. The slain are estimated at 5000, and the wounded must have been much more numerous. Lysias accepted the trial of arms as decisive, and returned to Antioch without

B. C. cir. 164.

28 The next year therefore following Lysias gathered together threescore thousand choice men *of foot*, and five thousand horsemen, that he might subdue them.

29 So they came into Idumea, and pitched their tents at Bethsura, and Judas met them with ten thousand men.

30 And when he saw that mighty army, he prayed and said, Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, [d] who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and gavest the host of [‖] strangers into the hands of [e] Jonathan the son of Saul, and his armourbearer;

B. C. cir. 164.

[d] 1 Sam. 17. 50, 51.

[‖] Or, *Philistines.*

[e] 1 Sam. 14. 13, 14.

31 Shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be confounded in their power and horsemen:

32 Make them to be of no courage, and cause the boldness of their strength to [‖] fall away, and let them quake at their destruction:

[‖] Gr. *melt*

33 Cast them down with the sword

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making any further effort. His only hope was in his power of collecting a still larger force, and making another expedition (*v.* 35).

28. *threescore thousand choice men.*] As large a force as he could easily raise, seeing that Antiochus had left him one-half only of the military strength of the empire (ch. iii. 34).

five thousand horsemen.] The proportion is unusually small. But it was difficult for cavalry to act in the hill-country of Judæa.

that he might subdue them.] Rather, "to the end that he might **utterly** subdue them." It is implied that Lysias thought the force which he had gathered together would be irresistible, and must shortly bring the rebellion to an end. As Judas was unable to muster more than 10,000 men against 65,000, the expectation was not unreasonable.

29. *So they came into Idumea.*] This was strategy of a new character. The Syro-Macedonians marched round their enemies' left flank, and effected a lodgment in their rear. The Idumæans, being hostile to the Jews at all times (Num. xx. 21; 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 16; 2 Kings viii. 20; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Ezek. xxv. 12; 2 Chron. xxviii. 17; &c.), would be sure to support the attack, and do their best to make it successful (ch. v. 3). If the attempt succeeded, the Jews would be caught in a trap from which there was no escape, and either slaughtered or made prisoners.

and pitched their tents at Bethsura.] Bethsura appears as Beth-zur, "the House of the Rock," in Josh. xv. 58, where its position is marked as in the mountains reckoned to Judah, between Halhul and Gedor. It was among the towns fortified by Rehoboam in expectation of the attack of Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 7); and was still regarded as belonging to Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 16). It had now passed, however, from the Jews into the hands of the Idumæans, and was a strong fortress on the border of the two countries. (See *v.* 61, and cf. ch. vi. 7, 26; ix. 52; xiv. 33; &c.) At a later date it was called Bethasora ('Itin. Hieros.' p. 599, 1), and is now known as Beit-Sur. The position is commanding, and is well supplied with water ('Quarterly Statement of Pal. Expl. Fund,' April 1875, p. 67).

with ten thousand men.] A larger force than he had ever gathered together before. It was natural that his successes should swell his army.

30. *O Saviour of Israel.*] The exact expression, "Saviour of Israel," is found only here and in Jer. xiv. 8. But expressions closely akin occur in Judg. iii. 9; 2 Kings xiii. 5; Is. xlix. 26, lx. 26, lxiii. 8, &c. The God of the Old Testament was well known as the Saviour of His people from the time of Moses downwards.

who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David.] The allusion is probably to David's victory over Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 38–51).

and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of Jonathan.] Rather, "the host of **the Philistines**." The occasion intended is that which nearly cost Jonathan his life, when he and his armour-bearer smote the Philistine camp in Michmash, and Jonathan unwittingly contravened the command of Saul, that none should eat food until the evening (1 Sam. xiv. 6–27).

31. *Shut up this army in the hand.*] Or, "deliver this army into the hand." See note on ch. iii. 18.

let them be confounded.] Literally, "let them be brought to shame."

in their power and horsemen.] "Power" (δύναμις) is used by the writer especially of foot-soldiers (see ch. xv. 41).

32. *Make them to be of no courage.*] Literally, "give them cowardice."

cause the boldness of their strength to fall

B. C. cir. 164. of them that love thee, and let all those that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.

34 So they joined battle; and there were slain of the host of Lysias about five thousand men, even before them were they slain.

35 Now when Lysias saw his army put to flight, and the manliness of Judas' soldiers, and how they were ready either to live or die valiantly, he went into Antiochia, and gathered together a company of strangers, and having made his army greater than it was, he purposed to come again into Judea. B. C. cir. 164.

36 Then said Judas and his brethren, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse and ‖dedicate the sanctuary. ‖ Or, *repair.*

away.] Rather, "**melt** the boldness of their strength," or "cause it to **melt** away."

33. *let all those that know thy name praise thee.*] *I.e.* "let us be victorious, and then we shall sing to thee a psalm of thanksgiving." (Cf. *v.* 24.)

35. *Lysias . . . gathered together a company of strangers.*] Rather, "proceeded to levy **mercenaries**." This is the constant meaning of ξενολογεῖν and its cognate terms in Polybius, Plutarch, Diodorus, and other late Greek writers. It even occurs in the same sense in Isocrates and Demosthenes. Lysias having found the full force of Syria, so far as he had control over it, insufficient, made up his mind to enrol an army of mercenary soldiers. Mr. Grote has some good remarks on the multiplication of such soldiers in Greece after the Peloponnesian War, and the mischievous consequences which followed from it ('History of Greece,' vol. viii. p. 35). The practice rather increased than diminished after the time of Alexander.

having made his army greater than it was.] This was his purpose. It does not appear that he effected it. Before the time came for renewing his attack, the news of Epiphanes' death reached him, and he became involved in a civil war, first against Philip, whom Epiphanes had made regent shortly before his death (ch. vi. 55–63), and then against Demetrius (ch. vii. 1–4).

§ 3. JUDAS RECOVERS THE TEMPLE, PURIFIES AND RE-DEDICATES IT, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE TEMPLE WORSHIP.

36–59. The repulse of Lysias at Bethzur changed the character of the struggle. Hitherto the patriots had stood almost entirely on the defensive, maintaining their independence by vast efforts, continually attacked, and contenting themselves with repulsing one attack after another. Now they felt that, for a time at any rate, they were safe from molestation, and might in their turn act on the offensive. The Syrian army was dispersed; they were masters of the whole open country; Syria could count as hers only the few strongholds in which she had left garrisons. Among these the most important—that to which the hearts and minds of all faithful Judæans turned—was Jerusalem. Though they might not be powerful enough at present to drive the Syrians out of the strong fortress which they had raised upon the western hill (ch. i. 33–36), it was quite possible that they might be able to recover and re-occupy the eastern or Temple eminence. The Temple worship was so much the centre and kernel of the Jewish religion, that naturally all hearts and minds were turned in this direction, and when Judas, interpreting the general feeling, exclaimed, "Our enemies are discomfited—let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary," there was a universal acquiescence. The Temple site was occupied, the defilements removed, the place renovated, and, while the foreign garrison was kept at bay (*v.* 41), the whole area was cleansed, and the place re-dedicated (*vv.* 54–56). In the enthusiasm of the moment it was decreed that the "Feast of the Dedication" should be henceforth held each year for seven days, beginning with the 25th of the month Casleu —the day of the resumption of the morning and evening sacrifice (*v.* 59).

36. *let us go up to cleanse . . . the sanctuary.*] See ch. i. 46. The sanctuary is said to have been polluted, not only by the idolatrous altar erected on the top of the altar of burnt offering (*ib. v.* 54), but also by introducing a herd of swine into the Holy Place and slaughtering them within its precincts (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 4; Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1). The entire sanctuary thus required cleansing.

and dedicate.] Zerubbabel had "dedicated" the house of God which he raised on the site of the Temple of Solomon after the return from the Captivity (Ezra vi. 16, 17), when the place had merely lain waste, without any positive desecration. Still more necessary was it, after such a pollution as that described in the preceding note, that the place should be purified and set apart for God afresh by a solemn act of re-dedication.

B. C. cir. 164.

37 Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into mount Sion.

38 And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down;

39 They rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads,

40 And fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven.

B. C. cir. 164.

41 Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against [f] those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary.

[f] ch. i. 34.

42 So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law:

43 Who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place.

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37. *into mount Sion.*] "Mount Sion" here, as generally in the Maccabees, means the eastern hill, on some part of which the Temple was built. The modern Sion is the south-western hill. It is argued by some of the best modern authorities that the Sion of David—the true Sion—was neither of these, but a separate hill, north of the modern Sion, and nearly due west of the Temple. (See Col. Warren's paper in the 'Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology' for 1881, pp. 311–315.)

38. *the gates burned up.*] The gates had been destroyed to lay the place open and prevent its being defensible. They seem to have been five in number. (See 2 Kings xi. 6, 19; 1 Chr. xxvi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 5, 20.)

shrubs . . . as in a forest.] Rather, "as in a **coppice**." But the expression is exaggerated, since the site had not lain waste so much as four years.

the priests' chambers pulled down.] The term used here, παστοφόρια, is a rare one. There was a class of priests in Egypt, called by the Greeks παστοφόροι, whose business it was to carry the images of gods enclosed in small shrines (Diod. Sic. i. 29; Clem. Al. p. 253). The chambers in the Egyptian temples occupied by these priests were called παστοφόρια or παστοφορεῖα. After the Jews began to have chambers for priests in their temple (Neh. xiii. 5, 7, 9; Esdr. viii. 59), the word was applied to them, not very appropriately.

39. *They rent their clothes, &c.*] Comp. ch. iii. 47. The mourning was not carried out to such lengths as the former one, since then there seemed small hope of undoing the accursed work of the heathen, whereas now that work was about to pass wholly away.

40. *fell down flat.* In a sort of ecstasy of horror—not to worship, but to humiliate themselves.

and blew an alarm with the trumpets.] Rather, "and **sounded with the signal trumpets**." The silver trumpets of the Levitical law (Num. x. 2–10) were to be used for signals of all kinds, and were therefore called by the LXX. σάλπιγγες τῶν σημασιῶν, "trumpets of signals," or "signal trumpets" (Num. xxxi. 6). The phrase took the place of the Hebrew *khatsôtsĕroth hat-tĕru'ah*, which, however, meant rather "trumpets of loud sound" than "trumpets of signal." The trumpets were used probably on this occasion to give the signal for a general prostration, to be followed by a "cry to heaven."

cried toward heaven.] See the comment on ch. iii. 50.

41. *to fight against those that were in the fortress.*] The stronghold, called ἄκρα by the author of this book, probably identical with the *akra* of Josephus, was still occupied by the Syrian garrison, which had seized and fortified it three years and a half before. (See ch. i. 33, 34.) Whether its position was due north of the Temple, as generally supposed, or due west, as Col. Warren argues, is perhaps doubtful.

until he had cleansed.] The object of Judas was not to take the fortress, but to occupy the attention of the garrison, and prevent them from making sallies to molest the workmen and others who were engaged in restoring and purifying the Temple. The fortress was not taken till twenty-three years later, under Simon. (See ch. xiii. 51.)

42. *priests of blameless conversation.*] Grimm suggests that the true meaning of ἀμώμους here is "free from legal defilement;" but the rendering of the A. V., which accords with the invariable use of the term in the New Testament (Eph. i. 4; v. 27; Col. i. 22; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 19; Jude 24; Rev. xiv. 5), is greatly preferable.

43. *an unclean place.*] Probably the valley of the Kidron, which was regarded as essentially impure. Here Asa had burnt the

B. C. cir. 164.

44 And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned;

45 They thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down,

46 And laid up the stones in the [f] mountain of the temple in a convenient place, [f] until there should come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.

B. C. cir. 164.

47 Then they took whole stones [h] according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former;

[h] Exod. 20. 25. Deut. 27. 5. Josh. 8. 31.

48 And made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts.

49 They made also new holy vessels, and into the temple they brought,

[f] ch. 9. 27. & 14. 41.

idol of his mother, Maachah (1 Kings xv. 13); here Hezekiah had deposited the pollutions of Ahaz, and Josiah, the remains of the grove, altars, and idolatrous vessels of Manasseh (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, 12; 2 Chr. xxix. 16); here, according to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' ix. 7, § 3), the wicked Athaliah had been executed. The "defiled stones" spoken of were probably those of which had been made the altar to Olympian Jove, built by the Syrians on the summit of the old altar of burnt-offerings. (See ch. i. 54, and note *ad loc.*)

44. *they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings.*] This was the structure raised up by Zerubbabel after the return from the Captivity, as related in Ezra iii. 2, 3. It had been laid "upon the bases" of Solomon's altar, which the exiles were able to trace out, and was thus a square structure of thirty feet each way (2 Chr. iv. 1). In material, however, it differed from Solomon's altar, being of stone (*v.* 46), whereas his was of bronze. We can well understand that there might be a difference of opinion as to what it was best to do with the altar, which some might think that the sacrifices of nearly 400 years had made indelibly holy, while others might feel that the recent pollution had incurably desecrated it. The result of the "consultation" was a compromise. The altar was "pulled down;" but the stones composing it were carefully "laid up" within the Temple precincts.

45. *They thought it best to pull it down.*] Rather, "**and the happy thought fell upon them to** pull it down." ("Es fiel ihnen bei ein guter Rath"—Grimm.)

lest it should be a reproach to them.] Here we have the paramount motive. Had they dwelt by themselves they might have determined otherwise; but living among the heathen, they had to consider, not so much what was abstractedly right as what was expedient under the circumstances. Retention of the altar would have laid them open to reproach. Its destruction was the strongest possible protest against idolatry.

46. *in the mountain of the temple.*] *I.e.* "in some part of the temple hill."

in a convenient place.] Tradition said that the "place" selected was a room belonging to the high priest at the north-western corner of the Temple ('Middoth,' Mishna, iv. 46).

until there should come a prophet.] Comp. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65; 1 Macc. xiv. 41. In the interval between the death of Malachi (ab. B.C. 400) and the coming of John the Baptist (ab. A.D. 27), the Jews were continually expecting a prophet to appear, with authority to settle all matters of religion on which there was any doubt. The general expectation was that Elijah would rise from the dead and "restore all things" (Matt. xvii. 11); but some expected Jeremiah (*ib.* xiv. 14); while others merely supposed that God would not—could not—long leave his "peculiar people" without an inspired guide to direct them. The expectation did not die away as time went on, but rather grew in force, and became a definite anticipation of the coming of "Messiah the Prince" before the Baptist came forth from his seclusion.

47. *they took whole stones according to the law.*] By "*whole* stones" are meant stones in their natural condition, untouched by the saw or the graving-tool, such as are commanded to be used in Ex. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5.

built a new altar.] Literally, "built the altar anew." Being on the same site, it was still regarded as the same altar.

48. *And made up the sanctuary.*] Rather, "**built** up." The walls had probably suffered wanton injury in places.

and the things that were within the temple.] Rather, "and the **inner parts of the temple**"—*i.e.* the walls and other partitions which divided the Temple into portions. These too had suffered damage, and required repairs.

and hallowed the courts.] *I.e.* removed all defilements from them, and perhaps purified them with "the water of separation" (Num. xix. 9–21), as Grimm supposes.

49. *new holy vessels.*] "Furniture" is intended, rather than "vessels." The original furniture of the Temple had consisted of

B. C. cir. 164. the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense, and the table.

50 And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple.

51 Furthermore they set the loaves upon the table, and ‖spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make.

‖ Or, *spread abroad the hangings, or, hanged up the veils.*

52 Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which *is called* the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, B. C. cir. 164.

53 And offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made.

54 Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.

55 Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.

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four objects:—1. The ark, with the cherubim and the mercy-seat; 2. The golden candlestick, or lamp-stand; 3. The table for the shewbread; and 4. The altar of incense. The ark and mercy-seat appear to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Esd. x. 22), and the second temple had not even any counterparts of them (Joseph. 'Bel. Jud.' v. 5, § 5; Tacit. 'Hist.' v. 9). Hence the pieces of furniture had been reduced to three. These, having been carried off by the Syro-Macedonians (ch. i. 21, 22), were now replaced by new constructions. According to the Talmud, the candlestick now made was not of gold, but of iron cased with wood (Derembourg, 'History of Palestine,' p. 54).

the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense.] This is the reading of the Aldine edition, and of several MSS. It is, however, manifestly erroneous. The "altar of burnt-offerings" could not be "brought into the Temple," since it was a solid stone structure built in the outer court (*v.* 47); nor could there have been any occasion to mention it a second time. Most manuscripts, including the Codex Alexandrinus, read τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῶν θυμιαμάτων, "the altar of incense," omitting the words ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καί. On the "altar of incense," or the "golden altar," see note on ch. i. 21.

50. *they burned incense, and the lamps . . . they lighted.*] Compare Ex. xl. 25, 27. They resumed each of the practices disused during the time of desolation.

51. *they set the loaves upon the table.*] The twelve loaves of the shewbread, which were the continued thank-offering of the twelve tribes of Israel. (Comp. Ex. xxv. 30; xl. 23; Lev. xxiv. 5–9.)

spread out the veils.] By "the veils" we must understand:—1. The veil proper, which separated between the "Holy Place" and the "Holy of Holies;" and 2. The "hanging" at the door of the "Holy Place," which divided it from the porch (Ex. xxvi. 36; xxxvi. 37).

52. *on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month.*] Exactly three years from the date of the first sacrifice on the idol-altar set up by the Syro-Macedonians. (See ch. i. 54, 59; and comp. 2 Macc. x. 5.)

they rose up betimes.] They were impatient of delay—eager to witness the rekindling of the flame upon the altar, which was the symbol of the national life, and the renewal of the daily sacrifice, which was the sign of the nation's self-dedication to God. According to the writer of the Second Book, the sacrificial fire was obtained by striking two stones together for the purpose (2 Macc. x. 3). Light so obtained was reckoned holy, as coming straight from nature, *i.e.* from God.

53. *offered sacrifice according to the law.*] *I.e.* "offered the morning sacrifice, a lamb of the first year, with its appointed meat-offering and drink-offering." (See Ex. xxix. 38–40.)

54. *Look, at what time, &c.*] There is no "Look" in the original. The fact is simply narrated, that the dedication took place at the same time, or rather "season"—*i.e.* in the month Chisleu—and on the same day as the profanation. Judas, no doubt, arranged that so it should be.

with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.] *I.e.* with the recognised musical service of the sanctuary, where the psalmody was usually accompanied by the harp, the cymbal, and the cithern or psaltery. (See 1 Chr. xxv. 6; 2 Chr. v. 12.) The cithern is the German *zither*, a sort of guitar or viol. (Comp. ch. xiii. 51.)

55. *all the people fell upon their faces.*] *I.e.* prostrated themselves in adoration.

praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.] Rather, "**praising up to heaven**" (*i.e.* lauding to the skies) "him

B.C. cir. 164.

56 And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of [1]deliverance and praise.

[1] Or, *peace offerings.*

57 They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they [1]renewed, and [2]hanged doors upon them.

[1] Or, *dedicated.*
[2] Or, *made doors for them.*

58 Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away.

59 Moreover Judas and his brethren with the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness.

B.C. cir. 164.

60 At that time also they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down, [z]as they had done before.

[z] ch. 1. 31.

61 And they set there a garrison to keep it, and fortified Bethsura to

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who had given them good success." With his usual reticence, the writer keeps back the *name* of God, while making his reference to Him sufficiently apparent.

56. *they kept the dedication of the altar eight days.*] The word translated "dedication" is ἐγκαινισμός, which serves to connect this occasion with the permanent ἐγκαίνια, or "Feast of the Dedication" of the New Testament (John x. 22). It was this occasion which that feast of the mid-winter commemorated. As Solomon's dedication feast had lasted "eight days" (1 Kings viii. 63–66), so Judas fixed the same term for the duration of his.

and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.] Rather, "and sacrificed **a sacrifice of peace-offerings and thanksgiving.**" Comp. Lev. vii. 11, 12, where the LXX. use the same expression—θυσία σωτηρίου and αἰνέσεως.

57. *They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold.*] There was no direct precedent for this in Jewish practice. It was rather analogous to the heathen ornamentation of temples and public buildings with garlands and festoons at times of public rejoicing.

with shields.] Literally, "small shields"—in imitation, probably, of the golden shields of Solomon (1 Kings x. 17), which Shishak carried off (*ib.* xiv. 26). Philo tells us that in Alexandria the Jewish synagogues were adorned with shields ('Leg. ad Caium,' p. 994).

the gates and the chambers they renewed.] Rather, "they **consecrated.**" On the "chambers," see the comment on *v.* 38.

59. *Judas . . . ordained, that the days . . . should be kept.*] The festival of the ἐγκαίνια maintained its place to the last days of Jewish national existence. It was celebrated nearly in the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with festal processions, in which branches of trees, especially of the palm, green even in mid-winter, were borne, and psalms were sung, by the worshippers (2 Macc. x. 6, 7). Josephus says that in his time its common name was "the Feast of Lights" (τὰ Φῶτα); and at a later period there was certainly a custom of illuminating private houses with lamps or candles during its continuance. It is conjectured that the great golden candelabra in the court of the Temple, which were lighted on the first night of the Feast of Tabernacles, were also lighted on the first night of this feast (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 312); but there is no historical evidence of this practice.

§ 4. DEFENSIVE MEASURES OF JUDAS—THE TEMPLE HILL, AND THE CITY OF BETHZUR FORTIFIED.

60. *they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about.*] As the Acra, and indeed the whole of Jerusalem except the Temple hill, remained in the hands of the Syrians, who maintained a strong garrison in the place, Judas felt it to be necessary now, for the first time in Jewish history, to fortify with walls and towers the entire Temple circuit. Hitherto, only the eastern side, which coincided with the outer circuit of the city, had been thus guarded from attack. From this time till B.C. 142 the two Jerusalems stood one over against the other, watchful and hostile, like the Latin and the Sabine Romes on the Quirinal and the Palatine.

tread it down.] *I.e.* "**ruin it**"—"destroy it." Comp. ch. iii. 45.

61. *fortified Bethsura.*] A wise measure. The possession of a strong place in the hill-country south of Jerusalem was of the greatest importance, more especially as the Idumæans were hostile (ch. v. 1–3), and

B. C. cir. 164. preserve it; that the people might have a defence against Idumea.

CHAPTER V.

3 *Judas smiteth the children of Esau, Bean, and Ammon.* 17 *Simon is sent into Galilee.* 25 *The exploits of Judas in Galaad.* 51 *He destroyeth Ephron, for denying him to pass through it.* 56 *Divers, that in Judas' absence would fight with their enemies, are slain.*

cir. 163. NOW when the nations round about heard that the altar was built, and the sanctuary renewed as before, it displeased them very much.

2 Wherefore they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them, and thereupon they began to slay and destroy the people. B. C. cir. 163.

3 Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at ‖Arabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he gave them a great overthrow, and abated their courage, and took their spoils. ‖ Or, *Arabatthane, or, Arabattan, or, Akrabattine.*

4 Also he remembered the ‖injury of the children of ‖Bean, who had been a snare and an offence unto the people, in that they lay in wait for them in the ways. ‖ Or, *malice.* ‖ Or, *Hakan,* Gen. 36. 27. Numb. 33. 31, 32.

5 He shut them up therefore in the towers, and encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly,

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might attack the patriots upon the south, while they were engaged against the Syrians on the north.

to preserve it.] These words seem superfluous. They are omitted in some of the best MSS., and in the Syriac Version. Probably their original intrusion was an error of repetition by a scribe. If we retain them, we must understand that Bethsura was occupied in order that from it a watch might be kept on the Temple fortress.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. OFFENSIVE MEASURES OF JUDAS AGAINST IDUMÆA, THE CHILDREN OF BEAN, AND AMMON.

1–8. Having recovered the Temple site, restored the edifice, and strongly fortified the entire hill, Judas felt himself strong enough to resume his offensive operations, and chastise the tribes in his immediate neighbourhood which had recently lent their aid to the Syrians. Of these the most important were the Idumæans or Edomites, "the children of Bean," and the Ammonites. The year B.C. 163 seems to have been employed in three campaigns against these three enemies.

1. *it displeased them very much.*] Rather, "**They were greatly enraged.**" The spiritual worship in the Temple at Jerusalem was a perpetual protest against the licentious idolatries of the neighbouring tribes, and was therefore the object of their constant hatred. They had imagined for three years that it was swept away for ever. Naturally, its re-establishment called forth their anger.

2. *Wherefore they thought to destroy, &c.*] A deliberate design to exterminate all Israelites, within their borders, seems to be charged upon them. Whether there was really such an intention, may perhaps be doubted.

the generation of Jacob that was among them.] *I.e.* "the Israelites who dwelt in their midst." It must be borne in mind, that, amid the general confusion, the tribes mentioned had probably encroached upon Israelite territory.

they began to slay and destroy the people.] Rather, "**among** the people." They vented their vexation at what had occurred by putting certain Israelites to death.

3. *at Arabattine.*] Rather, "Acrabattine." The place is reasonably identified with the "Akrabbim" of the Canonical Books (Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Judg. i. 36), which lay south or south-west of the Dead Sea, in the Idumæan territory.

they besieged Israel.] Rather, "**blocked Israel in**"—*i.e.* cramped her, confined her, were a continual menace to her borders. See note on ch. iv. 29.

4. *the injury of the children of Bean.*] Rather, "the **malice**," or "**wickedness.**" It is not any single act, but a continuous state of hostility, that is pointed at. The "Beni Bean" are not elsewhere mentioned under this name; but perhaps they are identical with the Mehunim or Maonites (מְעוֹן or מְעוֹנִים) of the Canonical Books, since ב and מ are constantly confused. The Maonites are mentioned as enemies of Israel in Judg. x. 12; 2 Chr. xxvi. 7; and (perhaps) in 2 Chr. xx. 1.

5. *He shut them up in the towers.*] *I.e.* "in *their* towers"—in the strongholds from which they were wont to issue on their raids.

destroyed them utterly.] Literally, "devoted them," but in the sense of "devoting to destruction," which is a common meaning of ἀναθεματίζω in the Septuagint version, where it replaces the Hebrew *hakhărêm.*

B. C. cir. 163. and burned the towers of that *place* with fire, and all that were therein.

6 Afterward he passed over to the children of Ammon, where he found a mighty power, and much people, with Timotheus their captain.

7 So he fought many battles with them, till at length they were discomfited before him; and he smote them. B. C. cir. 163.

8 And when he had taken Jazar, with the towns belonging thereto, he returned into Judea.

burned the towers of that place.] As no "place" has been mentioned, it seems impossible that the reading can be sound. Αὐτῶν, instead of αὐτῆς, is what we should have expected; but it seems unlikely that any copyist would have blundered in that case. Perhaps a city was mentioned, the name of which has been corrupted into αὐτῆς.

6. *he passed over to the children of Ammon.*] *I.e.* he crossed the Jordan, and proceeded to attack the Ammonites, who held the country east and north-east of the Dead Sea, between the Arnon and the Jabbok. The Ammonites, like the Edomites, had always been enemies of Israel, though not very formidable enemies. They joined with Moab in the attempt to induce Balaam to curse Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4); they invaded the Israelite territory in the time of Jephthah (Jud. xi. 4, 12), and again in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 1–3). They brought about the great confederacy against David, which was crushed by Joab (2 Sam. x. 6–19). In conjunction with the Moabites and Edomites, they made an unprovoked attack upon Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 1–3); they frequently invaded the Transjordanic region under Uzziah (Am. i. 13); they had wars with Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 5). When Nebuchadnezzar was threatening Jerusalem with destruction, they joined his forces (2 Kings xxiv. 2). When Nehemiah received his commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, the Ammonite, Tobiah, was among the most violent of his opponents (Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 3, 7; vi. 1, 12, 17–19).

much people.] Justin Martyr says ('Dialog. c. Tryphon.' p. 347, c.) that the Ammonites were even in his day a numerous people (πολὺ πλῆθος). Josephus calls the force which they now brought into the field "multitudinous" (πολυάνθρωπος). We have no exact estimate of the population; but the country is rich and capable of supporting large numbers (see Tristram, 'Land of Israel,' p. 541 *et seqq.*).

Timotheus their captain.] This Greek name is a novel feature in Ammonite history. We must suppose Timotheus to have been either a Syro-Macedonian official, exercising an authority under the Syrian crown, to which the Ammonites were subject, or a soldier of fortune whom the Ammonites had invited to take the command of their troops. It is possible, no doubt, but scarcely probable that he was a genuine Ammonite with a Greek name (Grimm).

7. *till at length they were discomfited.*] Rather, "**and they were discomfited in each.**" The triple use of the aorist implies that, as often as he engaged them, so often were they discomfited and smitten.

8. *when he had taken Jazar.*] Jazar, Jazer, or Ja'azer, was a town of the Trans-Jordanic region, in the district assigned to Gad (Josh. xiii. 25). It was taken by Moses from the Amorites in the war with Sihon (Num. xxi. 32), and destroyed, but afterwards rebuilt by the Gadites (*ib.* xxxii. 35). The country around was "a land for cattle," very rich and fertile (*ib.* xxxii. 1), and suited for the cultivation of the vine (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). Jazar became a Levitical city, when the Levites received their inheritance (Josh. xxi. 39). It is usually mentioned in conjunction with Heshbon, from which it was about 14 miles distant (Hieronym. 'Onomast.'). The site is scarcely sufficiently identified at present, but is thought to be at *Szîr* or *Seir*, near the source of the Wady Seir, which flows into the Jordan. *Szîr* is about 12 miles nearly due north of Heshbon, and 9 west by south of Rabbath-Ammon.

with the towns belonging thereto.] Literally, "with her daughters." The expression is common in the Hebrew Scriptures (Num. xxi. 25, 32; Josh. xv. 45, 47; Judg. xi. 26; 1 Chr. xviii. 1; Neh. xi. 25-31; &c.); but the Greek translators do not often render it literally. The Complutensian Codex has it, however, several times in Neh. xi. It is exactly analogous to the very widely used expression—"mother city." The "towns," or "villages," dependent on Jazar seem to have been of unusual importance. (See Num. xxxii. 35.)

§ 2. RETALIATORY MOVEMENTS ON THE PART OF THE HEATHEN—1. IN GILEAD; 2. IN GALILEE.

9–15. Judas, after his three successful attacks upon his neighbours, had "returned into Judea" (*v.* 8), and dismissed his army, which scattered itself over the territory (*v.* 16), expecting to enjoy a period of repose. Of this state of things, the enemies of the Jews at once proceeded to take advantage

B. C. cir. 163. 9 Then the heathen that were at Galaad assembled themselves together against the Israelites that were in their quarters, to destroy them; but they fled to the fortress of Dathema,

10 And sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, The heathen that are round about us are assembled together against us to destroy us:

11 And they are preparing to come and take the fortress whereunto we are fled, Timotheus being captain of their host.

12 Come now therefore, and deliver us from their hands, for many of us are slain: B. C. cir. 163.

13 Yea, all our brethren that were in the places of ‖Tobie are put to death: their wives and their children also they have carried away captives, and borne away their stuff; and they have destroyed there about a thousand men. ‖ Or, *Tubin.*

14 While these letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, who reported on this wise,

15 And said, They of Ptolemais, and of Tyrus, and Sidon, and all

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1. In Gilead. Timotheus having rallied his troops, crossed the Jabbok, and invaded Gilead, where many Jews who had taken no part in the Maccabean insurrection were quietly residing. Falling upon them unawares, he slew some, and drove the others to take refuge in their strongholds, such as Bozrah, Bosor, Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Ashtoreth-Carnaim (*v.* 26). 2. In Galilee. Here the Judæans were attacked by the Gentiles who were mixed up with them, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemaïs, or Acre. The object was to crush the scattered members of the Judæan race, who, if let alone, might be expected ultimately to join the patriots.

9. *the heathen that were at Galaad.*] Rather, "in Gilead." Gilead is a district, not a city. It is the region north of Moab and Ammon, on the east side of the Jordan, between the Jabbok and the Hieromax. It is "a rich pasture land, with shady forests, and copious streams" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 699)—one of the most fertile portions of Palestine.

that were in their quarters.] There are two readings, ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις, and ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις. The former is with reason preferred by our translators, since the Israelites attacked were evidently scattered over the whole country, and not merely "upon its borders."

they fled to the fortress of Dathema.] The readings vary between Δάθεμα, Δάμεθα, and Διάθεμα. Some have supposed Ramoth-Gilead to be meant, since the Syriac has "Ramtha;" but this is very uncertain. We must regard Dathema as a site still not identified.

13. *in the places of Tobie.*] The Syriac has "Tubin," and so the Vulgate. The MSS. vary between Τωβίον and Τουβίον. It is conjectured with reason that "the land of Tôb," which adjoined on Gilead (Judg. xi. 3), is intended; and that to the same place belonged the "Jews called Tubieni" of 2 Macc. xii. 17. If the same place is alluded to in the "Ish-Tob" ("men of Tob") mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 6, we may regard the name as attaching to the region called afterwards Golan or Gaulonitis.

about a thousand men.] Literally, "about a chiliarchy of men;" but the word χιλιαρχία seems to be used here as a mere synonym for χίλιοι. It is, as Grimm says, "rein numerisch."

15. *They of Ptolemaïs.*] When Palestine, at the death of Alexander, was assigned to Ptolemy Lagi, together with Egypt, Accho, its best port, received the name of Ptolemaïs, which it retained until the time of Herod the Great, when the name was lost in that of his new city, Cæsarea. The site, at the northern extremity of a wide bay, and in the centre of a considerable plain, commanding moreover the coast road, together with that which led inland into the great plain of Palestine—that of Esdraelon—was very important, and naturally led to Accho becoming, after the downfall of Tyre, the chief seaport of Phœnicia, and indeed of Syria generally. Its position in the present list shews its superiority over Tyre and Sidon, while the position assigned it in the later history (ch. v. 55; x. 1, 58; xii. 48; xiii. 12; 2 Macc. xiii. 24, 25) sufficiently indicates the value which was set on it by all parties. The place has now recovered its old name, and is known as "Acre" to Europeans, as "Akka" to its inhabitants.

of Tyrus.] Tyre, though almost entirely destroyed by Alexander (Q. Curt., 'Hist. Alex.' iv. 4), very quickly rose from her ashes, and recovered a certain amount of prosperity. She played, however, a very secondary part in the history of the Maccabee period.

and Sidon.] Sidon was a flourishing com-

B. C. cir. 163. Galilee of the Gentiles, are assembled together against us to consume us.

16 Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled a great congregation together, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in trouble, and assaulted of them.

17 Then said Judas unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, for I and Jonathan my brother will go into the country of Galaad. B. C. cir. 163.

18 So he left Joseph the *son* of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the people, with the remnant of the host in Judea to keep it.

19 Unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and see that ye make not war against the heathen until the time that we come again.

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mercial town during the Maccabee and Roman periods, but had little military importance, and is seldom mentioned by the historians.

Galilee of the Gentiles.] Comp. Is. ix. 1, where a similar expression is used. Israelites and Gentiles seem to have been always mixed together in Galilee, where "the people dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians" (Judg. xviii. 7). The near neighbourhood of Phœnicia and Syria tended to produce a mixed population. Tiglath-pileser carried off great numbers of the Israelites in the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings xv. 29), and the later Assyrians replaced them by a foreign population. It is more surprising that the Jews, after their return from the Captivity, obtained a certain hold on the remote Galilee, while the nearer Samaria remained separate and hostile, than that the Gentile inhabitants continued numerous.

§ 3. JUDAS DIVIDES HIS FORCES, AND, LEAVING SOME TO DEFEND JUDÆA, SENDS HIS BROTHER SIMON TO HELP THE GALILEANS, WHILE HE HIMSELF GOES TO ASSIST THE JEWS IN GILEAD.

16–54. Judas now for the first time felt himself strong enough to divide his forces. Leaving two captains, Joseph and Azarias, in Judæa, with strict orders to remain on the defensive, he sent his brother Simon, with 3000 men, to the assistance of the Galilean Jews, while he himself, with 8000 men, marched into Gilead (*vv.* 16–20). Simon's campaign is not related at any length. He gained several victories, chased the enemy to the gates of Ptolemaïs, and took advantage of his successes to remove the Galilean Jews into Judæa (*vv.* 21–23). The campaign of Judas is given in greater detail. Assisted by an Arab tribe (*v.* 25), he relieved the towns into which the Jews had been driven, one after another; defeated Timotheus himself before Dathema, and again near Raphon (*vv.* 37–43); took Ashtoreth-Carnaim (*v.* 44) and Ephron (*vv.* 46–51); and returned into Judæa with much spoil, and accompanied by the Jews of Gilead, whom he proposed to settle in Judæa (*v.* 45). The return was celebrated by a thanksgiving festival at Jerusalem (*v.* 54).

16. *there assembled a great congregation together.*] The word translated "congregation" is ἐκκλησία, which in Greek political science means "an assembly of the people for legislative or deliberative purposes." We must conclude that Judas did not rule autocratically, but called "assemblies" from time to time, to deliberate and determine what should be done. A larger body than the Sanhedrim is certainly intended.

assaulted of them.] *I.e.* "attacked by the heathen." (See *v.* 15.)

17. *Then said Judas unto Simon his brother.*] Simon had been nominated by Mattathias to the second position among the five brethren (ch. ii. 65, 66), but as counsellor rather than as general. Still, Judas thought it befitting, as soon as the command was to be divided, that Simon should occupy the post next in importance to his own.

Choose thee out men.] As Simon was to have the smaller force (*v.* 20), he was allowed to select the troops which he thought the best.

I and Jonathan.] The selection of Jonathan by Judas as joint-commander with himself shews the confidence felt in his military ability. Hence, on the death of Judas, Jonathan was appointed to succeed him (ch. ix. 28–30).

18. *he left Joseph . . . and Azarias, captains of the people.*] Rather, "he left Joseph and Azarias to be **rulers** of the people," *i.e.* to have the chief authority. They would, of course, combine the chief military with the chief civil power. Hence, in *v.* 56, they are called "captains of the host" (ἄρχοντες τῆς δυνάμεως). Neither Joseph nor Azarias obtain mention elsewhere than in this chapter.

to keep it.] Or, "to guard it."

19. *see that ye make not war against the*

B. C. cir. 163.

20 Now unto Simon were given three thousand men to go into Galilee, and unto Judas eight thousand men for the country of Galaad.

21 Then went Simon into Galilee, where he fought many battles with the heathen, so that the heathen were discomfited by him.

22 And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemais; and there were slain of the heathen about three thousand men, whose spoils he took.

‖ Or, *captive Jews.*

23 And ‖those that were in Galilee, and in Arbattis, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, took he away *with him*, and brought them into Judea with great joy. B. C. cir. 163.

24 Judas Maccabeus also and his brethen Jonathan went over Jordan, and travelled three days' journey in the wilderness,

25 Where they met with the Nabathites, who came unto them in a peaceable manner, and told them every thing that had happened to their brethren in the land of Galaad:

‖ Or, *Bosorra.*

26 And how that many of them were shut up in ‖Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, ‖Casphor, Maked, and

‖ Or, *Chascor*, or, *Casphon*, as ver. 36.

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heathen.] For their transgression of this command, see *vv.* 55–62.

20. *three thousand . . . eight thousand.*] The continually increasing strength of the patriots is here seen. At Emmaus the fighting men were but 3000 (ch. iv. 6); at Bethsura they were 10,000 (*ib. v.* 29); they must now have considerably exceeded 13,000. (Compare *v.* 60.)

21. *the heathen were discomfited by him.*] Literally, "before his face"—a common Hebraism.

22. *the gate of Ptolemaïs.*] Ptolemaïs had, no doubt, more than one gate. "*The* gate" here is that to which the enemy fled, probably the eastern gate. There is no sufficient reason for adopting the reading of a few MSS., τῶν πόλεων, instead of τῆς πύλης.

23. *in Arbattis.*] Rather, "in **Arbatta**" (ἐν Ἀρβάττοις). The readings vary greatly, including Ἀρβάκτοις (Cod. Alex.), Ἀρβατόνοις and Ἀδραβύττοις. It has been suggested that the region intended is probably that called Acrabatiné by Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 3, § 4, &c.), which lay between Neapolis and Jericho ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 101); but this is much too far to the south. "Arbatta" must have adjoined on Galilee. Ewald's conjecture that it was the low land through which the Jordan flows into the Sea of Tiberias ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314, note, E. T.) is not improbable.

25. *they met with the Nabathites.*] Rather, "the **Nabatæans**" (τοῖς Ναβαταίοις). The Nabatæans, or Nabathæans, are a well-known Semitic tribe; whether Syrians or Arabians is disputed. Alexander Polyhistor mentions them as included among the desert tribes conquered by David (Fr. 18); but they first shew themselves in contemporary history when they are reduced to subjection by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 430). About 40 years later they appear as independent, and assist an Arabian monarch in his war with Sennacherib's grandson, Asshur-bani-pal (Smith, 'Annals of Asshur-bani-pal,' pp. 264–295). Diodorus tells us that they were attacked by Antigonus, about B.C. 311, and again a few years later, but defended themselves successfully (Diod. Sic. xix. 44–48). At that time, and later also, their head-quarters were the neighbourhood of Petra. Judas appears to have fallen in with them in Gilead, which may be accounted for by their nomadic habits. The whole of Northern Arabia seems to have been at all times traversed by their swarms, which passed from the Lower Euphrates to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea without fear of meeting a superior. The readiness of the Nabathæans to assist the Israelites (compare ch. ix. 35) may have arisen mainly from the hope of plunder; but it may have rested in part on the tradition of relationship, since the supposed progenitor of the Nabathæans was Nebaioth, the eldest of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13).

26. *Bosora and Bosor.*] These are evidently two different places. Bosora is reasonably identified with the Hebrew Bozrah (Is. lxiii. 1), the modern *El-Bushireh.* Bosor is perhaps the Bezor of Josh. xx. 8, which was a Levitical city on the east side of Jordan in the *Mishor* or down country.

Alema.] "Alema" is conjectured to be the Beer-*Elim* of Is. xv. 8—"the fount of the terebinth-trees." Of its position nothing is known.

Casphor.] Josephus has "Casphôma;" the Vulgate, "Casbon;" several MSS., "Chascor." In *v.* 36 of the present chapter, the name is given as Casphon, which is a possible representation of the Hebrew "Heshbon." The site cannot be fixed, unless Heshbon is intended.

B. C. cir. 163. Carnaim; all these cities are strong and great:

27 And that they were shut up in the rest of the cities of the country of Galaad, and that against to morrow ‖they had appointed to bring their host against the forts, and to take them, and to destroy them all in one day.

28 Hereupon Judas and his host turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto ‖Bosora; and when he had won the city, he slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and took all their spoils, and burned the city with fire. B. C. cir. 163.

29 From whence he removed by night, and went till he came to the fortress.

30 And betimes in the morning they ‖looked up, and, behold, there was an innumerable people bearing ladders and other engines of war, to take the fortress: for ‖they assaulted them.

31 When Judas therefore saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets, and a great sound,

‖Or, *the heathen.*

‖Or, *Bosor.*

‖Gr. *lift up their eyes.*

‖Or, *the heathen assaulted the Jews.*

Maked.] For "Maked" we have "Maged" in *v.* 36; but the MSS. have Μακέδ in both places. The town is wholly unknown.

Carnaim.] This is probably the place called Ashtoreth-Karnaim ("Venus of the Two Horns") in Genesis xiv. 5. It must have been an old Phœnician, or, at any rate, Syrian settlement, dedicated to the "Dea Syra," who was called Ashtoreth (Astarté, Ishtar) by some of the Semitic races, Atargatis or Derketo by others. The epithet "Karnaim" probably refers to the mode in which the goddess was represented in her temple at the place in question (*v.* 44), the crescent moon being placed on her head, and thus giving it the appearance of being "horned." The site is uncertain, but may perhaps be identified with the *El-Kurnein* of Robinson ('Researches in Palestine,' vol. iii. App. ii. p. 168).

27. *against the forts.*] The "forts" are evidently the towns previously mentioned—viz. Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Casphor, Maked, Carnaim (*v.* 26), and Dathema (*v.* 9). The design "to destroy them all in one day" was probably connected with the notion of a surprise.

28. *unto Bosord.*] The MSS. vary between "Bosor," "Bosorra," and "Bossora." The "Bosora" of *v.* 26 is probably intended, since "Bosor" is mentioned as captured in *v.* 36.

he slew all the males.] We must understand all those who were not Jews. The cities of Gilead appear to have had at this time a mixed population—in part, Jewish, in part heathen. (See also *v.* 35.) The Jews were threatened by an armed force outside the cities, and also by the heathen population within them. Judas, after all his successes, felt it safest to withdraw the Jews from Gilead into Judæa (*v.* 45).

29. *and went till he came to the fortress.*] "The fortress" is clearly Dathema, which Judas was about to relieve, when the information of the Nabathæans induced him to turn aside from his route, and make an attack on Bosora (*vv.* 25–28). It appears to have been within a night's march of Bosora.

30. *And betimes in the morning they looked up, &c.*] Literally, "And it was dawn, and they lifted up their eyes, and beheld much people, which could not be numbered."

bearing ladders.] *I.e.* scaling-ladders. Their use appears in the Assyrian sculptures from the time of Asshur-nazir-pal (B.C. 880), and in those of Egypt from the earlier portion of the nineteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1400. They are not mentioned in the Canonical Scriptures; but the Greeks employed them in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 20), and the Romans in the Second Punic War (Liv. xxvi. 45).

other engines of war.] There is no "other" in the original, since "ladders" scarcely come under the denomination of "warlike *engines*." The machines intended are probably the battering-ram, the catapult, and the *ballista*, all of which were well known to the Greeks long before the time of Alexander, and were commonly used in sieges. The Assyrians and Babylonians employed them in all their great wars. The Egyptian "engines" were simpler and less effective.

for they assaulted them.] Rather, "**were assaulting** them"—were beginning the attack, not aware of the near vicinity of Judas. Compare *v.* 27.

31. *with trumpets.*] The heathen had trumpets no less than the Israelites. We see them represented in the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures (Rosellini, 'Mon. Storici,' pl. xliv. 3; Layard, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' 2nd Series, pl. 15); and we hear of them as in use among the Greeks and Romans from a

B. C. cir. 163.

32 He said unto his host, Fight this day for your brethren.

33 So he went forth behind them in three companies, who sounded their trumpets, and cried with prayer.

34 Then the host of Timotheus, knowing that it was Maccabeus, fled from him: wherefore he smote them with a great slaughter; so that there were killed of them that day about eight thousand men.

35 This done, Judas turned aside to Maspha; and after he had assaulted it, he took it, and slew all the males therein, and received the spoils thereof, and burnt it with fire.

[a] See ver. 26.

36 From thence went he, and took [a]Casphon, Maged, Bosor, and the other cities of the country of Galaad.

37 After these things gathered Timotheus another host, and encamped against Raphon beyond the brook. B. C. cir. 163.

38 So Judas sent *men* to espy the host, who brought him word, saying, All the heathen that be round about us are assembled unto them, even a very great host.

39 He hath also hired the Arabians to help them, and they have pitched their tents beyond the brook, ready to come and fight against thee. Upon this Judas went to meet them.

40 Then Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, When Judas and his host come near the brook, if he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will mightily prevail against us:

41 But if he be afraid, and camp beyond the river, we shall go over unto him, and prevail against him.

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very early date. Their most common employment was in war, either for giving signals or for cheering men on to the attack. (See Hom. 'Il.' xviii. 219, xxi. 388; Dionys. Hal. iv. 17, &c.)

33. *he went forth behind them.*] Rather, "**after them**"—*i.e.* in pursuit of the assailants, following upon their footsteps.

in three companies.] After the example of Gideon (Judg. vii. 16).

35. *Maspha.*] "Maspha" is probably "Mizpeh of Gilead" (Judg. xi. 29), the city of Jephthah the Gileadite (*ib.* 34). It is curious that Josephus should give the name as Mallé, an utterly unknown place ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 8, § 3). Mizpeh of Gilead is still an undiscovered site.

he slew all the males.] See note on *v.* 28.

36. *Casphon.*] Called "Casphor" in *v.* 26—perhaps Heshbon.

Maged.] No doubt the "Maked" of *v.* 26—an unknown, and apparently an unimportant place, the capture of which is not mentioned by Josephus.

Bosor.] See the first note on *v.* 26.

37. *Raphon.*] Pliny mentions a "Raphana" as one of the ten cities included in the "Decapolis" of his day, which lay south of the Sea of Galilee, and east of the Jordan. The site has still to be discovered.

beyond the brook.] Literally, "the ravine" or "water-course." The streams of Gilead are for the most part perennial (Tristram, 'Bible Places,' p. 322); but this one, near Raphon, is characterised as a χειμάῤῥους, or stream running only in the winter. Ewald supposes that at the time it not only carried water, but was "a good deal swollen" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314); but there is no statement to this effect, either in the First Book of the Maccabees or in Josephus.

39. *He hath also hired the Arabians to help them.*] Arab tribes will join any standard under which they have a good hope of success, and of the booty that follows success. They are quite willing to be subsidized. Arabians had joined with Ammonites in opposing the efforts of Nehemiah to raise Jerusalem from a humble to a high position (Neh. iv. 7). They now once more took service under an Ammonite leader (*v.* 6) with the same object.

Upon this Judas went to meet them.] Upon the report of his spies, Judas broke up his quarters, and marched at once to meet the new danger. It is characteristic of him to take the initiative.

40, 41. *Then Timotheus said, &c.*] Timotheus regarded it as a dangerous thing to fight a battle with such an obstacle as the watercourse immediately in one's rear. He was therefore disinclined to pass over it himself, and determined to leave it to Judas to cross or not, as he pleased. He felt, however, that, if Judas crossed, the act was one of such boldness as to foreshadow victory; while, if he shrank from so doing, his timidity would give courage to the other side, who

B. C. cir. 163.

42 Now when Judas came near the brook, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook: unto whom he gave commandment, saying, Suffer no man to remain in the camp, but let all come to the battle.

43 So he went first over unto them, and all the people after him; then all the heathen, being discomfited before him, cast away their weapons, and fled unto the temple that was at Carnaim.

‖ *Judas and his company.*

44 But ‖they took the city, and burned the temple with all that were therein. Thus was Carnaim subdued, neither could they stand any longer before Judas.

B. C. cir. 163.

45 Then Judas gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Galaad, from the least unto the greatest, even their wives, and their children, and their stuff, a very great host, to the end they might come into the land of Judea.

46 Now when they came unto Ephron, (this was a great city in the way as they should go, very well

might then proceed to the attack with confidence, as against an enemy who distrusted his own strength, and would probably offer no very stout resistance. No doubt he hoped that Judas would adopt the more timid course.

42. *the scribes of the people.*] Ewald regards these "scribes" as identical with the "officers" of Deut. xx. 5–9, who (he says) "kept the lists of the troops, assigned the place of encampment, and looked after the order of the march" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 314, note). Grimm notes that there were persons exercising, apparently, the same office in the later times of the monarchy (see 2 Chron. xxvi. 11). The Maccabean leaders had fallen back upon the military system of ancient times.

Suffer no man to remain in the camp.] Rather, "Suffer no man to **encamp**;" *i.e.* do not allow any tents to be pitched on the near side of the stream, make the whole host pass over. Judas had need of his entire force against the vast numbers of the enemy (see *v.* 38).

43. *the heathen . . . cast away their weapons.*] Rather, "their **arms**." The shield, as the greatest encumbrance, was usually cast away first of all (comp. Hor. 'Od.' ii. 7, l. 10: "Relicta non bene parmula").

and fled unto the temple that was at Carnaim.] Rather, "the **sacred precinct** that was at Carnaim." Temples were surrounded with walled inclosures, which were sometimes of sufficient size to allow of a large force encamping in them. The flight may have been directed to this place on some idea that it was sacred, and so inviolable, for the right of asylum was widely recognised in ancient times. But if so, the heathen had failed to apprehend the peculiar religious sentiments of the Jews, who saw nothing sacred in places of worship where idols were honoured and false gods received the adoration of their votaries. (See below, ch. x. 83, and cf. Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Judg. vi. 25–27; 2 Kings x. 25–27, &c.)

44. *they . . . burned the temple.*] The temple was known as the "Atargateum," or temple of Atargatis (2 Macc. xii. 26), who was the Syrian Venus, worshipped with rites of unmentionable lewdness by the soft and sensuous Aramæans. (See Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. pp. 428–431.) Judas cannot be blamed for the destruction of such a sink of iniquity.

with all that were therein.] The "laws of war" have always been held to justify the destruction of enemies by fire, cruel as such destruction may be. Joshua "burnt Jericho with fire and all that was therein" (Josh. vi. 24). An Egyptian king took Gezer, and "burnt it with fire and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city" (1 Kings ix. 16). Cleomenes of Sparta acted almost exactly as Judas, when, having defeated the Argives, he shut up the remnant of their army in the sacred grove of Argus, and "ordered the helots to bring brushwood and heap it around the grove; which was done accordingly; and Cleomenes set the grove on fire" (Herod. vi. 80). Even in modern times red-hot shot are fired into besieged towns and forts, and foes who take refuge in caves are destroyed by blocking their mouths with brushwood and setting it alight. Humanity protests; but international law is silent.

neither could they stand any longer.] This last massacre brought the armed resistance to a close. Judas, however, did not venture to leave his fellow-countrymen in the district which he had overrun, and, in a certain sense, subjugated. Had he done so, his withdrawal would, he knew, have been the signal for terrible reprisals. Hence the "exodus" recorded in *v.* 45.

46. *they came unto Ephron.*] Ephron is well identified by Ewald ('Hist. of Israel,' vol.

B. C. cir. 163. fortified) they could not turn from it, either on the right hand or the left, but must needs pass through the midst of it.

47 Then they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates with stones.

48 Whereupon Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner, saying, Let us pass through your land to go into our own country, and none shall do you any hurt; we will only pass through on foot: howbeit they would not open unto him.

49 Wherefore Judas commanded a proclamation to be made throughout the host, that every man should pitch his tent in the place where he was.

50 So the soldiers pitched, and assaulted the city all that day and all that night, till at the length the city was delivered into his hands: B. C. cir. 163.

51 Who then slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were slain.

52 After this went they over Jordan into the great plain before Bethsan.

53 And Judas gathered together those that ‖came behind, and ‖exhorted the people all the way through, till they came into the land of Judea. ‖ Or, *went hindmost*, Num. 10. 25. ‖ Or, *comforted*, or, *encouraged*.

54 So they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness, where they offered ‖burnt offerings, because not one of them were slain until they had returned in peace. ‖ Or, *peace offerings*, Joseph. Antiq. 12. 12.

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v., p. 315, note) with the Gephrun, which was taken by Antiochus the Great in his war with Ptolemy Philopator (Polyb. v. 70), the *ain* of Ephron being represented (as so often) by the Greek γ. The site has not yet been fixed, but it must lie on the direct route between Ashtaroth-Karnaim and Beth-shan, at no great distance E. of the Jordan.

48. *Judas sent unto them in peaceable manner.*] Literally, "with peaceable words." The city was strong, and had not as yet been actively hostile. Judas was therefore willing to abstain from active measures against it. His proposals resemble those which Moses made to the Edomites (Num. xx. 14–17), the Amorites (*ib.* xxi. 22), and others on approaching the borders of the Holy Land.

we will only pass through on foot.] Cf. Num. xx. 19; Deut. ii. 28. The meaning is: "We will take nothing, damage nothing, but simply pass through the territory."

50. *the city was delivered into his hands.*] Not "surrendered," or "betrayed," but by God's providence given into his power.

51. *rased the city.*] This may account for there being no later mention of it by historians or geographers.

52. *went they over Jordan into the great plain before Beth-san.*] The Jordan can be forded in three places nearly opposite Beth-san (now *Beisan*). Its width is about fifty yards (Robinson, 'Later Researches,' p. 325). The "great plain before Beth-san" is probably not the valley-plain in which Beth-shan stands, which is only "from two to three miles broad between the mountains of Gilboa and the northern hills" (*ib.* p. 326), but rather the *Ghôr* itself, or Jordan valley, into which the Beth-shan valley opens. This is a "broad and fertile plain" traversed by numerous streams, and extending not less than twelve miles between the Jalud and the Wady Malik, with a width of seven or eight miles. (Robinson, p. 334.)

53. *Judas gathered together those that came behind.*] Rather, "those that **lagged** behind." Judas employed himself in keeping the host together, and hastening the laggards all down the Jordan valley, till he turned westward, probably by the Jericho route, into Judæa Proper. The whole of the Jordan valley seems to have been hostile territory.

54. *they went up to mount Sion with joy and gladness.*] A thanksgiving service after such signal victories was most appropriate. If really not a single Israelite was slain in a campaign wherein above six cities were stormed, and two great battles fought, with a loss to the enemy in one of them of "about eight thousand men" (*v.* 34), there was indeed occasion for the expression of national gratitude. It can scarcely, however, be supposed that such absolute impunity was enjoyed. The writer, no doubt, reports the tradition which he had heard; but it must be remembered that he probably wrote his history after the death of John Hyrcanus (ch. xvi. 24), which was in B.C. 106, or nearly sixty years from the date of this campaign of Judas. In sixty years' time "with small loss" easily becomes "without the loss of a man."

B. C. cir. 163.

55 Now what time as Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Galaad, and Simon his brother in Galilee before Ptolemais,

56 Joseph the *son* of Zacharias, and Azarias, captains of the garrisons, heard of the valiant acts and warlike deeds which they had done.

57 Wherefore they said, Let us also get us a name, and go fight against the heathen that are round about us.

58 So when they had given charge unto the garrison that was with them, they went toward Jamnia.

59 Then came Gorgias and his men out of the city [1]to fight against them.

[1]Gr. *to meet them in battle.*

60 And so it was, that Joseph and Azarias were put to flight, and pursued unto the borders of Judea: and there were slain that day of the people of Israel about two thousand men.

B. C. cir. 163.

61 Thus was there a great overthrow among the children of Israel, because they were not obedient unto Judas and his brethren, but thought to do some valiant act.

62 Moreover these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.

63 Howbeit the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and of all the heathen, wheresoever their name was heard of;

64 Insomuch as the people assembled unto them with joyful acclamations.

65 Afterward went Judas forth with his brethren, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south, where he smote

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§ 4. MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE LEADERS LEFT BY JUDAS TO DEFEND JUDÆA, AND THEIR FAILURE.

55–64. A desire to emulate the successes of Judas in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, led Joseph and Azarias, the two "captains" who had been left in Judæa with special orders that they were to act only on the defensive (*v.* 19), to disregard their instructions, and make an expedition westward, against Jamnia, which was held by the Syrians. They were met by Gorgias, the opponent of Judas in the campaign of B.C. 165, outside the town, and defeated with a loss of 2000 men. The circumstance leads the author to contrast the glories of the leaders raised up by God with the futile efforts of those who did not belong to the chosen family.

55. *Now what time.*] The narrative goes back somewhat. In the absence of Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, at the time when Simon was before Ptolemaïs (*v.* 22), events of importance had occurred in Judæa.

56. *captains of the garrisons.*] Literally, "of the host." In *v.* 18, Joseph and Azarias are called "captains of the people," or rather "leaders of the people." (See note *ad loc.*)

58. *toward Jamnia.*] On the position of Jamnia, and its identity with the modern Jabneh, see note on ch. iv. 15.

59. *Then came Gorgias.*] See above, ch. iii. 38, iv. 1–22; and compare 2 Macc. viii. 9, where Gorgias is called "a captain who in matters of war had great experience." He was evidently a general not to be trifled with.

62. *these men came not of the seed of those, by whose hand deliverance was given.*] The author evidently regards the Maccabee family as chosen by God to work His people's deliverance, though no external call had designated them for their post. He thinks it was a presumption on the part of Joseph and Azarias to undertake of themselves to help in freeing the Jews, since they were not of the right blood. Moderns will scarcely sympathise with this view, though they may be ready to blame the unsuccessful captains for their disobedience to the orders given them.

63. *the man Judas and his brethren were greatly renowned.*] The ill-success of Joseph and Azarias added to the renown of the Maccabee brothers, since it shewed that the enemy, against whom they were engaged, was far from contemptible, and also that the Jews were formidable foes only under their leadership. The expression—"the man Judas"—seems an imitation of that in Ex. xi. 3: "moreover *the man Moses* was very great." (Compare Num. xii. 3.)

§ 5. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMÆA AND PHILISTIA.

65–68. It was not till nearly Pentecost in the year B.C. 163 that Judas returned to Jerusalem from his Gilead expedition (2 Macc. xii. 31, 32). After a very short delay, he again took the field, and made a raid into Idumæa.

B. C. cir. 163. Hebron, and the ‖towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burned the towers thereof round about.

‖ Gr. *daughters.*

66 From thence he removed to go into the land of ‖the Philistines, and passed through Samaria.

‖ Gr. *strangers.*

67 At that time certain priests, desirous to shew their valour, were slain in battle, for that they went out to fight unadvisedly.

68 So Judas turned to Azotus in the land of the Philistines, and when he had pulled down their altars, and burned their carved images with fire, and spoiled their cities, he returned into the land of Judea. B. C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER VI.

8 *Antiochus dieth,* 12 *and confesseth that he is plagued for the wrong done to Jerusalem.* 20 *Judas besiegeth those in the tower at Jerusalem.* 28 *They procure Antiochus the younger to come into Judea.* 51 *He besiegeth Sion,* 60 *and maketh peace with Israel;* 62 *yet overthroweth the wall of Sion.*

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where he destroyed Hebron (*v.* 65). Thence he marched, through Mareshah into Philistia, where he captured the strong city of Ashdod, destroyed its idol shrines, and ravaged its territory. Having so done, he returned into Judæa.

65. *Hebron.*] This well-known city was situated in the hill-country originally assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 54), at the distance of about twenty miles from Jerusalem towards the south. Its original name was Kirjath-Arba. After having been the capital of David for seven years (2 Sam. v. 5), it sank into a position of very secondary importance, and is seldom mentioned in the history of the kings. Rehoboam fortified it against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 10). It was re-occupied by the returned Judæans after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 25). We hear of it in the last war with Rome as captured by an officer of Vespasian (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iv. 9, § 9). The Crusaders captured it in the twelfth century, and made it the seat of a bishopric. Soon afterwards it was recovered by the Mohammedans, and has remained in their hands. The mosque is supposed to contain the tombs of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, and also of Joseph; and is reckoned a place of great sanctity. The modern Arab name is El Khalil—"the friend"—a term by which Abraham is intended, who was "the friend of God" (2 Chr. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; James ii. 23).

66. *and passed through Samaria.*] "Samaria" is palpably a wrong reading. The direct route between Hebron and Ashdod or Azotus, would not pass within seventy miles of Samaria, which is further removed from both Hebron and Ashdod than they are from each other. Josephus substitutes Marissa—*i.e.* Mareshah—for Samaria; and no doubt this is the true reading. Mareshah lay on the natural line of march from Hebron to Ashdod. It was situated on a gently swelling hill that sinks down into the great Philistine plain, and commanded one of the best approaches to the high country. Fortified by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 8), it was soon afterwards threatened by Zerah (*ib.* xiv. 9), but witnessed his defeat by Asa and the complete destruction of his army. After this we hear nothing of Mareshah until the present occasion, when it appears to have been the scene of a struggle in which Judas was not so successful as usual. (See *v.* 67, and compare 2 Macc. xii. 34, 35.) We hear of Mareshah again in the later wars. It was taken and destroyed by John Hyrcanus about B.C. 120, restored by Pompey about B.C. 62, and once more taken and plundered by the Parthians in B.C. 39. The site is marked by the modern village of Marash on the route between Hebron and Beit-Jibrin.

67. *they went out to fight unadvisedly.*] The writer of the Second Book says, that those who were slain were semi-idolaters, upon whose bodies were found things that had been consecrated to idols (2 Macc. xii. 40).

68. *Azotus.*] See note on ch. iv. 15.

their carved images.] That the Philistines had images of their gods appears from 1 Sam. v. 3, 4, where the destruction of the image of Dagon, at this very town of Ashdod, is recorded. Derceto or Atargatis seems to have been worshipped by the Philistines of Ascalon. Their other deities, if they had any, are unknown to us. A more complete destruction of Azotus, with its idol temple, was effected at a later date by Jonathan (ch. x. 84).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. Death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Accession of his Son, Antiochus Eupator.

1–17. That Antiochus Epiphanes died in the distant East, after an abortive attempt to plunder a temple of Nanæa or Anaitis, the Persian Venus (or Diana), must be regarded as historically certain, on the concurrent and uncontradicted testimony of Polybius (xxxi. 2). Appian ('Syriac.' 66), Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1), and our author. That his death

B. C. cir. 163. ABOUT that time king Antiochus travelling through the high countries heard say, that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold;

2 And that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were ‖coverings of gold, and breastplates, and ‖shields, which Alexander, *son* of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Grecians, had left there. B. C. cir. 163.

3 Wherefore he came and sought to take the city, and to spoil it; but he was not able, because they of the city, having had warning thereof,

4 Rose up against him in battle: so he fled, and departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to Babylon.

‖ Or, *shields.*

‖ Or, *armour.*

was the consequence of mental suffering, and not of violence, or bodily disease, though not allowed on all hands, may be considered as in a high degree probable. It was natural that various stories should be told about an event so strange, so unexpected, and so removed from the general cognizance; and so we find a violent death in the temple which he was plundering reported in one place (2 Macc. i. 13–16), and a death by a lingering and dreadful disease recorded in another (*ib.* ix. 5–28). Polybius, however, and our author agree, that the monarch's sufferings were mental; and further, that they arose, at any rate in part, from religious qualms connected with his desecration of temples. No confidence can be placed in the historical truth of the death-bed speech ascribed to him in verses 10–13; though it is quite possible that Philip, or some other person who was with him when he died, may have reported a change in his sentiments respecting the Jews. Little, however, in the present narrative can be accepted as certainly true beyond the attack on the temple (*vv.* 1–3), its failure (*v.* 4), the king's intense grief (*vv.* 8, 15), his appointment of Philip as guardian of his son's rights (*vv.* 14, 15), and his decease soon after (*v.* 16).

1. *the high countries.*] See note on ch. iii. 37, where the same expression occurs.

Elymaïs in the country of Persia was a city.] This seems to be a mistake. No mention is made of such a city by any writer, except our author, and Josephus, who simply follows him ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1). Elymaïs was a country, properly a portion of Susiana, lying towards the north in the Zagros mountain-region (Strab. xi. pp. 759–62; xvi. p. 1056); but as Susiana itself was reckoned a part of Persia (*ib.* xv. 3, § 2), Elymaïs would be "in the country of Persia" (compare 2 Macc. i. 13). The city attacked by Antiochus is called (in 2 Macc. ix. 2) "Persepolis;" but this important place was never reckoned to Elymaïs.

greatly renowned for riches.] Polybius agrees in viewing the attack of Antiochus on the temple in question as arising entirely from cupidity (xxxi. 2). He does not mention the name of the city, but agrees that it was in Elymaïs. So also Appian ('Syriac.' § 66).

2. *a very rich temple.*] Polybius calls it "a temple of Artemis"—Appian, "a temple of Aphrodite,"—the author of the Second Book "a temple of Nanæa" (ii. 13). According to some accounts, Antiochus put forward as a pretext for his designs upon the temple-treasures, that he wished to espouse the goddess, and would take the gold and silver as her dowry (2 Macc. i. 14; Granius Licin. quoted by Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 316, note 2). On the true character of Nanæa, see note on 2 Macc. i. 13.

coverings of gold, and breastplates, and shields.] Rather, "coverings of gold, **both** breastplates and shields." The "coverings" are the chief species of defensive arms. (See ch. iv. 6.)

Alexander, son of Philip.] Cf. ch. i. 1–7. There had been so many Alexanders—Alexander, son of Alexander the Great; Alexander, son of Polysperchon; Alexander Balas, &c. —when the author wrote, that some distinctive title or description was necessary.

had left there.] Not "had left untouched," but "had himself left as presents." Alexander's habit was to acknowledge the gods of all the countries which he conquered, and to make offerings to their temples. It was customary to offer arms in temples as thank-offerings on account of victories (Herod. ii. 159; iii. 47, &c.).

3, 4. *they of the city...rose up against him.*] So Polybius, *l. s. c.* It is curious that Antiochus should have made this attempt, when his father had failed in a similar one on a temple of Belus in this same region, and had actually lost his life. (See Strab. xvi. 1, § 18; Justin. xxxii. 2.) His cupidity seems to have blinded him.

returned to Babylon.] Polybius says that he "retired to Tabæ in Persia;" but that place may have been on the way to Babylon. Our author does not really say that he "returned to Babylon," but that he quitted Elymaïs with the intention of returning thither (ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν . . . ἀποστρέψαι εἰς

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5 Moreover there came one who brought him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judea, were put to flight:

6 And that Lysias, who went forth first with a great power, was driven away of the Jews; and that they were made strong by the armour, and power, and store of spoils, which they had gotten of the armies, whom they had destroyed:

7 Also that they had pulled down [a] the abomination, which he had set up upon the altar in Jerusalem, and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and his city Bethsura.

[a] ch. 1. 54.

8 Now when the king heard these words, he was astonished and sore moved: whereupon he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for.

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9 And there he continued many days: for his grief was ever more and more, and he made account that he should die.

10 Wherefore he called for all his friends, and said unto them, The sleep is gone from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for very care.

11 And I thought with myself, Into what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood *of misery* is it, wherein now I am! for I was bountiful and beloved in my power.

12 But now I remember the evils that I did at Jerusalem, and that [b] I took all the vessels of gold and silver that were therein, and [c] sent to destroy

[b] ch. 1. 21, &c.

[c] ch. 1. 57.

Βαβυλῶνα). He places his death in Persia (*vv.* 5, 9, 56).

6. *that Lysias...was driven away.*] See ch. iv. 34, 35.

they were made strong by the armour ... which they had gotten.] The great want of the patriots at first had been arms and armour (ch. iv. 6). Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and "therewith fought all his life long" (ch. iii. 12). His followers no doubt imitated him, and armed themselves with the weapons and armour of the Syrians whom they slew in battle.

7. *they had pulled down the abomination.*] See above, ch. iv. 43.

compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before.] See ch. iv. 60. It may be questioned whether the Temple area had ever previously been completely fortified. No doubt there had always been fortifications on the east, and the south-east, where the line of the Temple area coincided with the outer limits of the town. But until the occupation by Judas, it had not been necessary to fortify, as against an enemy, the northern or western parts, which abutted on the city itself.

and his city Bethsura.] Jerusalem might perhaps be justly claimed by them as *their* city, but Bethsura at least belonged to Antiochus; yet they had fortified that also! (See ch. iv. 41.)

8. *he ... fell sick for grief.*] Polybius (*l. s. c.*) connects the death of Antiochus, not with any intelligence that reached him from Syria, but with the attack upon the temple of Nanæa and its failure. There had, he says, been certain supernatural appearances on the occasion of that misdeed; and Antiochus was smitten thereby with a superstitious dread, which led to his demise. Josephus catches at the alleged cause, and asks, with some force, "Is it not more likely that his remorse and despair were caused by the desecration of the Temple at Jerusalem, which he actually carried into effect, than by a contemplated sacrilege, in which he was foiled?" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1.)

9. *there he continued.*] By "there" is meant the place in Persia where he was when the bad news reached him (*v.* 5)—*i. e.* Tabæ, as we learn from Polybius. (See the comment on *vv.* 3, 4.)

10. *he ... said unto them.*] The speech here given differs wholly from that sketched in 2 Macc. ix. 12–17, and is probably equally unhistorical. The writer follows the example of the principal historians who had preceded him, and gives, in the form of speeches, the feelings which he supposes his chief personages to have entertained.

11. *I was bountiful and beloved in my power.*] The liberality of Epiphanes has been already noticed (see the comment on ch. iii. 30). That he was generally popular with his heathen subjects, and especially with those of the capital, whom he delighted with shows and festivals (Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 1–10), is highly probable. Even his edict of intolerance (ch. i. 41, 42) seems to have provoked no hostility among any people excepting the Jews (ch. i. 42; ii. 18, 19).

12. *I took all the vessels of gold and silver.*] See ch. i. 21–23.

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the inhabitants of Judea without a cause.

13 I perceive therefore that for this cause these troubles are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land.

14 Then called he for Philip, one of his friends, whom he made ruler over all his realm,

15 And gave him the crown, and his robe, and his signet, to the end ‖ he should bring up his son Antiochus, and nourish him up for the kingdom.

‖ Or, *he should take his son Antiochus to him.*

16 So king Antiochus died there in the hundred forty and ninth year. B. C. cir. 163.

17 Now when Lysias knew that the king was dead, he set up Antiochus his son, whom he had brought up being young, to reign in his stead, and his name he called Eupator.

18 About this time they that were in the tower shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt, and the strengthening of the heathen.

19 Wherefore Judas purposing to

I . . . sent to destroy the inhabitants of Judæa.] See ch. iii. 35, 36.

14. *Philip, one of his friends.*] The author of the Second Book says (ch. ix. 29) that Philip was the *σύντροφος* of Epiphanes, *i.e.* his foster-brother. He is thought by some to be identical with the Philip who was made governor of Jerusalem immediately after the plunder of the Temple by Antiochus (2 Macc. v. 22), who was "a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous" even than his master. It is a further conjecture that he was "the master of the elephants" at the battle of Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 41). But these guesses are of little value.

whom he made ruler.] *I.e.* "regent." His intention was, that Philip should have the custody of his son's person, the direction of his education, and the supreme authority during his minority. Probably he regarded Lysias as having forfeited the post by the proofs which he had given of military incapacity.

15. *his signet.*] The signet-ring was the special mark of royal authority. (See Gen. xli. 42; Esther iii. 10, viii. 2.) Alexander the Great gave his to Perdiccas, and thereby marked him out as next inheritor of his power (Arrian, 'Exp. Al.' vii. 26, § 5).

to the end he should bring up his son.] The Greek will not bear this translation. As the text stands (*τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν Ἀντίοχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ*), it can only mean "to the end that he should *take* Antiochus his son." Josephus, however, appears to have had in his copies *Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ*—a reading which would give the sense, "to take them (*i.e.* the crown, signet, &c.) to Antiochus." (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 2.)

16. *in the hundred forty and ninth year.*] Towards the close of B.C. 164, or in the earlier part of B.C. 163.

17. *Lysias . . . set up Antiochus his son.*] So Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' *l. s. c.*) and Appian ('Syriac.' § 46).

being young.] Appian makes Antiochus Eupator no more than nine years old at his father's death ('Syriac.' § 45 and § 66). But Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron.' Can. i. 40, § 15) makes him twelve. This latter account agrees better than the other with the part said to have been taken by Eupator in the Jewish war (*vv.* 28–47).

his name he called Eupator.] Appian says that "the Syrians" gave him the name ('Syriac.' § 46) on account of the good qualities of his father.

§ 2. JUDAS BESIEGES THE SYRIAN GARRISON IN THE TOWER AT JERUSALEM—APPEAL MADE TO EUPATOR FOR ASSISTANCE.

18–27. The position of the two garrisons, Judæan and Syrian, in the Temple mount and the "tower," built by Epiphanes over against it (ch. i. 33–36), must have been intolerable to both parties. The tower was an *ἐπιτείχισμὸς* of the most annoying kind; and we cannot be surprised that the Maccabee leader, flushed with the victories that he had gained on all sides, should have determined on making a strenuous effort to capture it. It would seem that his attack promised to be successful, and that the defenders felt their only hope of safety to lie in the approach of an army of relief. Hence their appeal to Eupator.

18. *they that were in the tower.*] See ch. i. 33 and iv. 41.

shut up the Israelites round about the sanctuary.] The writer does not mean that the Israelites were formally besieged or blockaded, but that their movements were cramped, and that it was not safe for them to go beyond their walls. (Compare ch. i. 36 and 37; and Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3: *τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, θύσαι*

destroy them, called all the people together to besiege them.

20 So they came together, and besieged them in the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounts for shot against them, and *other* engines.

21 Howbeit certain of them that were besieged got forth, unto whom some ungodly men of Israel joined themselves:

22 And they went unto the king, and said, How long will it be ere thou execute judgment, and avenge our brethren?

23 We have been willing to serve thy father, and to do as he would have us, and to obey his commandments;

24 For which cause they of our nation besiege the tower, and are alienated from us: moreover [d] as many of us as they could light on they slew, and spoiled our inheritance.

25 Neither have they stretched out their hand against us only, but also against all their borders.

26 And, behold, this day are they besieging the tower at Jerusalem, to take it: the sanctuary also and [e] Bethsura have they fortified.

27 Wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them.

[d] as ch. 5. 22, 44, 51.

[e] ch. 4. 61.

βουλομένους, ἐξαίφνης ἐκτρέχοντες οἱ φρουροὶ διέφθειραν.)

20. *the hundred and fiftieth year.*] The year commencing in the autumn of B.C. 163, and terminating in that of B.C. 162.

he made mounts for shot against them.] Rather, "**towers for shooting at them.**" The *βελοστάσεις* of the text seem to have been moveable towers, such as were used both by the Assyrians and the Greeks, which were brought near to the walls, and enabled the assailants to attack the defenders on the same level. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. pp. 470–2.) The word is used by the LXX. in Ezek. xvii. 17, xxi. 22, where our translators have "forts," "a fort."

and other engines.] Rather, "**and engines.**" The "towers" were not regarded as "engines," which term applied especially to catapults, ballistæ, and battering-rams. It is rightly observed (Stanley) that Judas here for the first time brought into use a battering-train.

21. *ungodly men.*] *I.e.* "men of the Hellenizing party." (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 18, &c.)

22. *they went unto the king.*] The writer does not seem to realize the fact of Eupator's immature age. He has called him *νεώτερον* (*v.* 17), but apparently is not aware that he was a mere child, twelve years old at the most.

23. *We have been willing to serve thy father.*] Rather, "we **were of those who willed** to serve," &c. *i.e.* we belonged to the conforming party, and obeyed the edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes (ch. i. 41–50), which a part of our nation refused to obey, and now we are brought into trouble on that very account (*v.* 24).

to do as he would have us.] Literally, "to walk according to his sayings."

24. *as many of us as they could light on they slew.*] See above, ch. ii. 44; iii. 8.

25. *against all their borders.*] Compare ch. v. 3–51.

26. *the sanctuary also and Bethsura have they fortified.*] On the fortification of the Temple by Judas, see ch. iv. 60; and on that of Bethzur (Bethsura), see ch. iv. 61.

§ 3. THE WAR OF LYSIAS AND EUPATOR AGAINST JUDAS—FALL OF BETHSURA—SIEGE OF THE TEMPLE.

28–54. The boldness of Judas, the danger of the Syrian garrison in the Tower (Acra) at Jerusalem, and the very cogent arguments of the renegade Jews at Antioch (*vv.* 22–27), roused the Syrians to a great effort. The author of the Second Book tells us, that there was at first some difference of opinion at the Court, a certain Ptolemy Macron advising that good terms of peace should be offered to the party of Judas (2 Macc. x. 12); but sterner counsels prevailed—Lysias was all-powerful—and the resolution was taken to crush the patriots by sending against them an overwhelming force. It is not clear that as yet Lysias apprehended danger either from Philip, the regent appointed by Epiphanes on his deathbed (*v.* 15), or from Demetrius, who was still in custody at Rome (ch. vii. 1). If he did, there would, however, be the more reason for haste, in order to get rid of one enemy before the necessity arose for dealing with others. The immense army described in *vv.* 30–41 was therefore collected and marched upon Bethzur. Judas was for the first time defeated (*vv.* 42–47). Bethzur capitulated (*vv.* 49, 50); and siege was laid to the Temple (*vv.* 51–54).

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28 Now when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his friends, and the captains of his army, and those that had charge of the horse.

29 There came also unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers.

30 So that the number of his army was an hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty elephants exercised in battle.

31 These went through Idumea, and pitched against Bethsura, which they assaulted many days, making engines of war; but they *of Bethsura* came out, and burned them with fire, and fought valiantly.

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32 Upon this Judas removed from the tower, and pitched in Bathzacharias, over against the king's camp.

33 Then the king rising very early marched fiercely with his host toward Bathzacharias, where his ar-

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28. *when the king heard this, he was angry.*] The representations were probably made, not to the boy king, but to Lysias, who may well have been "angry," or at any rate greatly vexed, at what he heard. It must certainly have been Lysias who gave the orders for the collection of the forces of the kingdom.

those that had charge of the horse.] Literally, "those that were over the reins"—an expression which seems to point to a chariot force. According to the author of the Second Book (2 Macc. xiii. 2), Lysias brought with him on this occasion 5300 horsemen, and "three hundred chariots armed with hooks."

29. *from other kingdoms.*] As Pergamus and Bithynia, perhaps also Paphlagonia and Pontus.

from isles of the sea.] Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus were always willing to furnish mercenary troops in the wars of this period. They usually served as slingers and archers. (See Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32; 'Bell. Civ.' ii., § 70, &c.)

30. *the number of his army.*] The numbers here given are confirmed by one passage of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3), but contradicted by another, where they are said to have been 50,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 80 elephants ('Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5). The author of the Second Book (2 Macc. *l. s. c.*) makes the horse 5300, which may be accepted as probably the true number. He makes the foot 110,000, which is not improbable; the elephants twenty-two, which may also be correct. By the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian king was bound to keep no war-elephants. Polybius tells us that Eupator had broken the engagement ('Hist.' xi. 12, § 11); but it is scarcely likely that he had collected a very large corps. We may safely reject the "eighty elephants" of Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' *l. s. c.*).

31. *These went through Idumea.*] The Syrians considered that the best mode of attacking Judæa was to proceed along the coast of the Mediterranean from Carmel southwards, and then make the assault upon the west, or upon the south. They had attacked twice from the west, first under Seron (ch. iii. 14–16), and again under Nicanor and Gorgias (ch. iii. 38–41; ch. iv. 1–23). Later, under Lysias himself, they had attacked from the south (ch. iv. 28–34). Lysias now repeated this movement.

they of Bethsura.] These words are wanting in the original, but are rightly supplied by our translators.

and burned them with fire.] This was a usual practice of besiegers. As the military engines of the time were chiefly composed of wood, they readily took fire. We find the Assyrians protecting their engines against fire by means of curtains of cloth, leather, or other non-inflammable material ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 471); and a similar practice seems to have been known to the Greeks (Thucyd. ii. 75). Sometimes, however, the flames were simply met and kept in check by means of a supply of water.

32. *Judas removed from the tower.*] The first result of the attack on Bethsura was to raise the siege of "the tower." Judas felt that his presence was required to meet and check the enemy in the south, and accordingly gave up the siege, struck his camp, and marched to Beth-Zacharias, which Josephus says ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 4) was 70 stades, or eight miles, from Bethsura. It commanded a narrow pass, and has been almost certainly identified with the modern Beit-Saṣariyeh, which lies nearly due north of Beit-sur, at a distance by the road of about nine Roman miles (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 284).

over against the king's camp.] This expression is hard to reconcile with the distance assigned by Josephus. (See the last note.) It implies that the two camps were, at any rate, within sight of each other.

33. *the king . . . marched fiercely.*] In the

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mies made them ready to battle, and sounded the trumpets.

34 And to the end they might provoke the elephants to fight, they shewed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.

35 Moreover they divided the beasts among the armies, and for every elephant they appointed a thousand men, armed with coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads; and beside this, for every beast were ordained five hundred horsemen of the best.

36 These were ready at every occasion: wheresoever the beast was, and whithersoever the beast went, they went also, neither departed they from him.

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37 And upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them with devices: there were also upon every one two and thirty strong men, that fought upon them, beside the Indian that ruled him.

38 As for the remnant of the

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original, the "fierceness," or "eagerness to attack the foe," is ascribed, not to the king, but to the host. Translate—"Then the king, rising very early, marched his host, which was eager for the fight, toward Beth-Zacharias."

sounded the trumpets.] Rather, "sounded **with** trumpets." On the use of trumpets in war by the Greeks and Romans, see note on ch. v. 31.

34. *to the end they might provoke the elephants, &c.*] It has been supposed that the elephants were "provoked" by the sight of red wine and of a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries, both being beverages of which they were fond (Grimm); but wine is not called "the blood of grapes" except in highly wrought poetry (Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14; Ecclus. l. 15); nor is a spirituous liquor obtained from mulberries a thing known to antiquity. Probably the two liquids were the expressed juice of the two fruits, unfermented, and were intended to represent blood to the animals, and so to remind them of battle and prepare them for it.

35. *they divided the beasts among the armies.*] Rather, "among the **legions**" or "**companies.**" It was more usual to draw up the elephants in a separate body, generally in front of the other troops, and to make them advance first upon the enemy. Antiochus the Great had, however, at Magnesia interposed his elephants in pairs between the divisions of his phalanx (Liv. xxxviii. 40; App. 'Syriac.' § 32), and thus set the example of separating them. A new disposition was now tried.

armed with coats of mail.] Rather, "**wearing corslets of chain armour.**" Chain armour was known to the Assyrians, but appears to have been used by them only as an appendage to the helmet ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. i. p. 441, plates). Corslets were in the early times generally of leather, protected by metal scales. In Roman times, however, the corslets here mentioned became common. (See Polyb. vi. 21; Arrian, 'Tact.' pp. 13, 14, &c.)

36. *These were ready at every occasion, &c.*] Rather, "these **were with the beast, wherever he was, even before the fight began.**" (Πρὸ καιροῦ cannot possibly mean "on every occasion.") The object was to accustom the elephants to the men and horses of their own side, and to accustom the horses to them. In default of such mutual acquaintance, elephants were apt to inflict more damage on the army to which they belonged than on the enemy.

37. *upon the beasts were there strong towers of wood.*] In the Indian war of Alexander the Great, where elephants first make their appearance in Greek warfare, we do not hear of "towers" being placed on them. Apparently, the practice commenced with the Syrians, whose "beasts" were thus armed at Magnesia in B.C. 190, nearly thirty years before the present engagement. (See Liv. xxxvii. 40.) The "towers" cannot really have been of any great size, or have contained more than three or four soldiers.

with devices.] "Girths" seem to be intended. So heavy a fabric as a "tower" could not otherwise have been kept in place.

two and thirty strong men.] This is quite impossible. Livy (*l. s. c.*) makes the number of soldiers to each elephant in the army of Antiochus the Great *four*; Ælian gives, as the ordinary Indian equipment, *three*; some moderns say that in recent times towers on elephants have held a garrison of *five*. Probably, either no number was given here in the original text; or else the text ran, ἐφ' ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἄνδρες δυνάμεως δύο ἢ τρεῖς—"on each of them strong men to the number of two or three."

beside the Indian that ruled him.] Lite-

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horsemen, they set them on this side and that side at the two parts of the host, [1]giving them signs what to do, and being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.

39 Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains glistered therewith, and shined like lamps of fire.

40 So part of the king's army being spread upon the high mountains, and part on the valleys below, they marched on safely and in order.

41 Wherefore all that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of the company, and the rattling of the harness, were moved: for the army was very great and mighty.

42 Then Judas and his host drew near, and entered into battle, and

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[1] Or, *stirring them up, and being compassed with the ranks*, or, *defended with the valleys.*

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rally, "beside his Indian." It is assumed that, as a matter of course, each elephant would have an Indian driver. The elephants employed by the Seleucidæ were originally derived from India, and, though bred in part at Apamea, no doubt required to be kept up by frequent importations from the region where they were indigenous. Expert Hindoo drivers would accompany each such importation.

38. *the remnant of the horsemen.*] Those that remained over, after the thirty-two troops attached to the elephants had been deducted. They would have amounted, according to the numbers previously given, to four thousand.

they set them on this side and that side.] Compare the arrangement at Magnesia (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32: ἱππεῖς δ' ἑκατέρωθεν παρατετάχατο).

giving them signs what to do.] The meaning of the text is very uncertain. Κατασείω is properly "to shake down," and is used primarily of shaking down fruit from trees. It also means "to shake up and down," as "the hand," or "a stick;" and hence signifies sometimes "to make a sign with the hand," as in Acts xii. 17, xiii. 16, xix. 33, and xxi. 40, where, however, τῇ χειρὶ is always added. It has further the meanings "to disturb," "to throw down," "to make a man unsteady through drink," and "to affright." None of these significations seems particularly appropriate here; and hence the reading is with reason suspected.

being harnessed all over amidst the ranks.] This clause is even more difficult than the preceding. There are two readings, ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξιν and ἐν ταῖς φάραγξιν, of which the latter, being the most difficult, should, according to the ordinary laws of criticism, be preferred. "Being harnessed all over" is a possible meaning of καταφρασσόμενοι, but grammatically the word does not refer to the horsemen, but to the generals who set them their places, whose wearing of complete armour would scarcely be mentioned. Schleusner explains καταφρασσόμενοι here as "guarding" or "covering their flanks with them." Ἐν ταῖς φάραγξιν would mean "among the precipices," where extra precaution would no doubt be necessary.

39. *the shields of gold and brass.*] It is not probable that "shields of gold" were ever employed in warfare. They were used as the ornaments of temples (1 Kings x. 16) or sent as presents to the authorities of foreign states (1 Macc. xiv. 24; xv. 18, &c.). Silver shields were, however, actually borne by troops in the field, notably by those of Alexander the Great (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' vii. 11) and his successors (Polyb. v. 79, § 4; Liv. xxxvii. 40; App. 'Syriac.' § 32, &c.). These may have been mistaken by the Jews for golden shields, when the sun shone upon them, or the writer may only mean that the shields were partly of brass and partly of gold, which is quite possible.

40. *the high mountains . . . the valleys.*] Rather, "the high **hills**—the **low ground**." The hills of southern Judæa do not attain the dignity of "mountains," nor are the wadys which separate them exactly "valleys." The army of Antiochus advancing from the south upon Beth-Zacharias probably proceeded up the Wady Shukheit, which is "straight and *shallow*" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 283), its flanks crowning the hills on either side, which are quite practicable, even for cavalry. The country presents no remarkable difficulties, though Beth-Zacharias is strongly posted.

41. *the army was very great and mighty.*] It was the utmost force that Syria could raise under the circumstances, larger (according to one account, Liv. xxxvii. 40) than that which had met the Romans at Magnesia, and very much the largest army with which Judas had as yet contended.

42. *Judas and his host drew near.*] Judas followed his usual tactics. He did not shut himself up within Beth-Zacharias, or even stand on the defensive, but advanced to meet the foe. (See ch. iii. 11, 16, 23; iv. 12, 29; v. 43, &c.)

B. C. cir. 162. there were slain of the king's army six hundred men.

43 ¶ *f* Eleazar also, *surnamed* Savaran, perceiving that one of the beasts, armed with royal harness, was higher than all the rest, and supposing that the king was upon him,

44 Put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name:

45 Wherefore he ran upon him courageously through the midst of the battle, slaying on the right hand and on the left, ‖ so that they were divided from him on both sides.

46 Which done, he crept under the elephant, and thrust him under, and slew him: whereupon the elephant fell down upon him, and there he died. B. C. cir. 162.

47 Howbeit *the rest of the Jews* seeing the strength of the king, and the violence of his forces, turned away from them.

48 ¶ Then the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king pitched his tents ‖ against Judea, and against mount Sion.

49 But with them that were in Bethsura he made peace: ‖ for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land.

50 So the king took Bethsura, and set a garrison there to keep it.

51 As for the sanctuary, he be-

f ch. 2. 5.

‖ Or, *so that he cut them in pieces.*

‖ Or, *in Judea.*

‖ Add out of Josephus, *and they yielded themselves.*

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there were slain of the king's army six hundred men.] The first assault was, apparently, successful. But numbers prevailed in the end, and Judas felt himself compelled to beat a retreat (*v.* 47).

43. *Eleazar, surnamed Savaran.*] Compare ch. ii. 5, where he is said to have been called "Avaran." Dean Stanley conjectures that the name was given on account of the deed here recorded, and translates, "the Beast-Sticker" ('Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 318).

armed with royal harness.] Heavy armour was worn, both by elephants and horses, in the wars of this period. By "royal harness" we must understand armour of unusual richness and magnificence, such as seemed to indicate a royal rider. Grimm supposes that the beast was really "the royal elephant," though it did not at this time carry the king, who was too young to take actual part in the battle.

supposing that the king was upon him.] Literally, "he looked as if the king was upon him." The phrase used implies that the fact was otherwise.

44. *and get him a perpetual name.*] On the prevalence of this motive among the best Jews of the time, see note on ch. ii. 51.

45. *through the midst of the battle.*] Literally, "into the midst of the phalanx." Eleazar cut his way through the enemy's ranks until he reached the elephant which he was bent on attacking.

46. *and thrust him under.*] Rather, "and got beneath him." We must supply ἑαυτὸν after ὑπέθηκεν. It is impossible to supply ξίφος.

47. The author is loth to acknowledge the complete defeat of the Jews, and seeks to throw a veil over it; but nevertheless he makes it sufficiently apparent by the facts of his narrative. The Jews, he admits, "turned away" from their foes—*i.e.* retired before them—retreated (as Josephus tells us, 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 5) to Jerusalem. The Syrians felt strong enough to divide their forces. While a part besieged Beth-zur (*v.* 49), the bulk marched on Jerusalem, and commenced the siege of the Temple fortress (*vv.* 48, 51).

49. *with them that were in Bethsura he made peace.*] Again a softening of the facts. We see from what follows that Bethsura was besieged, reduced to extremity, and "taken" (*v.* 50). The garrison may have been allowed terms, but what they were is not stated. Josephus (*l. s. c.*) says that they surrendered themselves on the condition that their persons should be safe.

it being a year of rest to the land.] *I.e.* it was a sabbatical year, and the granaries were exhausted. (Compare *v.* 53.) It may seem strange that greater precautions had not been taken; but Judas's long career of success had probably blinded him to the danger which might impend in case of a reverse. Evidently, neither Beth-zur nor Jerusalem had been properly provisioned against the chance of a siege.

51. *As for the sanctuary, he besieged it many days.*] The Temple had now become a fortress. Judas had fortified it "with high walls and strong towers round about" (ch. iv.

B. C. cir. 162.

sieged it many days: and ‖set there artillery with engines and instruments to cast fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings.

Or, made fire mounts or shot.

52 Whereupon ‖they also made engines against their engines, and held them battle a long season.

Or, the Jews.

53 Yet at the last, their vessels being without victuals, (for that it was the seventh year, and they in Judea, that were delivered from the Gentiles, had eaten up the residue of the store;)

54 There were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine did so prevail against them, that they were fain to disperse themselves, every man to his own place.

55 At that time Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whiles he lived, had appointed to bring up his son Antiochus, that he might be king,

56 Was returned out of Persia and Media, and the king's host also that went with him, and that he sought to take unto him the ruling of the affairs.

57 Wherefore he went in all haste, and said to the king and the captains

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60), defences of such strength that, soon after this, the Syrians destroyed them, though they had bound themselves by an oath to do nothing of the kind (*v.* 62). The advantage of the situation was great—the artificial bulwarks strong—the siege must in any case be long. If the place had been duly provisioned, it would have been in no danger, unless regularly invested, and besieged for months or years.

artillery.] Rather, "**towers.**" (See note on *v.* 20.)

instruments to cast fire and stones.] Arrows with tow twisted round their heads, dipped in pitch, and set alight, were shot from catapults, to fire the works or dwellings of an enemy. (See Thucyd. ii. 75.) Stones were hurled from *ballistæ* to break down battlements, and crush their defenders.

52. *they also.*] *I.e.* the besieged.

made engines against their engines.] Such engines as those already mentioned (*v.* 51) were used for the defence no less than for the attack, and were mounted on the walls and towers of besieged places, whence they played upon the enemy with the advantage of a higher position. (See 2 Chr. xxvi. 15.)

53. *their vessels being without victuals.*] The same neglect to provide sufficient stores, which had lost Beth-zur (*v.* 49), now endangered Jerusalem. The author offers two excuses for it. (1) It was a sabbatical year; (2) The influx of Jews from distant parts, rescued from among the heathen by Simon (ch. v. 23) and Judas (*ib. v.* 45), had caused an unusual consumption, and so exhausted the magazines.

54. *There were but a few left.*] The garrison diminished in number day by day,—in part, no doubt, by the ordinary casualties of a siege, but mainly through desertion, the famine driving many to quit the place and seek safety in flight.

§ 4. LYSIAS, CALLED OFF TO ANTIOCH BY THE PROCEEDINGS OF PHILIP, MAKES PEACE WITH THE JEWS, BUT DOES NOT OBSERVE ITS TERMS.

55–63. Jerusalem was at the last gasp. The revolt seemed about to be crushed. Judas can have had no hope of relief, and must have been contemplating surrender, or death amid the enemy's ranks, when an unexpected event saved him, and with him his nation. Philip, the regent appointed by Epiphanes just before his decease, arrived at Antioch with the army which had accompanied Epiphanes to the Eastern provinces, was admitted into the town, and assumed the government of the kingdom. It was necessary to march against this new foe at once; and Lysias, without a moment's hesitation, resolved to make peace with the Jews. The terms he granted them were all that they could desire—they were to return to their allegiance, but were to be allowed the free observance of all their own laws and usages, as before the edict of Epiphanes (*v.* 59). Their fortifications were also to remain untouched. This last stipulation was, however, not kept (*v.* 62). Eupator (or rather Lysias), who must have been the real director of everything, when he saw the strength of the defences, "commanded to pull down the wall." This done, he marched his army off to Antioch (*v.* 63).

55. *Philip.*] See *v.* 14; and compare 2 Macc. ix. 29.

56. *Was returned out of Persia and Media.*] *I.e.* from the eastern provinces, into which Epiphanes had marched for the purpose of collecting money (ch. iii. 31, 37).

the king's host also that went with him.] Half the forces of the empire, according to ch. iii. 37.

57. *he went in all haste, and said.*] Rather, "he **hastened to depart, and to say.**" His special haste was to depart, and set out

B. C. cir. 162.

of the host and the company, We decay daily, and our victuals are but small, and the place we lay siege unto is strong, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us:

[1] Gr. *give hands.*

58 Now therefore let us [1]be friends with these men, and make peace with them, and with all their nation;

59 And covenant with them, that they shall live after their laws, as they did before: for they are therefore displeased, and have done all these things, because we abolished their laws.

60 So the king and the princes were content: wherefore he sent unto them to make peace; and they accepted thereof.

61 Also the king and the princes made an oath unto them: whereupon they went out of the strong hold.

62 Then the king entered into mount Sion; but when he saw the strength of the place, he brake his oath that he had made, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about. B. C. cir. 162.

63 Afterward departed he in all haste, and returned unto Antiochia, where he found Philip to be master of the city: so he fought against him, and took the city by force.

CHAPTER VII.

1 *Antiochus is slain, and Demetrius reigneth in his stead.* 5 *Alcimus would be high priest, and complaineth of Judas to the king.* 16 *He slayeth threescore Assideans.* 43 *Nicanor is slain, and the king's forces are defeated by Judas.* 49 *The day of this victory is kept holy every year.*

IN the hundred and one and fiftieth year [a]Demetrius the *son* of cir. 161. [a] 2 Mac. 14. 1.

for Antioch; but to effect this, he had to persuade the king and the commanders. So he "hastened" also to speak to them. The power of a regent would seem not to have been absolute.

We decay daily, and our victuals are but small.] The besiegers, it would seem, suffered almost as much as the besieged. They also were ill-provisioned, and could obtain but little from the adjacent country, which had no crops on account of the sabbatical year. They, too, "decayed," or lost men, "daily" by casualties.

the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us.] Rather, "press upon us." The situation is pressing, and brooks no delay.

60. *he sent unto them to make peace.*] The author of the Second Book professes to give the letters which passed on the occasion (1) between Lysias and the Jews; (2) between Antiochus and Lysias; and (3) between Antiochus and the Jews (ch. xi. 16–33). But his documents seem to be forgeries. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 318, note [5], E. T.)

61. *the king and the princes made an oath.*] The treaty was concluded with all the customary forms. Oaths were interchanged. As the king was a minor, "the princes"—Lysias and the other generals—took the oath also.

they went out.] This may have been a condition, for the honour of the royal arms.

62. *he brake his oath that he had made.*] We must not impute the perjury to the king, who was a mere boy. The orders to destroy the wall were, no doubt, given by Lysias.

63. *where he found Philip.*] According to the writer of the Second Book, Philip, fearing Eupator, fled into Egypt, and found a refuge with Ptolemy Philometor (2 Macc. ix. 29). It is possible that he escaped after the siege of the city was begun.

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. Demetrius assumes the Syrian Crown, and kills Eupator and Lysias.

1–5. Demetrius, first cousin of Eupator, and the son of the elder brother, had an undoubted claim to the Syrian throne, especially as he was grown up, while Eupator was a minor. His father had sent him, when a child, to Rome as a hostage; and he had been retained there ever since, despite his many remonstrances. At last, despairing of getting the Senate's permission to quit Rome, he secretly made his escape, sailed to Syria, was received with favour by the mass of the inhabitants, and having got Lysias and Eupator into his power, caused them to be put to death (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 47). He then reigned for some years without a rival, but was ultimately dispossessed by Alexander Balas, Eupator's half-brother.

1. *In the hundred and one and fiftieth year.*] The year B.C. 162–1.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus.] Demetrius was the only son, so far as appears, of Seleucus IV. (Philopator), who succeeded his

B. C. cir. 161.

Seleucus departed from Rome, and came up with a few men unto [1]a city of the sea coast, and reigned there.

2 And as he entered into the [1]palace of his ancestors, so it was, that his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him.

3 Wherefore, when he knew it, he said, Let me not see their faces.

4 So his host slew them. Now when Demetrius was set upon the throne of his kingdom,

5 There came unto him all the wicked and ungodly men of Israel, having Alcimus, who was desirous to be high priest, for their captain:

6 And they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have slain all thy friends, and driven us out of our own land.

7 Now therefore send some man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see what havock he hath made among us, and in the king's land, and let him punish them with all them that aid them.

8 Then the king chose Bacchides, a friend of the king, who ruled

[1] *Tripolis,* Jos. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 16.

[1] Gr. *house of the kingdom of his father.*

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father, Antiochus the Great, in B.C. 187–6, and was himself succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes in B.C. 176–5. According to the strict law of primogeniture, as understood in modern times, he was the rightful king; but, as the crown had, on account of his minority at his father's death, passed to a brother, by the Macedonian law his title was disputable.

departed from Rome.] Made his escape secretly, as we learn from Polybius (xxxi. 19–23) and Appian (*l. s. c.*). The Senate preferred that Syria should be under the rule of a boy, and lent no encouragement to the claims of Demetrius. After consultation with Polybius, who was his private friend, and with others, he determined to depart clandestinely, and succeeded in effecting his purpose.

a city of the sea coast.] Demetrius landed at Tripolis in Phœnicia, according to the author of the Second Book (ch. xiv. 1), who is followed by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 1).

reigned there.] *I.e.* "was proclaimed king." He does not appear to have remained at Tripolis more than a very short time.

2. *he entered into the palace of his ancestors.*] The royal palace of the Syrian kings was at Antioch. It was situated in the northern part of the city, close upon the Orontes.

his forces had taken Antiochus and Lysias.] Demetrius landed in Syria with but "a few men" (*v.* 1); but the Syrian army almost immediately declared in his favour. Eupator and Lysias were arrested by their own guards, who would have delivered them alive to the new monarch, but, on the intimation of his pleasure recorded in *v.* 3, put them to death.

§ 2. DEMETRIUS MAKES ALCIMUS HIGH PRIEST, AND SENDS BACCHIDES TO ARRANGE AFFAIRS IN JUDÆA.

4–9. On quitting Jerusalem with Eupator, Lysias had carried off the High Priest, Onias or Menelaus, and had caused him to be put to death, thus leaving the high priesthood vacant. The rightful successor to the office was Menelaus' son, Onias; but another claimant arose in the person of Alcimus, who was of a different family from Menelaus, but claimed to be descended from Aaron, and had had ancestors among the High Priests (2 Macc. xiv. 7). According to Josephus, Lysias invested Alcimus with the office ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7); but our author evidently supposes him to have first received the appointment from Demetrius. Demetrius, at any rate, acknowledged him, and at his instigation sent Bacchides with a large army into Judæa, with orders to crush Judas and his party, and to instal Alcimus as governor of the country.

5. *the wicked and ungodly men of Israel.*] *I.e.* the men of the Hellenizing party. (See above, ch. i. 43, 52; ii. 44; iii. 8, &c.)

Alcimus.] Ewald identifies the name with the Hebrew "Eliakim" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 319, note [6], E. T.); but Josephus says that the original name of Alcimus was not Eliakim, but Jakim or Jehoiakim. In meaning the words are equivalents, but, as names, they were considered to be distinct and different (2 Kings xxiii. 34). Alcimus was a good Greek name, meaning "valiant."

was . . . their captain.] Rather, "their **leader**"—the chief man of the embassy, not a military commander.

6. *they accused the people to the king.*] By "the people" here, we must understand the patriots—that part of the nation which clung to the Law, and accepted Judas for their leader. It was true that Judas and his followers had pursued to the death those of their nation who took the opposite view and sided with the Syrians. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 8.)

8. *Bacchides, a friend of the king.*] Josephus calls him "a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes" ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2). He is not mentioned by the classical writers.

B. C. cir. 161. beyond the flood, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king.

9 And him he sent with that wicked Alcimus, whom he made high priest, and commanded that he should take vengeance of the children of Israel.

10 So they departed, and came with a great power into the land of Judea, where they sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with peaceable words deceitfully.

11 But they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great power.

12 Then did there assemble unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of ‖scribes, to require justice.

‖ Or, *officers, governors, chiefmen,* or, *men in authority.*

13 Now the Assideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them: B. C. cir. 161.

14 For said they, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army, and he will do us no wrong.

15 So he spake unto them peaceably, and sware unto them, saying, We will procure the harm neither of you nor your friends.

16 Whereupon they believed him: howbeit he took of them threescore men, and slew them in one day, according to the words which he wrote,

17 [b]The flesh of thy saints *have they cast out,* and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them. [b] Ps. 79. 2, 3.

18 Wherefore the fear and dread of them fell upon all the people, who

who ruled beyond the flood.] *I.e.* "beyond the Euphrates." Josephus says that he was "governor of all Mesopotamia."

§ 3. THE ATTEMPT OF BACCHIDES TO PACIFY JUDÆA BY FRAUD AND TREACHERY.

10–20. Bacchides seems to have hoped to end all by enticing Judas to a conference, and there seizing his person. When this plot failed, he had no further resource, except to exercise his arts of persuasion and treachery upon persons of less, indeed of scarcely any, importance. What result he expected from his massacres, it is hard to say. He must have wholly misunderstood the character of the Hebrews, if he thought that severities would terrify them into submission. Armed force he appears to have been afraid to use; he made no attack upon the army of Judas or upon the Temple fortress; and after doing the Syrian cause as much harm as was possible in the time, seemingly well content with his work, he left Jerusalem and returned to Antioch.

10. *they sent messengers to Judas, &c.*] To invite to a conference and there seize the persons of obnoxious leaders has been a favourite device of Orientals in all ages. So Tissaphernes seized the Greek generals after Cunaxa; so the Parthians got possession of Crassus after Carrhae; so the Affghans entrapped MacNaughten and his staff at the beginning of the great outbreak. Judas was more prudent and cautious than most commanders. He declined all offers of a parley, and maintained a vigilant defensive attitude, probably in the Temple fortress.

12. *a company of scribes.*] The "scribes" of this verse are probably to be connected with the "Assideans" (*Khasidim*) of the next. Though Judas had been too wary to be deceived, a portion of the "party of the Pious" (see note on ch. ii. 42) suffered themselves to be entrapped. From their secure position, either in the Temple fortress, or in some other fortified place, they sent a strong deputation of "scribes" to confer with Bacchides and Alcimus, and "adjust equitable terms of peace." It seemed to them impossible that one of their own nation, more especially one "of the seed of Aaron," should act treacherously towards them.

15. *he spake unto them peaceably.*] The mask was not thrown off at once. Alcimus bound himself by an oath in no respect to injure the deputies, and then suddenly arrested sixty of them, and put them to death. Josephus throws the blame of the proceeding on Bacchides ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2): but no doubt he and Alcimus were equally in fault.

16. *according to the words which he wrote.*] It has been proposed to supply a nominative, as "Asaph," "David," "the Prophet"—and so some MSS. and versions. But the construction without a nominative is not unexampled, and may be explained as an ellipse, κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψεν [ὁ γράψας].

17. *The flesh of thy saints, &c.*] See Ps. lxxix. 2, 3, which is thought to have been written in the earlier part of the Maccabee period.

18. *the fear and dread of them.*] A com-

B. C. cir. 161. said, There is neither truth nor ‖righteousness in them; for they ‖ Gr. *judgment.* have broken the covenant and oath that they made.

19 After this removed Bacchides from Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bezeth, where he sent and took many of the men that had forsaken him, and certain of the people also, and when he had slain them, [c] Jer. 41. 7. [c]*he cast them* into the great pit.

20 Then committed he the country to Alcimus, and left with him a power to aid him: so Bacchides went to the king.

21 But Alcimus ‖contended for the high priesthood. B. C. cir. 161. ‖ Or, *laboured to defend his high priesthood.*

22 And unto him resorted all such as troubled the people, who, after they had gotten the land of Juda into their power, did much hurt in Israel.

23 Now when Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the Israelites, even above the heathen,

24 He went out into all the coasts of Judea round about, and took vengeance of them that had ‖revolted from him, so that they durst no more ‖go forth into the country. ‖ Or, *fled from him to the enemy.* ‖ Or, *invade the country.*

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mon Hebrew pleonasm. (See Gen. ix. 2; Ex. xv. 16; Deut. ii. 25, xi. 25; Isa. viii. 13.)

19. *pitched his tents in Bezeth.*] Bezeth is probably the same as the Bezetha of later times, which was the name of the hill due north of the Temple-mount, on which a portion of the later city was built. We learn from Josephus that the word is a contraction of Beth-Zeth, which would mean "the house of the olive," and would imply that the hill was originally devoted to the cultivation of that tree. As it is a sort of continuation of the Mount of Olives, this may well have been so.

the men that had forsaken him.] Rather, "that had **deserted from him.**" After the massacre related in *v.* 16, many of the Jews who had ranged themselves on his side, naturally enough, deserted the standard of Bacchides, and fled to strongholds. Of these we must suppose "the village of Beth-Zeth" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2) to have been one.

certain of the people also.] *I.e.* "of the original inhabitants of Beth-Zeth," who had offended him by harbouring the fugitives.

the great pit.] Φρέαρ is properly "a well," and may have the meaning in this place. The massacre of Cawnpore has made moderns familiar with such a disposal of the bodies of victims.

20. *Then committed he the country to Alcimus.*] Alcimus was left to be civil ruler, as well as High Priest. Indeed, as he was excluded from the Temple, his functions would be chiefly civil.

§ 3. ALCIMUS, BEING IN DIFFICULTIES, APPLIES FOR AID A SECOND TIME TO DEMETRIUS, WHO SENDS NICANOR WITH AN ARMY.

21–26. The situation of Alcimus was full of difficulty. He claimed to be High Priest, yet had no access to the Temple. He was nominally civil governor of Judæa, but found his authority overshadowed by that of Judas. Bacchides had in fact left him in the throes of a civil war, in which he found himself losing ground continually. "Judas and his company had gotten the upper hand" (*v.* 25). Under these circumstances, he had no resource but to make a second appeal to Demetrius, for more effectual aid against his adversary. Demetrius upon this sent Nicanor at the head of a considerable army, with orders to "destroy" the party of Judas.

21. *Alcimus contended for the high priesthood.*] Until he could obtain possession of the Temple, Alcimus felt his high priesthood insecure—a mere name, not a reality. Hence the need of his "contention."

22. *all such as troubled the people.*] Compare 1 Kings xviii. 18. The irreligious and idolatrous are always the true "troublers of Israel," even when authority is on their side, and their opponents may seem to be those who cause disturbance.

24. *all the coasts of Judea.*] All parts of the country. (Compare Deut. xvi. 4; Judg. xix. 29, &c.)

them that had revolted from him.] Literally, "that had deserted." Both sides considered that those who went over from their party to the other were "deserters," and merited death. (See *v.* 19.)

they durst no more go forth into the country.] "None of them dared any longer to shew themselves openly" (Ewald).

25. *said all the worst of them that he could.*] Literally, "accused them of evil deeds." In the eyes of Alcimus, and of Demetrius no less, all the gallant actions of Judas and his followers were "evil deeds"—acts of rebellion against lawful authority.

B. C. cir. 161.

25 On the other side, when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company ‖ Or, *were grown very strong.* had gotten the upper hand, and knew that he was not able ‖ Gr. *to abide them.* to abide their force, he went again to the king, and said all the worst of them that he could.

d 2 Mac. 14. 12.

26 *d* Then the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel, with commandment to destroy the people.

cir. 161.

27 So Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great force; and sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully ‖ Gr. *peaceable.* with ‖ friendly words, saying,

28 Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may ‖ see you in peace.

B. C. cir. 161.

‖ Gr. *see your faces.*

29 He came therefore to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. Howbeit the enemies were prepared to take away Judas by violence.

30 Which thing after it was known to Judas, *to wit*, that he came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more.

31 Nicanor also, when he saw that his counsel was discovered, went out to ‖ fight against Judas beside ‖ Caphar-salama:

‖ Gr. *meet Judas in battle.*

‖ Or, *Carphasalama.*

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26. *the king sent Nicanor.*] It is uncertain if this was the "Nicanor" of ch. iii. 36, who was selected to command in the Jewish war by Lysias. He was undoubtedly the person mentioned by Polybius (xxxi. 22, § 4) as among the friends of Demetrius at Rome, and as having accompanied him in his flight. (Cf. Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4.) Josephus calls him "the best-affectioned and most faithful of Demetrius's friends." The author of the Second Book says, that he had been "master of the elephants" (2 Macc. xiv. 12).

a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel.] These words are curiously at variance with the representations of the writer of the Second Book, who makes Nicanor studiously mild towards the Jews at first (ch. xiv. 23–28), and says that he "loved Judas from his heart" (*ib. v.* 24). It has been supposed that his hatred arose from his having been defeated at Emmaus (ch. iv. 14, 15).

with commandment to destroy the people.] Compare above, ch. iii. 35, 36.

§ 4. THE EXPEDITION OF NICANOR AND ITS RESULTS—THE BATTLES OF CAPHARSALAMA AND ADASA.

27–50. Nicanor, like Bacchides, seems to have thought at first, that he might effect the object of his expedition by craft and guile. He entered into negotiations with Judas, and even persuaded him to come to a conference, at which he intended to seize his person (*v.* 29). Judas, however, had guarded against the treachery by having soldiers at hand (2 Macc. xiv. 22), who would have repelled force with force; and the attempt therefore was not actually made. Failing here, the Greek general commenced hostilities, and engaged the forces of Judas at Caphar-salama on the Samaritan frontier, but was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (*v.* 31). He then endeavoured to induce his own party to surrender Judas by threats, that, if they refused, he would destroy the Temple (*v.* 35); but, finding that his menaces had no effect, he once more resorted to arms, and fell upon a small force which was encamped with Judas at Adasa. Here again, however, he was unsuccessful: his army suffered a complete defeat; and he was himself slain in the battle. Judæa had then "rest a little while" (*v.* 50).

27. *with a great force.*] The amount is nowhere stated. According to the author of the Second Book, thirty-five thousand were slain in the battle of Adasa (2 Macc. xv. 27); but the numbers of this writer cannot be trusted.

28. *that I may see you.*] Literally, "that I may see your faces." A common Hebraism.

29. *the enemies were prepared to take away Judas.*] Josephus says that Nicanor in the middle of the interview gave a signal to his subordinates to seize Judas ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 4). Judas, however, perceiving his danger, jumped up and flew to his friends. The writer of the Second Book notes that he had prepared his friends for the emergency (ch. xiv. 22).

31. *beside Capharsalama.*] This place is unknown to the Hebrew Scriptures. The first element of the word may compare with the "Caper" in Capernaum, which means "village," and the second with the "salem" in Jerusalem, which means "peace." In the Middle Ages we find a "Carvasalim" near Ramleh, on the Samaritan frontier, N.W. of Jerusalem, which is probably the same place. From 2 Macc. xv. 1 we learn that, about this time, "Judas and his brethren were in the strong places about Samaria."

B. C. cir. 161.

32 Where there were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and *the rest* fled into the city of David.

33 After this went Nicanor up to mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests and certain of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.

34 But he mocked them, and laughed at them, and ‖abused them shamefully, and spake proudly,

‖ Gr. *defiled them.*

35 And sware in his wrath, saying, Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands, if ever I come again ‖in safety, I will burn up this house: and with that he went out in a great rage.

B. C. cir. 161.

‖ Gr. *in peace.*

36 Then the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping, and saying,

37 Thou, *O Lord*, didst choose this house to be called by thy name, and to be a house of prayer and petition for thy people:

38 Be avenged of this man and his

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32. *the rest fled into the city of David.*] The western portion of Jerusalem, which had always remained in the possession of the Syrians. (See ch. i. 33–38; iv. 41; vi. 18–26, &c.)

33. *went Nicanor up to mount Sion.*] Nicanor made a demonstration against the Temple fortress. He descended from the Akra, and "ascended" the Temple hill, and probably approached the gates, and demanded a conference with the authorities. Whether he was admitted within the enclosure into the great outer court, as the author of the Second Book supposes (2 Macc. xiv. 31–33), is perhaps doubtful. The statement here, that the priests "came out" to meet him, rather implies the contrary. But, on the other hand, we are told (in *v.* 35) that he "went out," so that seemingly he must have penetrated inside. It is, however, quite clear that he was at no time master of the fortress, which was held for Judas by the "priests" and "people."

there came out of the sanctuary.] "The sanctuary," τὰ ἅγια, may mean either the Temple, taken altogether, τὸ ἱερόν, or the sacred building in the centre of the inner court, ὁ ναός.

the elders of the people.] The Temple fortress sheltered at this time, not only a body of priests, but a "people," the families of those who were in the field with Judas. It also had, in all probability, a garrison. (See ch. iv. 61.)

to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered for the king.] The Jews did not as yet claim actual independence. Their demand was to live under their own laws and enjoy the free exercise of their own religion, while at the same time they were subjects of the Syrian king. They therefore, according to their universal practice when under foreign government, offered special sacrifices and prayers for the Syrian monarch. (See Ezra vi. 10; Jer. xxix. 7; Philo, 'Leg. ad Caium,' vol. ii. p. 592.)

34. *he . . . abused them shamefully.*] Literally, "he polluted them." Gorionides says, "by spitting upon them;" but this can be no more than a conjecture.

35. *Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands.*] Nicanor appears to have thought that Judas was within the Temple fortress, and that the priests and elders had it in their power to deliver him up. This was not the case (2 Macc. xiv. 32). Judas was still with his army in the field.

I will burn up this house.] The author of the Second Book gives a somewhat different account. According to him, Nicanor "stretched out his right hand towards the Temple, and made an oath in this manner—If ye will not deliver me Judas as a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple to Bacchus" (2 Macc. xiv. 33). The threat, however expressed, reminded those who heard it of the blasphemous menaces of Sennacherib. (See *v.* 41, and compare 2 Kings xviii. 29–35.)

he went out.] On the force of this expression, see the comment on *v.* 33.

36. *the priests entered in.*] We may understand this of the priests quitting the outer, and entering the inner, court. They would then, naturally, stand "before the altar and the Temple"—the altar being directly in front of the Temple building.

37. *Thou, O Lord.*] The word Κύριε is wanting in many MSS., and is probably not from the hand of the author, who systematically avoids the use of the holy Name. (See note on ch. iii. 22.)

didst choose this house, &c.] See Deut. xii. 5, 11, 14, &c.; 1 Kings xi. 36, xiv. 21, &c.

to be a house of prayer and petition.] See Solomon's dedication speech (1 Kings viii.

host, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to continue any longer.

39 So Nicanor went out of Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Beth-horon, where an host out of Syria met him.

40 But Judas pitched in Adasa with three thousand men, and there he prayed, saying,

41 [e] *O Lord*, when they that were sent from the king of the Assyrians blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote an hundred fourscore and five thousand of them.

42 Even so destroy thou this host before us this day, that the rest may know that he hath spoken blasphemously against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness.

43 So the thirteenth day of the month Adar the hosts joined battle: but Nicanor's host was discomfited, and he himself was first slain in the battle.

44 Now when Nicanor's host saw that he was slain, they cast away their weapons, and fled.

45 Then ‖ they pursued after them a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera, sounding an alarm after them with their trumpets.

46 Whereupon they came forth out of all the towns of Judea round about, and closed them in; so that they, turning back upon them that pursued them, were all slain with the sword, and not one of them was left.

B. C. cir. 161.

B. C. 161.

[e] 2 Kings 19. 35. Isai. 37. 36. Ecclus. 48. 21. 2 Mac. 8. 19. & 15. 22.

‖ Or, *the Jews.*

28–52), and compare Is. lxi. 7, Matt. xxi. 13, &c.

39. *in Beth-horon.*] On the situation of Beth-horon, see note on ch. iii. 16.

40. *in Adasa.*] According to Josephus, Adasa was 30 stades (3¾ miles) distant from Beth-horon. Eusebius places it near Gophna (*Jifna*). Recent research has shewn that it lay at the junction of the two main lines of advance on Jerusalem from the north, not far from *El-Jib* (Gibeon).

with three thousand men.] This is a surprisingly small number, since we have found Judas previously at the head of a body of 10,000 (ch. iv. 29), and on one occasion, when he divided his forces into three parts, they exceeded 13,000 (ch. v. 20, 60). Small as the number is, however, Josephus reduces it still further, making it no more than 1000 ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5). The forces on the other side he estimates (*l. s. c.*) at 9000. The author of the Second Book makes them 35,000 (2 Macc. xv. 27).

41. *O Lord.*] Here, again, as in *v.* 37, most MSS. omit Κύριε, which was probably not expressed by the original writer. (See note on *v.* 37.)

the king of the Assyrians.] *I.e.* Sennacherib. It has been observed already that Nicanor's menaces recalled to the minds of those who heard them the threats of Rabshakeh. It may be added, that Jewish tradition makes the destruction of Sennacherib's host to have taken place in the same region where Judas was at the present time encamped. This view, however, is not borne out by Scripture.

an hundred fourscore and five thousand.] See 2 Kings xix. 35.

42. *the rest.*] *I.e.* "our other enemies"—Syrians, apostate Jews, Edomites, Ammonites, &c.

43. *the thirteenth day of the month Adar.*] "Adar" corresponded to the latter part of February and the first three weeks of March. The thirteenth day of Adar was the day immediately preceding the two days' Feast of Purim, which was kept on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar (Esther viii. 21–32), the fourteenth day being known as "the day of Mordecai" (2 Macc. xv. 36). Henceforth three days were observed, the first of them being called "Nicanor's day."

45. *a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazera.*] On the position of Gazera and its identity with the modern Tel-Jezar, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. The direct distance from Adasa is about 15 miles, which the turns and twists of the passes would increase to about 20—a good "day's journey."

sounding an alarm, &c.] Literally, "and they trumpeted after them with their signal trumpets." The notes of the trumpets announced victory, and gave a signal to the villagers and others to intercept the passes and cut off the retreat. (See the next verse.)

46. *they came forth out of all the towns.*] Rather, "**villages**" (κωμῶν).

closed them in.] Literally, "out-flanked them." (See Polyb. xi. 23, § 5; Plutarch, 'Vit. Brut.' § 23.)

B. C. 161. 47 Afterwards they took the spoils, and the prey, and smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so proudly, and brought them away, and hanged them up toward Jerusalem.

48 For this cause the people rejoiced greatly, and they kept that day a day of great gladness.

/ 2 Mac. 15. 36. 49 Moreover *f* they ordained to keep yearly this day, being the thirteenth of Adar.

50 Thus *g* the land of Juda was in rest a little while. B. C. cir. 161. ch. 9. 57. & 14. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Judas is informed of the power and policy of the Romans,* 20 *and maketh a league with them.* 24 *The articles of that league.*

NOW Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were mighty and valiant men, and such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them,

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47. *they took the spoils, and the prey.*] The inanimate and animate objects—women, children, and slaves—that the enemy had left behind him. For this sense of προνομὴ see the Septuagint version of Deut. xxi. 10.

smote off Nicanor's head.] This barbarous practice was common in antiquity. The Egyptian kings represent themselves as bringing home the heads of rebel enemies, suspended to their chariots (Lepsius, 'Denkmäler,' part iii. pl. 128 *a*) and even as smiting off their heads with their own hands (*ib.* pl. 61). The Philistines cut off Saul's head, and "sent it into their land round about" (1 Sam. xxxi. 9). Judith is represented as cutting off the head of Holofernes in his tent and carrying it away with her (Jud. xiii. 8–15). Xerxes had the corpse of Leonidas beheaded after Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 238). The similar indignity offered to the body of Pompey by the semi-barbarous Egyptians of the time is too well known to need more than simple mention.

and his right hand.] This was unusual. Right hands were sometimes cut off as a means of counting the slain; but the present instance does not come under this category. It must be ascribed wholly to the action of Nicanor in threatening the Temple with a gesture of his right hand (2 Macc. xvi. 33). The guilty right hand was cut off in the way of punishment.

hanged them up toward Jerusalem.] They were probably hung up on one of the Temple gates looking westward, toward the fortress and city occupied by the Syrians. The later traditions, and even the details of 2 Macc. xv. 32–35), are scarcely trustworthy. Such exposures naturally followed on the barbarities practised upon the corpses of enemies in the ancient world generally. (See the author's 'Hist. of Egypt,' vol. ii. p. 255; 1 Sam. xxxxi. 12; 'Behist. Inscr.' col. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14; § 16; &c.)

50. *the land of Juda was in rest a little while.*] A few weeks only. The second expedition of Bacchides followed on the defeat of Nicanor within a month at the utmost. (Compare ch. vii. 1, 43 with ch. ix. 1–3.)

CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. JUDAS RECEIVES INFORMATION CONCERNING THE POWER AND GREATNESS OF THE ROMANS.

1–16. The account of the Romans contained in this passage is interesting, as shewing, not so much the amount of knowledge which Judas Maccabeus possessed of them, as the amount possessed by the writer of the Book, some thirty or forty years after the death of Judas. The picture is graphic, and, despite its inaccuracies (*vv.* 8, 15, 16), not unfaithful, presenting to us fairly enough the general outlines, at once of their national character, of their military history, and of their institutions. The writer evidently holds the nation in high respect and esteem. He recognises all its good qualities; he is apparently not aware of its bad ones. The policy of Judas in opening communications with the Romans has his approval. He expects nothing but good to result from it; he sees no peril as threatening either the religious life or the political independence of his people. Yet the facts stated in *v.* 13 might well have stirred some feelings of distrust and suspicion.

1. *Judas had heard of the fame of the Romans.*] The Romans first became known in the East as a great military power at the beginning of the second century B.C., by the war which they waged with Antiochus the Great. The battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190, established their reputation. The treaty which followed gave them a right, which they were not slow to use, of perpetual interference in the affairs of Asia. Their "commissioners" (*legati*) were constantly visiting the different courts, making demands and imposing conditions. It was a part of their policy to support all the weak states against the stronger ones, in order that no one power might swallow up the rest.

B. C. cir. 161. and make a league of amity with all that came unto them;

2 And that they were men of great valour. It was told him also of their wars and noble acts which they had done among the ‖Galatians, and how they had conquered them, and brought them under tribute;

‖ Or, *Frenchmen.*

B. C. 189.

3 And what they had done in the country of Spain, for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold which is there;

B. C. cir. 201.

4 And that by their policy and patience they had conquered ‖all the place, though it were very far from them; and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, till they had discomfited them, and given them a great overthrow, so that the rest did give them tribute every year:

‖ Or, *every place.*

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mighty and valiant men.] Literally, "mighty in strength," a phrase equivalent to the "mighty men of valour" of the Canonical Books (Judg. vi. 12, xi. 1; 1 Kings xi. 28; 2 Chr. xvii. 17, &c.).

such as would lovingly accept, &c.] The Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians. They were on such terms with Demetrius Soter as made it probable that they would accept an offer of friendship from any state that was hostile to him.

2. *they were men of great valour.*] This clause is repeated from *v.* 1, either by accident, or for the sake of emphasising it.

their wars . . . among the Galatians.] The Galatians of Asia Minor were the remnant of that vast body of emigrants which entered Macedonia from the valley of the Danube in B.C. 279, and for a time threatened to overwhelm Macedonian and Greek civilisation. Repulsed at last, they made their way into Thrace, and thence passed over into Asia Minor, some of them on the invitation of Nicomedes (B.C. 277), others of their own accord. Here they settled in Northern Phrygia (which became "Galatia") and continued for nearly a century an annoyance and a terror to their neighbours. At last, in B.C. 189, the year after Magnesia, Cn. Manlius Vulso undertook an expedition against them, which was completely successful, and in a great measure put a stop to their ravages. (See Liv. xxxviii. 37; Polyb. xxi. 38, &c.)

brought them under tribute.] This is, probably, an inaccuracy. The Romans withdrew from Asia altogether after the campaign of B.C. 189, and left the Galatians to themselves, merely enjoining upon them the discontinuance of their constant raids (Liv. xxxvii. 40).

3. *what they had done in the country of Spain.*] The conquest of Spain was effected, nominally, in the course of the Second Punic War (B.C. 218–201); and its cession was one of the conditions enforced on the Carthaginians in the last-named year. But the Celtic and Iberian tribes were not really subdued till much later, resistance being only terminated by the campaigns of Agrippa and Carisius in B.C. 27–19.

for the winning of the mines of the silver and gold.] The wealth of Spain in the precious metals was no doubt the main reason of its possession being coveted, alike by the Romans and the Carthaginians. Silver was especially plentiful (Polyb. xxxiv. 9, § 8); and the silver-mines of New Carthage (Carthagena) formed the great attraction which originally drew the Carthaginians to the Spanish shores. Gold was also obtained in considerable quantities; and Pliny goes so far as to say, that "*almost the whole* of Spain abounds with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold" ('H. N.' xxxiii. 21). The influx of the precious metals into Italy, chiefly from Spain, after the close of the Second Punic War, was very great, and caused a marked decline in their value.

4. *by their policy and patience they had conquered all the place.*] This was certainly not true at the time when Judas sent his embassy. The name "Spain" applied to the whole of the peninsula, which was not entirely reduced, as already observed, until B.C. 19. But the reduction of the Lusitani in B.C. 140, and of Numantia in B.C. 133, had produced a cessation of open resistance at the time when our author wrote.

though it were very far from them.] It is remarkable that the distant Spain was conquered, while the nearer Gaul remained independent, and indeed unattacked, the Roman armies being sent to Spain by sea.

kings . . . from the uttermost part of the earth.] The author has perhaps in his mind the invasions of Italy by Pyrrhus (B.C. 280) and Hannibal (B.C. 218), whom he may regard as a king, though, strictly speaking, he was only a general. But he has evidently no more than a vague acquaintance with the Roman military history.

a great overthrow.] No particular battle is intended, but rather the whole course of

B. C. 197. 5 Beside this, how they had discomfited in battle Philip, and Perseus, king of the ‖ Citims, with others that lifted up themselves against them, and had overcome them:

1 Or, *Macedonians.*

6 How also Antiochus the great king of Asia, that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants, with horsemen, and chariots, and a very great army, was discomfited by them; B. C. 190.

7 And how they took him alive, and covenanted that he and such as reigned after him should pay a great tribute, and give hostages, and that which was agreed upon,

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Roman victory, the word πληγὴ being used "distributively" (Grimm).

5. *how they had discomfited in battle Philip.*] Philip III., king of Macedon, made alliance with Hannibal in the year B.C. 215, and went to war with the Romans in the year following. After seven years of not very successful warfare, he was glad to conclude a separate peace in B.C. 207. In B.C. 200, however, he voluntarily renewed the war, but after a short struggle was completely defeated by the Roman general, Flamininus, at Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, B.C. 197. This is no doubt the "discomfiture" whereto our author alludes.

and Perseus.] Perseus, son and successor of Philip III., and last king of Macedon, was forced into a war with Rome against his will in B.C. 171, and, after three years of desultory fighting, suffered complete defeat at the hands of L. Æmilius Paullus in the great battle of Pydna, which extinguished the Macedonian monarchy. (Polyb. xxix. 17; Liv. xliv. 40, *et seqq.*)

king of the Citims.] The Citim, Chittim, or Citæans, were, properly, the inhabitants of the town called Citium (Κίτιον), in Cyprus; but the Hebrew writers had from the time of Moses (Gen. x. 4; Num. xxiv. 24) been accustomed to use the term in a wider sense, either for the Cyprians, or even for the inhabitants of the isles and coasts of Greece generally (Is. xxiii. 1, 12; Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' i. 6, § 1, &c.). Compare above ch. i. 1, and the comment *ad loc.*

6. *Antiochus, the great king of Asia.*] Antiochus III., son of Seleucus Callinicus, ascended the Syrian throne in B.C. 223, and reigned thirty-six years, dying B.C. 187. He is called "the Great King of Asia," as representing in the extent and geographical position of his dominions the old Persian monarchs, to whom the title of "Great King" had attached for more than two centuries. He assumed as his distinctive epithet the term ὁ Μέγας—"the Great," and is generally so designated by the classical historians (Polyb. xx. 8; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 66; Cic. 'Orat. pro Sextio,' § 27, &c.).

that came against them in battle, having an hundred and twenty elephants.] Antiochus III. first engaged the Romans with a small force at Thermopylæ in B.C. 192 (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 18–20), and suffered a severe defeat; but the present reference is not to this conflict, where only a few elephants were present, but to the far more important battle of Magnesia—one of the "decisive battles of the world"—in which the whole strength of the Syrian kingdom was pitted against Rome, and proved unequal to the encounter. The elephants brought into the field on this occasion were probably all that were available, and formed a conspicuous feature of the engagement (Liv. xxxvii. 39; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 32); but their number, according to Livy, did not exceed fifty-four.

with horsemen, and chariots.] The "horsemen" in the army of Antiochus are said by Livy (xxxix. 40) to have exceeded 11,700, of whom 6000 were clothed in heavy armour, and mounted on armoured horses. The chariots carried scythes at their axles, and were greatly feared by the adversaries of the Syrians, but actually caused most damage to their own side (App. 'Syriac.' § 33).

a very great army.] Amounting to 170,000 men, according to Appian ('Syriac.' § 32, *ad init.*).

7. *they took him alive.*] This is contrary to the fact. Antiochus fled from the field of battle to Sardis, thence to Celænæ, and thence to Antioch (*ib.* § 36). His ambassadors concluded peace with Rome in the course of the same year (B.C. 190).

and covenanted that he . . . should pay a great tribute.] Antiochus agreed to pay down 500 Eubœic talents, to pay 2500 more on the ratification of the treaty by the senate, and further to send to Rome 1000 talents yearly for the next twelve years (Liv. xxxviii. 39; Appian, § 38). This annual payment might be viewed as a (temporary) "tribute."

such as reigned after him.] Antiochus the Great outlived the battle of Magnesia by only three years. His obligations, consequently, had to be discharged by his successors, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. The payments were not made with regularity, and we find them running on into the reign of Epiphanes, who made the last remittance under the treaty in B.C. 173, seventeen years after Magnesia (Liv. xlii. 6).

B. C. 190. 8 And the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest countries, which they took of him, and gave to king Eumenes:

9 Moreover how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them;

10 And that they, having knowledge thereof, sent against them a certain captain, and fighting with them slew many of them, and carried away captives their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and took possession of their lands, and pulled down their strong holds, and brought them to be their servants unto this day: B. C. cir. 190. B. C. 146.

and give hostages.] Twenty hostages were required, with liberty to the Romans to select whom they pleased (Appian, § 38). Among those chosen was Epiphanes, the younger son of Antiochus the Great, who was afterwards exchanged for Demetrius, his nephew.

and that which was agreed upon.] The word thus translated (διαστολή) is rare in Hellenistic, and not very common in classical, Greek. In Ex. viii. 23, it signifies "division," or "difference;" but that sense will not suit here. Some suppose the meaning here to be "exchange," since the hostages might be exchanged for fresh ones from time to time (Appian, *l. s. c.*). Others suggest the rendering, "a portion of his kingdom." But the word has nowhere else either of these senses.

8. *India, and Media, and Lydia.*] India proper was at no time included within the dominions of Antiochus the Great, and therefore could not have been ceded by him to Rome. His furthest eastern possession was Arachosia, a portion of Affghanistan. Media and Lydia were under his rule, the former permanently, the latter from B.C. 221 to 214. But Media is not mentioned as ceded by any other writer, and lay too far to the east to have been made over to Eumenes. Attempts have been made to save our author's credit by turning "India" into "Ionia," and "Media" into "Mysia;" but the simple fact seems to be that he had no accurate knowledge of any history which was not immediately connected with that of the Jews. He is correct in saying that the Romans compelled Antiochus to cede to them a portion of his dominions, and that the countries ceded were attached by Rome to the kingdom of Eumenes; he is mistaken as to the territories which thus changed masters. What Antiochus ceded was all Asia north of the Taurus (Liv. xxxvii. 44). The greater part of this tract Rome gave to Eumenes (*ib.* 56).

of the goodliest countries.] Literally, "of *their* goodliest countries" (ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων χωρῶν αὐτῶν). It is proposed to read αὐτοῦ ("his") for αὐτῶν; but the change is unnecessary. "Their" refers to the Syrians. On the goodliness of the countries yielded, see Herod. i. 142; and compare Sir C. Fellows's 'Asia Minor,' pp. 16, 22, 27, &c.

king Eumenes.] This was Eumenes II., the eldest son and successor of Attalus I., fourth king of Pergamus, one of the lesser kingdoms formed out of the dominions of Alexander the Great. From a small principality this kingdom became under Eumenes II. the principal power in Asia Minor, Rome rewarding his services at Magnesia and elsewhere with the gift of all the territory that she had taken from Antiochus the Great, except Lycia and part of Caria, which were assigned to the Rhodians.

9. *how the Grecians had determined to come and destroy them.*] This representation of the grounds of quarrel between the Romans and the Greeks breathes the spirit of a thoroughgoing partisan of the former. In reality, it was Rome which aimed at destroying Greece, not Greece which even dared to think of destroying Rome. The Ætolians indeed, on one occasion, threatened to invade Italy, and give an answer to the Roman demands on the banks of the Tiber (Liv. xxxv. 33); but the real aggressor in the contest was Rome, and it was Rome which insisted on carrying matters to the last extremity.

10. *a certain captain.*] Manius Acilius Glabrio, who was sent against the Ætolians in B.C. 191, has been looked upon as the "captain" here spoken of: but the rest of the verse points, not to the Ætolian war of B.C. 194–190, but to the final struggle of the Achæans in B.C. 146. If we understand the passage in this sense, the "captain" will have to be regarded as L. Mummius, who crushed Grecian independence at Leucopetra; and the author will have been guilty of an anachronism.

carried away captives their wives and their children.] On the capture of Corinth, all the full-grown men were put to death, while the women and children were sold to be slaves (Justin, xxxiv. 2). Achæa was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and the last remnant of Grecian independence was swept away.

pulled down their strong holds.] The fortifications of Thebes and Chalcis were destroyed in the last Achæan war; Corinth was burnt; and the other strongholds generally were dismantled.

B. C. cir. 170.

11 *It was told him* besides, how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them;

12 But with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity: and that they had conquered kingdoms both far and nigh, insomuch as all that heard of their name were afraid of them:

13 Also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would, they displace: finally, that they were greatly exalted:

B. C. cir. 170.

14 Yet for all this none of them wore a crown, or was clothed in purple, to be magnified thereby:

15 Moreover how they had made for themselves a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat

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11. *all other kingdoms.*] As that of Demetrius of Pharos, conquered in B.C. 219; Cis-Alpine Gaul, conquered in B.C. 191; Liguria, conquered in B.C. 154; Lusitania, conquered in B.C. 140, &c.

and isles.] Sicily was ceded to Rome by the Carthaginians at the close of the First Punic War, B.C. 241. Sardinia was seized in B.C. 238, and ceded the next year. Corsica was annexed in B.C. 236. Corcyra became Roman about B.C. 228.

12. *with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity.*] This, again, is the estimate of a partisan. Rome's principle was to favour her friends, so long as she needed them; to cast them aside, so soon as she could dispense with their services. Each friend in turn becomes an enemy, when he has ceased to be valuable, and is swallowed up as Ulysses would have been by Polyphemus, if he had not made his escape. But at the time when our author wrote, this was not generally recognised. The aggrandizement of Eumenes and the Rhodians after Magnesia placed the conduct of Rome towards her allies in a very favourable light.

all that heard of their name were afraid of them.] Signal indications of the alarm felt, even by the most powerful kings, are seen in the submission of Epiphanes to the dictation of Popillius (Liv. xlv. 12) and the murder of Hannibal by Prusias at the first hint that Rome was displeased at his harbouring her enemy (*ib.* xxxix. 51).

13. *whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign.*] From about the year B.C. 169 Rome acted as arbiter among the rival claimants of the Egyptian throne. In Asia Minor, from the date of the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190) her influence was frequently employed to establish or displace monarchs. Alexander Balas owed his throne in a great measure to the hostility of Rome towards Demetrius. Nicomedes II. of Bithynia, Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, and others, succeeded in establishing themselves, because Rome favoured their claims.

14. *Yet for all this none of them wore a crown.*] To an Oriental this seemed the most extraordinary fact of all—royal power exercised, yet the insignia of royalty carefully eschewed—the State everything, the individual nothing. Crowns of gold were continually sent to Rome as acknowledgments of sovereignty by the Eastern communities (Polyb. xxii. 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7; xxviii. 18, § 3, &c.). These, however, were not appropriated by any individuals, but went into the public treasury.

or was clothed in purple.] Purple first appears as a specially *royal* colour in the Book of Judges, where we hear of the "purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian" whom Gideon slew (Judg. viii. 26). It does not appear to have been worn by the Assyrian monarchs, but was first brought into general repute by being selected for their wear by the Median kings (Xen. 'Cyrop.' i. 3, § 2). From the Medes the Persians adopted it (*ibid.* viii. 3, § 13); and from them it passed to the Greco-Macedonians (Q. Curt. 'Vit. Alex. Magn.' vi. 6), and ultimately to the Romans. Though no Roman of the times of the republic clothed himself in purple habitually, it was an ordinary colour of the *paludamentum* or general's cloak, the emblem of supreme command.

15. *a senate house, wherein three hundred and twenty men sat.*] The number of the Roman Senate was at no time legally fixed at three hundred *and twenty* members. The original number was 100 (Liv. i. 8)—the complete number under the monarchy, 300 (Dionys. Hal. iii. 67; Liv. ii. 1). No further augmentation was formally made until the dictatorship of Sulla, when he arbitrarily increased the Senate to between 500 and 600. Our author's estimate of 320 may be a simple mistake, or it may have arisen from the fact that in his time the actual number, including the two classes of full senators and persons having a right to a seat from their having served certain offices, was commonly about 320. (See Dr. W. Smith's 'Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.' p. 1018; 2nd edit.)

B. C. cir. 161. in council daily, consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered:

16 And that they committed their government to one man every year, who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them.

17 In consideration of these things, Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, *the son* of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, B. C. cir. 161.

18 *And to intreat them* that they would take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of

daily.] This statement is also inaccurate. The Senate sat regularly, only on the Calends, Nones, and Ides of each month (Cic. 'Ad Q. Fratrem,' ii. 13); though extraordinary meetings might be convoked, on any day that was not *nefastus*, by the proper magistrate. Continuous sittings occurred only in the month of February, when audience was given to foreign ambassadors *de die in diem;* but this practice belongs only to the last period of the Republic. It may, however, have misled the writer.

16. *they committed their government to one man every year.*] Another mistake, but one which foreigners were not unlikely to make. The two consuls were ordinarily required *sortiri provincias*, "to cast lots for their respective provinces;" and their spheres were for the most part not only distinct, but distant one from the other. The Orientals would never be brought into contact with more than one consul at a time. It is unnecessary to suppose a reference to the temporary and occasional dictatorship.

there was neither envy nor emulation among them.] This view of the Roman polity is far too rose-coloured. In addition to the old rivalry of patrician and plebeian, and the constant struggle between consuls and tribunes, there was not infrequently a jealousy felt by the consuls one towards the other, which seriously interfered with the right conduct of affairs. In the early part of the Second Punic War, the rivalry between Servilius and Flaminius, Æmilius Paullus and Terentius Varro, had very disastrous consequences. Even a "Master of the Knights" was occasionally a thorn in the side of a dictator (Liv. xxii. 14, 27–29).

§ 2. EMBASSY SENT BY JUDAS TO THE ROMANS, AND TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

17–30. The determination of Judas to ask the aid of Rome was a piece of worldly policy which seemed prudent at the time, and which for many years had no ill consequences, but which implied a lack of simple earnest faith, and which ultimately led to the destruction of the Jewish state. Humanly speaking, and apart from a miraculous deliverance, Rome must no doubt have in the end absorbed the Israelite community: but it is to be regretted, for the sake of Judas himself, with his general nobility of character, that he was not above "trusting to an arm of flesh," and calling in a foreign power to give the help which could only have been given effectually by Jehovah. The history of his own nation might have warned him how fatal was the step he took. The appeals of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvi. 7), and of Hezekiah to Merodach-Baladan (*ib.* xx. 13), had produced the most unfortunate results. A protector naturally becomes a sovereign. Had Judas known a little more of the real history of the Roman State, he would have recognised the fact, that he was calling in the wolf to mount guard over the sheep. As it was, he appears to have been deceived by the conduct of Rome towards Eumenes, which *seemed* disinterested, and which had vastly aggrandized the kingdom of Pergamus. (See *v.* 8.)

17. *In consideration of these things.*] These words are interpolated by our translators. The Greek has simply *καί*—the original had doubtless the mere-*vau* connective.

Judas chose Eupolemus . . . and Jason.] It has been remarked (Stanley) that these names are Greek, and inferred that "Judas, with his usual sagacity, chose his envoys, not from the stricter, but from the free-minded section of his nation."

the son of John.] This John is mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 11, as having been the intermediary by means of whom special privileges had been obtained for the Jews from Antiochus the Great. His son, Eupolemus, is identified by some with the writer on Jewish history, so largely quoted by Alexander Polyhistor. (See the fragments of Polyhistor in C. Müller's 'Fr. Hist. Graec.' vol. iii.)

Accos.] This is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Hakkoz, or Hakkots, a common priestly name (1 Chr. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21).

18. *to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them.*] The embassy was probably sent before the defeat of Nicanor,

B. C. cir. 161. the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude.

19 They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey, and came into the senate, where they spake and said,

20 Judas Maccabeus with his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

21 So that matter pleased the Romans well.

22 And this is the copy of the epistle which *the senate* wrote back again in tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy: B. C. cir. 162.

23 Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and enemy be far from them.

24 If there come first any war upon the Romans or any of their confederates throughout all their dominion,

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when the cause of the patriotic party seemed well-nigh desperate.

the kingdom of the Grecians.] *I.e.* the Greco-Macedonian kingdom established in Syria under the Seleucidæ.

19. *They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey.*] The journey had to be made by sea, and followed the line of the coast, except that the Ægean and the Adriatic might be crossed at their mouths, the former by way of the Cyclades, or of Cnidus, Carpathus, and Crete, the latter from Corcyra to Iapygia. The voyage of St. Paul from Cæsarea to Puteoli seems to have taken about six months; but half of this time was spent at Melita. Three months was probably about the usual time spent in the passage.

and came into the senate.] The practice of introducing foreign ambassadors into the Senate, and allowing them to speak for themselves, is well attested by the classical writers' (Liv. vii. 20; viii. 1, 5, &c.; Polyb. xxxi. 6, 14; xxxii. 1, 7, 24, &c.; Cic. 'Ad Q. Fratrem', ii. 13, &c.). It was the established usage during the entire period of the Republic.

where they spake and said.] Literally, "where they *answered* and said." But our translators are probably right as to the meaning. See the comment on ch. ii. 17.

20. *Judas Maccabeus, &c.*] It must not be supposed that this is all that the ambassadors said. No doubt, they fully stated their case, and recommended the alliance by all the arguments which they thought likely to be effectual. But the sum of all was the request to be inscribed on the list of Rome's allies. We are not to suppose that there was an official "register;" the names and number of the allies were known by means of the treaties preserved in the Tabularium of the Capitol.

22. *this is the copy of the epistle which the senate wrote back again.*] The reply of the Senate was to send back a duplicate copy of the treaty, which they formally concluded with the Jewish ambassadors, for the Jews to preserve in their own archives, while they retained another similar document themselves. Duplicate treaties on plates of metal were as old as the time of Rameses the Great (B.C. 1350), whose treaty with the Hittites in his twenty-first year was inscribed on two tablets of silver ('Records of the Past,' vol. iv. pp. 27–32).

in tables of brass.] Rather, "**on tablets of bronze.**" The custom of inscribing treaties on bronze tablets was ancient at Rome. Polybius says that the various treaties between Rome and Carthage, commencing with the one concluded in the first year of the Republic, were preserved to his day in the Capitol ἐν χαλκώμασι (iii. 26, § 1). Dionysius states that the laws of the Twelve Tables were engraved on brazen pillars (στήλαις χαλκαῖς, x. 57); and Pollux says that laws of all kinds, both sacred and profane, were inscribed similarly (viii. 128).

23. *Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews.*] A translation, as has been well noted (Grimm), of the old Roman formula, "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano et genti Judæorum," with which the treaty would naturally begin.

24–30. We have here a specimen of the sort of treaty which Rome was at all times ready to conclude with any independent power, beyond the line of her frontiers, but within the sphere of her activity. To such powers she was always ready to promise protection and assistance, in return for an engagement on their part, to help her with a contingent when required (*v.* 25), and to render no aid to her enemies (*v.* 26). A studious appearance of equity and moderation is observable in such documents. See the

B. C. cir. 161.

25 The people of the Jews shall help them, as the time shall be appointed, with all their heart:

26 Neither shall they give any thing unto them that make war upon them, or aid them with victuals, weapons, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants without taking any thing therefore.

27 In the same manner also, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them with all their heart, according as the time shall be appointed them:

28 Neither shall victuals be given to them that take part against them, or weapons, or money, or ships, as it hath seemed good to the Romans; but they shall keep their covenants, and that without deceit. B. C. cir. 161.

29 According to these articles did the Romans make a covenant with the people of the Jews.

30 Howbeit if hereafter the one party or the other shall think meet to add or diminish any thing, they may do it at their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be ratified.

31 And as touching the evils that Demetrius doeth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews?

32 If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

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three treaties with Carthage given by Polybius (iii. 22, 24, and 25).

25. *as the time shall be appointed.*] *I.e.* on the day, and in the manner that Rome shall appoint. Rome would not always, nor indeed very often, ask aid.

with all their heart.] Literally, "with a full heart"—*i.e.* heartily and zealously.

26. *Neither shall they give any thing.*] A common stipulation, generally expressed more briefly by the phrase, "nulla ope juvato," or "neu commeatu, neu qua alia ope juvato." (See Liv. xxxviii. 11, 38, &c.)

as it hath seemed good unto the Romans.] These words seem to imply that Rome had a list of "contraband of war" extending beyond the four items enumerated, which are given as suggestive, not as exhaustive. The Jews were not to supply to nations at war with Rome any of the articles on the Roman list.

without taking any thing therefore.] Without expecting to be paid for it.

28. *without deceit.*] The Latin form was, no doubt, "sine dolo malo." (Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 11.)

30. *Howbeit, &c.*] This was a supplemental clause, and is therefore separated off by the parenthetic *v.* 29 from the rest of the treaty. Such a power to add to, or take from, the provisions of treaties by mutual agreement was often provided, though occasionally it gave rise to suspicion and complaint (Thucyd. v. 23, 29), as do "secret clauses" in modern treaties.

§ 3. THREATENING MESSAGE SENT BY ROME TO DEMETRIUS.

31–32. If the treaty was to give any immediate relief to the Jews, it was necessary that the fact of its conclusion should be notified to Demetrius. Rome gave the notification in the rudest and bluntest way. Ever since Magnesia, she had domineered over the Syrian kings; and Demetrius was especially odious to her, since he had assumed the crown without her authorisation, and against her wishes (Polyb. xxxi. 19–23).

31. *we have written unto him, saying.*] Here again we are not to suppose that the writer gives the entire rescript. Though the forms of ancient diplomacy were simpler and more direct than those which prevail at the present day, still for the most part proposals, and even commands, were wrapt up in a number of unmeaning phrases, which softened them to the recipient. Here, the main thing was to intimate that the status of the Jews was changed—they had become "friends and confederates" of the Romans. Rome therefore could not suffer them to be oppressed. But the question, "Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy?" &c., can scarcely have been put so barely as it is expressed in the text.

32. *If therefore they complain any more.*] Rather, "if they apply to us any more." The application would, of course, involve a complaint.

we will . . . fight with thee by sea and by land.] "Terra marique pugnabimus contra te." This was at least explicit. Demetrius was

B. C. cir. 161.

CHAPTER IX.

1 Alcimus and Bacchides come again with new forces into Judea. 7 The army of Judas flee from him, 17 and he is slain. 30 Jonathan is in his place, 40 and revengeth his brother John's quarrel. 55 Alcimus is plagued, and dieth. 70 Bacchides maketh peace with Jonathan.

1 FURTHERMORE when Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his host were slain in battle, [1]he sent Bacchides and Alcimus into the land of Judea the second time, and with them [2]the chief strength of his host:

B. C. cir. 161.

[1] Gr. *he added*, or, *proceeded to send.*

[2] Or, *the right wing.*

2 Who went forth by the way that leadeth to [3]Galgala, and pitched their tents before Masaloth, which is in Arbela, and after they had won it, they slew much people.

[3] Or, *Galilea.*

3 Also the first month of the hun-

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told what he had to expect. Rome, however, was in no hurry to carry out her threats. She had numerous wars on her hands, and waited with more prudence than boldness until the appearance of a pretender to the Syrian crown enabled her to wreak her vengeance on Demetrius without risking too much. (See ch. x. 1–50.) Meanwhile the Jews suffered at the hands of the Syrians as much as ever, or even more grievously (ch. ix. 1–66).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. Renewed Attack upon Judæa by Bacchides and Alcimus—Defeat of Judas at Eleasa—His Death and Burial.

1–22. The application to Rome was made too late to be of any service to Judas. While his ambassadors were on their way to Italy, Demetrius made a fresh effort. Nicanor being dead, Bacchides was a second time intrusted with the command, and Alcimus, whom the Hellenizing party among the Jews acknowledged as High Priest, accompanied him. The "strength" of the Syrian army (*v.* 1)—twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse (*v.* 4)—was sent into Palestine, Masaloth was taken (*v.* 2), and Judas challenged to an engagement. As at Adasa against Nicanor (ch. vii. 40), so now, Judas was unable to muster more than 3000 men (*v.* 5); and these were so faint-hearted that their number continually diminished by desertions, until no more than 800 were left. The inclination of these 800 was to retire (*v.* 9), and probably to disperse; but Judas would not hear of such an end to all his efforts, and preferred to resist to the last. With his small band he engaged the hosts of Syria at Eleasa, not far from Jerusalem, and, after a battle which lasted all day, and which seemed at one time about to terminate in his favour (*v.* 15), he suffered complete defeat, and with the greater part of his troops was slain (*v.* 18). His two most famous brothers, Jonathan and Simon, obtained possession of his body, and buried him in his ancestral sepulchre at Modeïn, with a funeral ceremony which lasted "many days" (*v.* 20). Such was the heroic end of the first and greatest of the Maccabees, the life and soul of the insurrection during the space of seven years.

1. *Nicanor and his host were slain in battle.*] Compare ch. vii. 43, 44, where we learn that the greater part of the host escaped.

he sent Bacchides and Alcimus . . . the second time.] On the previous sending of Bacchides and Alcimus, and their respective positions, see ch. vii. 8, 9, and the comment *ad loc.*

the chief strength of his host.] Literally, "the right wing." This is explained to mean the half of the Syrian army which guarded the countries on the right bank of the Euphrates. (Compare ch. iii. 32–37.) The strength of that division had, however, been *seven* thousand horse and *forty* thousand foot a few years previously (ch. iii. 39).

2. *by the way that leadeth to Galgala.*] "Galgala" seems to be the same as "Galilee" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 11); and the meaning is, that the expedition was sent by land, and entered Palestine on the north, not (as former ones) by sea to the western coast. (See ch. iii. 40; vi. 31; &c.)

Masaloth.] It is conjectured that "Masaloth" represents the cave-region only to be reached by steps (*m'silloth*) on the north side of the Wady-el-Humâm, near Irbil (Arbela), which was anciently used as a sort of fortress, and which in the time of Herod stood a long siege (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 16, § 4). See Stanley's 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 324, note [2]. Certainly the campaign described in this verse, which must have belonged to the close of the 151st year, appears to have been quite distinct from that of the 152nd year, which was in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

in Arbela.] Arbela is usually spoken of as a village, or town; but here the name must designate a tract. (Compare the double use of the word "Samaria.") The tract would seem to be that immediately south of the Wady-el-Humâm, on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee, where the name Arbela still lingers in the modern "Irbid" or "Irbil."

B. C. 160. dred fifty and second year they encamped before Jerusalem:

4 From whence they removed, and went to ‖ Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.

‖ Or, *Berretho*, Joseph.

5 Now Judas had pitched his tents at Eleasa, and three thousand chosen men with him:

6 Who seeing the multitude of the other army to be so great were sore afraid; whereupon many conveyed themselves out of the host, insomuch as there abode of them no more but eight hundred men.

7 When Judas therefore saw that his host slipt away, and that the battle pressed upon him, he was sore troubled in mind, and much distressed, for that he had no time to gather them together. B. C. 160

8 Nevertheless unto them that remained he said, Let us arise and go up against our enemies, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them.

9 But they dehorted him, saying, We shall never be able: ‖ let us now rather save our lives, and hereafter we will return with our brethren, and fight against them: for we are but few.

‖ We follow here the Roman Copy.

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3. *the first month of the hundred fifty and second year.*] The 152nd year of the Seleucidæ began in October B.C. 161, according to Clinton. The "first month" is, however, in all probability, the first month *of the Jews* —April B.C. 160.

they encamped before Jerusalem.] Without, it would seem, encountering any resistance. Ewald supposes that the Jews were surprised as they were keeping the Passover ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 323); but Grimm points out that chronological considerations (see ch. vii. 49) make it impossible that the appearance before Jerusalem can have taken place until the later part of the month Nisan, when the Passover would have been completed some weeks. Judas seems certainly to have been taken off his guard. Perhaps he supposed that the defeat and death of Nicanor had secured for Israel a time of quiet.

4. *From whence they removed, and went to Berea.*] Beræa is probably the modern *Bireh*, which is the ancient Beeroth, situated about ten miles north of Jerusalem on the road to Samaria. The removal of Bacchides, from the near vicinity of Jerusalem to a place ten miles distant, must have been the result of intelligence that Judas was collecting a relieving army, which might threaten the communications of the Syrians, and place them between two dangers. Bacchides must have felt it necessary to deal with Judas first.

with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen.] A moderate number, compared with others previously mentioned (ch. iii. 39; iv. 28; vi. 30). It may well be accepted as authentic.

5. *Judas had pitched . . . at Eleasa.*] A site called "Ilasa" has been found in the near vicinity of Bir-ez-Zeit: and this is now thought to be "Eleasa." (See the 'Quarterly Statement' of the Palestine Exploration Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 45.) It commands "the narrow pass through which the road from Samaria to Jerusalem leads in the vicinity of Ain-el-Haramiyeh."

three thousand chosen men with him.] The same number as at Adasa (ch. vii. 40) against Nicanor—perhaps as many as the nature of the ground permitted—certainly not as many as he was able to collect in the time (Ewald), since they were "picked men"—*i.e.* carefully selected out of a greater number.

6. *Who seeing the multitude . . . were sore afraid.*] It is not clear why this was so, since the soldiers of Judas were accustomed to contend against greater odds than were now arrayed against them. Perhaps the presence of Alcimus with the enemy exercised a paralysing influence—perhaps they experienced one of those unreasonable panics to which all troops are from time to time subject. Had the 3000 firmly stood their ground, there is no reason why the same successful result should not have been achieved at Eleasa as at Adasa.

7. *his host slipt away.*] Little by little his soldiers drew off, dispersed themselves, and retired to their homes. Had Judas acted with his usual promptness, this would scarcely have occurred.

the battle pressed upon him.] The enemy, that is, allowed him no respite, but sought by all means to force on a general engagement.

8. *Let us arise and go up.*] Here the old spirit of the hero shews itself. (Compare ch. iii. 16–23; iv. 8–12, 29–34, &c.) It was his general system to take the offensive, however small his forces might be.

9. *they dehorted him.*] Not for the first time. Compare ch. iii. 17.

B. C. 160. 10 Then Judas said, God forbid that I should do this thing, and flee away from them: if our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and [g] let us not stain our honour.

11 With that the host *of Bacchides* removed out of their tents, and stood over against [h] them, their horsemen being divided into two troops, and their slingers and archers going before the host, and they that marched in the foreward were all mighty men.

12 As for Bacchides, he was in the right wing: so the host drew near on the two parts, and sounded their trumpets. B. C. 160.

13 They also of Judas' side, even they sounded their trumpets also, so that the earth shook at the noise of the armies, and the battle continued from morning till night.

14 Now when Judas perceived that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, he took with him all the hardy men,

15 Who discomfited the right wing, and pursued them unto the mount Azotus.

16 But when they of the left

[g] Gr. *let us not have any just cause behind us, why our glory should be spoken against.*

[h] Or, *the Jews.*

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10. *if our time be come, let us die manfully.*] Judas, it would seem, had a presentiment of his defeat and death. Never before had he been deserted by his troops; never, probably, before had he fought at the head of so small a company. Eight hundred to twenty-two thousand was a disproportion of numbers against which even his valour and strategic skill could not hope to obtain success. So, like Leonidas at Thermopylæ, he made up his mind to die.

let us not stain our honour.] Compare ch. ii. 51, 64; iii. 3, 9; v. 57, &c.

11. *the host* of Bacchides *removed out of their tents.*] Rather, "the host **of Judas**." (So Grimm.) At the stirring words of Judas, *his* host marched forth; whereupon "they," *i.e.* the Syrians, went out to meet them: with their horse (*v.* 4) divided, as was usual, into two bodies, and placed no doubt at the extremity of either wing. The light-armed, archers and slingers, marched first, like the Roman *hastati;* behind them came the πρωταγωνισταί, the strength of the army, like the Roman *principes.* (See Liv. viii. 8.)

all mighty men.] Rather, "all **the** mighty men." All the best soldiers were massed together, and fought in the front rank of the phalanx, immediately behind the light-armed.

12. *Bacchides . . . was in the right wing.*] An Oriental leader usually placed himself in the centre of his army (Herod. vii. 121; Xen. 'Anab.' i. 3, § 6, 12; Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 11); but a Greek frequently preferred to command one wing. Alexander the Great led the right wing in each of his three battles against the Persians (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' i. 14, § 10; ii. 9; iii. 12).

the host drew near.] Literally, "the phalanx," *i.e.* the main army of the Syrians, advanced against the enemy.

on the two parts.] Rather, "**with both divisions.**" The Syrian army is regarded as formed of two divisions, a right wing and a left, without any centre. Both wings advanced simultaneously to the attack.

13. *the earth shook.*] A common hyperbole. (See 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Ezek. xxvi. 10, 15; xxvii. 28, &c.) The concussion of the air causes men to feel as if the earth were trembling beneath them.

the battle continued from morning till night.] This is a tangible and very important fact. Judas with his "little band" of eight hundred men was able to make head against the entire host of Syria, to resist and continue the combat during the whole day, "until night," or rather, "until evening." So prolonged a resistance of a mere handful of men to overwhelming numbers, in a position of no very great strength, is scarcely on record.

14. *when Judas perceived, &c.*] This incident is even more extraordinary than the prolonged resistance. There is, however, no reason for doubting it. After a combat of hours, which must have seriously diminished the number of his troops, Judas concentrated his efforts on the attack of the enemy's right wing, where Bacchides was, and actually succeeded, "discomfited" it, and drove it from the field in headlong flight to a neighbouring mountain.

all the hardy men.] Rather, "the **valiant** men"—those who were most courageous.

15. *mount Azotus.*] The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. have "Azara," while Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' x. 11, § 6) has "Aza." The mountain near Bir-ez-Zeit, to which the name Atâra now attaches, seems to be intended (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 264).

16. *when they of the left wing saw, &c.*] The Syrian left wing, sweeping before it the

B. C. 160. wing saw that they of the right wing were discomfited, they followed upon Judas and those that were with him hard at the heels from behind:

17 Whereupon there was a sore battle, insomuch as many were slain on both parts.

18 Judas also was killed, and the remnant fled.

19 Then Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers in Modin.

20 Moreover they bewailed him, [a] and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, B. C. 160. saying,

[a] ch. 13. 26.

21 How is the valiant man fallen, that delivered Israel!

22 As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatness, they are not written: for they were very many.

23 ¶ Now after the death of Judas the wicked began to put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and there arose up all such as wrought iniquity.

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few men whom Judas had not taken with him to make his attack, wheeled round in the rear of the Israelites, and fell on them from behind while they were still engaged with the right wing in front. The result was that they were crushed between the two masses.

18. *the remnant fled.*] Very few indeed can have escaped, and they, probably, only under cover of the darkness, which by this time must have set in. (See *v.* 13.)

19. *Jonathan and Simon took Judas.*] Apparently they had been in the fight, and seeing their brother fall they gave up resistance, contenting themselves with carrying off his body to Modeïn, which lay at no great distance from the battle-field. On the sepulchre of the Maccabee family at Modeïn, see ch. xiii. 25–30, and the comment *ad loc.*

20. *all Israel made great lamentation for him.*] Compare 2 Chr. xxxv. 24, and *infra*, ch. xiii. 26. Great public lamentations for their dead kings were not very usual among the Jews. They seem to have been reserved for such as were slain by a public enemy.

and mourned many days.] The mourning for Jacob lasted seventy days (Gen. l. 3), that for Aaron (Num. xx. 29) and for Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8) thirty. Thirty days are also mentioned as the period for a solemn mourning by Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' iii. 9, § 5).

21. *How is the valiant man fallen.*] Compare the refrain in David's lament for Saul and Jonathan—"How are the mighty fallen!" (2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27.)

that delivered Israel.] Rather, "that **was wont to deliver** Israel." The present participle has a frequentative force.

22. *the other things concerning Judas.*] Or "the rest of the acts of Judas." Compare 1 Kings xi. 41; xiv. 29; xv. 23, &c. The author has evidently these and similar passages in his mind; but, instead of referring us to other sources of information for the remainder of Judas' acts, as do the writers of Kings and Chronicles for those of their heroes, he simply declares, that they have not been written (by himself), since they were (too) many. He gives us no indication of acquaintance with any other historian who had written concerning Judas.

§ 2. Interregnum and Appointment of Jonathan to be Governor.

23–30. The sudden death of Judas had left the patriotic party without a head. Three sons of Mattathias still survived: John, the eldest, who was comparatively speaking undistinguished; Simon, the second, whom his father had recommended to be his brethren's counsellor (ch. ii. 65); and Jonathan, the youngest, whom Judas had made his special companion in war (ch. v. 17, 24). No one of these could assert any clear right of precedence over the others, and it would seem that no one of them preferred any claim at all. The leadership was the post of danger, and the post of danger was perhaps not coveted by any. Thus the death of Judas was followed by an interregnum, during which the patriots suffered grievously (*vv.* 23–27). The scourge of famine was added to the horrors of persecution; and the affliction was such as seemed almost unparalleled (*v.* 27). Under these circumstances the need of a leader became palpable, and the chief friends and counsellors of Judas assembled together to select one. Jonathan, though the youngest, was chosen, as the greatest captain, and, unanimously as it would seem, appointed to succeed his brother (*vv.* 28–30).

23. *the wicked began to put forth their heads.*] "The wicked" are, not the heathen, but the idolatrous Jews, whom Judas had kept in check (ch. vii. 24, 25). They began now to raise their heads and "peep forth," which is the exact meaning of ἐκκύπτω.

all such as wrought iniquity.] These are

B. C. 160. 24 In those days also was there a very great famine, by reason whereof the country revolted, and went with ‖ them.

‖ Bacchides and his company.

25 Then Bacchides chose the wicked men, and made them lords of the country.

26 And they made enquiry and search for Judas' friends, and brought them unto Bacchides, who took vengeance of them, and ‖ used them despitefully.

‖ Gr. mocked them.

27 So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time [b] that a prophet was not seen among them.

[b] ch. 4. 46.

28 For this cause all Judas' friends came together, and said unto Jonathan,

29 Since thy brother Judas died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies, and Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are adversaries to us.

B. C. 160.

30 Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and captain in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.

31 Upon this Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up instead of his brother Judas.

32 But when Bacchides gat knowledge thereof, he sought for to slay him.

33 Then Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with him, perceiving that, fled into the wilder-

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the same persons. The second clause repeats and intensifies the first, but adds no new fact.

24. *was there a very great famine.*] On the liability of Palestine to famine, see Gen. xii. 10, xlii. 5, xlvii. 13; Ruth i. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 1, &c. If the spring rains fail, there is no possibility of a crop; irrigation, except in the valley of the Jordan, being impracticable.

the country revolted, and went with them.] Ewald takes this to mean, that "the land itself deserted the holy cause, and was as false and faithless as its children ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 324); but it may be doubted whether the prosaic paraphrase of Josephus—"so that many through lack of provisions deserted to the Syro-Macedonians"—does not better express the writer's meaning. By "the country" he intends "its inhabitants."

25. *Bacchides chose the wicked men.*] Bacchides put idolatrous Jews in positions of authority all over the country.

26. *Judas' friends.*] "The early friends of Judas were," as Ewald says, "sought out, betrayed, mocked, and punished." Ἐνέπαιζεν is "mocked," rather than "used despitefully."

27. *since the time that a prophet was not seen.*] Malachi was regarded as "the last of the Prophets." His date is not altogether certain; but upon the whole it appears most probable that he was contemporary with Nehemiah during the later portion of his governorship (B.C. 431–430). The expression used would thus mean, "for the last 270 years."

30. *to be our prince and captain.*] Rather, "our **ruler** and captain." Jonathan, like Judas (ch. ii. 66), is called ἄρχων, "ruler;" Simon is the first who bears the formal title of ἐθνάρχης, "prince" (ch. xv. 1, 2).

§ 3. WAR OF JONATHAN WITH BACCHIDES—HE AVENGES THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER JOHN, AND DEFEATS THE SYRIANS AT THE JORDAN.

31–49. The news of Jonathan's appointment moved Bacchides to fresh efforts. He had slain Judas; could he slay the remaining sons of Mattathias, he hoped that the insurrection would come to an end. He therefore once more took the field. Jonathan retreated before him into "the wilderness of Thecoë," or the wild district south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea. Here, encumbered with baggage and non-combatants, he sent these under the conduct of his brother John to be cared for by his friends (ch. v. 25), the Nabathæans, in their remote country near Petra. The line of their march is not clear; but it appears that they were attacked on their way by a tribe of roving Arabs, called the Beni Jambri, who killed John, and took the convoy. Jonathan, to revenge his brother's slaughter, crossed the Jordan into the Beni Jambri territory, surprised a wedding party by an ambush, and was returning laden with booty, when he found his retreat cut off by Bacchides on the left bank of the river. Forced to risk an engagement, he was so far successful as to inflict on Bacchides the loss of a thousand men, and to make good the return of his own men to the right bank by means of their swimming the river.

31. *Jonathan . . . rose up instead of his brother Judas.*] Compare ch. iii. 1, where the same expression occurs.

B. C. 160. ness of Thecoe, and pitched their tents by the water of the pool Asphar.

34 ‖ Which when Bacchides understood, he came near to Jordan with all his host upon the sabbath day.

35 Now Jonathan had sent his brother ‖ *John*, a captain of the people, to pray his friends the Nabathites, ‖ that they might leave with them their carriage, which was much. B. C. 160.

36 But the children of ‖ Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it. ‖ Gr. *Ambri.*

37 After this came word to Jonathan and Simon his brother, that the children of Jambri made a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from ‖ Nadabatha with a great ‖ Or, *Medaba.*

‖ Or, *Which when Bacchides understood, on the sabbath day he came near.*

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

‖ Gr. *that he might leave with them their carriage*, or, *stuff.*

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33. *the wilderness of Thecoe.*] Thecoë is the same as "Tekoah" or "Tekoa" (2 Sam. xiv. 2, xxiii. 26; Neh. iii. 5, 27, &c.). It was a small town in Southern Judæa, six miles south of Bethlehem. The site is reasonably identified with the modern Teku'a. "The wilderness of Thecoë" is the broad tract of high ground lying east and south-east of the city, which is at first a table-land, but breaks up into rugged and desolate mountains as it descends to the level of the Dead Sea (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. i. p. 486). Compare 2 Chr. xx. 20.

the pool Asphar.] Λάκκος is not a natural pool, but a "**cistern**" or "**reservoir.**" It is probable that there were many such in the Judæan hill-country, besides the well-known ones near Jerusalem. The rain-water was stored in them. No other author mentions the λάκκος Ἀσφάρ.

34. This verse appears to be an anticipation of *v.* 43. The author was about to hasten from the account of Jonathan's encampment at "the pool Asphar" to his engagement east of the Jordan with Bacchides; but, on second thoughts, perceived that his narrative would scarcely be intelligible unless he explained the circumstances which had brought Jonathan to that locality. He therefore interposed at this point the narrative of John's death and the vengeance taken for it (*vv.* 35–42), which is a sort of long parenthesis.

near to Jordan.] This is a mistranslation —πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου can mean nothing but "**across the** Jordan."

35. *a captain of the people.*] Rather, "**in command of the camp-followers,**" which is a common meaning of ὄχλος (Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 4, § 26; iv. 3, § 26, &c.).

his friends the Nabathites.] Compare above, ch. v. 25, and see the comment *ad loc.*

their carriage.] Literally, "their baggage." No doubt the wish was to deposit with the Nabathæans all the *impedimenta* — women, children, camp-followers, baggage, &c. "Carriage" may stand, if it be taken in the sense of all that the army carried with it.

36. *the children of Jambri.*] A tribe not otherwise known—unless we suppose the Amorites to be meant. Josephus has οἱ Ἀμαραίου παῖδες ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 2), and several MSS. read Ἀμβρί or Ἀμβροί for Ἰαμβρί. At an early date the Amorites certainly held portions of the Moabite country (Num. xxi. 31); and they may never have been wholly dispossessed.

Medaba.] "Medaba" appears as a Moabite town as early as the time of Moses (Num. xxi. 30). On the Moabite Stone it is said to have been taken by the Israelites under Omri, and held for forty years, after which the Moabites recovered it ('Records of the Past,' vol. xi. p. 166). Isaiah mentions it among the towns of Moab (Is. xv. 2). The place retains its name almost unchanged, and has been visited by many modern travellers. It is in the Belka, or down county, of Moab, about four miles S.E. of Heshbon.

took John.] It appears, by *v.* 42, that John was not made prisoner, but slain. Perhaps he fell into the hands of the enemy when mortally wounded.

all that he had.] All the persons, and all the baggage, that he was conveying into the Nabathæan country.

37. *from Nadabatha.*] "Nadabatha" (Ναδαβάθ) is known to us only from this passage. It was probably a small town, or village, in the Moabite country, or at any rate in the region east of Jordan. Josephus has "Gabatha" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1. § 4)—a name equally obscure.

with a great train.] The custom of escorting a bride from her own home to the bridegroom's house, is one practised commonly in the East, and often involves the passage of "a great train." The bridegroom is accompanied by a larger or smaller number of his intimate friends (Judg. xiv. 11), and frequently by a band of musicians (Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9). The bride has her own atten-

B. C. 160. train, as being the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan.

38 Therefore they remembered John their brother, and went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain:

39 Where they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and, behold, there was much ado and great carriage: and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends and brethren, to meet them with ‖drums, and ‖instruments of musick, and many weapons.

Or, *timbrels.*

Or, *musicians.*

40 Then Jonathan and they that were with him rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and made a slaughter of them in such sort, as many fell down dead, and the remnant fled into the mountain, and they took all their spoils.

B. C. 160.

41 Thus was the marriage turned into mourning, and the noise of their melody into lamentation.

42 So when they had avenged fully the blood of their brother, they turned again to the marsh of Jordan.

43 Now when Bacchides heard hereof, he came on the sabbath day unto the banks of Jordan with a great power.

44 Then Jonathan said to his company, Let us go up now and fight for our lives, for it standeth not with us to day, as in time past:

45 For, behold, the battle is be-

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dants; and when the two parties unite, the entire procession is sometimes very numerous. The more wealthy and important the families to which the bride and bridegroom belong, the larger the accompanying train. In the present instance, both families were evidently of high rank, the bride especially, who was "the daughter of one of the great princes of Chanaan."

Chanaan.] The term is large enough to cover the Moabites (Judith v. 3), to whom the bride's family probably belonged. By "great princes" we must understand leading men in the city to which the bride belonged.

38. *hid themselves under the covert of the mountain.*] The mountain region east of Jordan is in many places richly clothed with wood, and is very suitable for ambuscades. "The traveller," says Canon Tristram, "rides up and down *deep concealed glens;* sometimes by a track meandering along the banks of a brook, with a *dense fringe of oleanders.* . . . Lovely knolls and dells open out at every turn, gently rising to the *wooded plateau* above. Then we rise to higher ground, and ride through *noble forests of oak*" ('Bible Places,' p. 322).

39. *there was much ado and great carriage.*] Rather, "**much noise and great convoy of baggage.**"

to meet them.] *I.e.* to meet the bride and her attendants.

with drums.] Drums, shaped like a kettle-drum, were in use among the Syrians and other Oriental nations, and were much employed in religious orgies of a wild and enthusiastic character, such as those of Bacchus and Cybele. It is possible that they may have been also used on such an occasion as the bringing home of a bride. Or the word translated "drums" may here mean "tambourines," which would almost certainly have been among the "instruments of music" employed.

many weapons.] The Easterns always go armed, and would think it especially necessary to carry arms when they were about to serve as escort for a bride. Ὅπλα will include both defensive and offensive arms, but scarcely "torches," as Grimm supposes.

40. *fell down dead.*] Literally, "fell wounded." Compare ch. iii. 11. Josephus says that the number of the slain was 400 ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 4).

42. *the marsh of Jordan.*] "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest" (Josh. iii. 15); and this overflow leaves a marshy tract on either side of the river for several weeks, more especially in the lower part of its course, near its entrance into the Dead Sea (Lynch, 'Expedition to Jordan and Dead Sea,' p. 171; Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 502). Jonathan had to encamp in this marshy district.

43. *Bacchides . . . came . . . unto the banks of Jordan.*] Bacchides, who had already crossed the river (*v.* 34)—probably by a ford higher up—interposed his army between the Jordan and the place where Jonathan was encamped, thus cutting off his retreat.

on the sabbath day.] Under the notion, apparently, that the Jews would not fight on the sabbath (ch. ii. 32–38), or at any rate would not interfere with his troops taking up their position.

45. *the battle is before us and behind us.*]

B. C. 160. fore us and behind us, and the water of Jordan on this side and that side, the marsh likewise and wood, neither is there place for us to turn aside.

46 Wherefore cry ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered from the hand of your enemies.

47 With that they joined battle, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, but he turned back from him.

48 Then Jonathan and they that were with him leapt into Jordan, and B. C. 160. swam over unto the farther bank: howbeit the other passed not over Jordan unto them.

49 So there were slain of Bacchides' side that day about ‖a thousand men.

‖ *two thousand men*, Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

50 Afterward returned *Bacchides* to Jerusalem, and ‖repaired the strong cities in Judea; the fort in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Thamnatha,

‖ Or, *built*.

The Syrians were in front, the Beni Jambri, burning for revenge, behind. The Jordan barred their progress both to the right and left, if they should attempt to avoid the host of Bacchides by making a circuit. In their rear lay marsh and jungle. The situation might well have seemed almost desperate.

46. *cry ye now unto heaven.*] Compare ch. iii. 18, 50; iv. 10. The author avoids, as usual, the introduction of the name of God.

47. *he turned back from him.*] Bacchides did not altogether decline an engagement. It would have been scarcely possible for him to do so, with the river directly at his back. But after a resistance in which he lost a thousand men (*v.* 49), he drew off his forces, probably towards the north, and left the passage of the river clear. Jonathan immediately took advantage of the movement, and with his men swam the river. None of the Syrian host attempted to follow.

§ 4. BACCHIDES ESTABLISHES GARRISONS IN ALL THE CHIEF TOWNS OF JUDÆA, AND TAKES THE SONS OF THE CHIEF MEN AS HOSTAGES — ATTEMPT OF ALCIMUS TO DISMANTLE THE TEMPLE, AND HIS DEATH — BACCHIDES RETURNS TO ANTIOCH.

50–57. Despite the slight success obtained by Jonathan over Bacchides at the Jordan, the fortunes of the insurrection were now at their lowest ebb. Bacchides was master of Jerusalem, and of all the more important of the Jewish cities. Alcimus, his creature, lorded it in the Temple. For the better repression of patriotic effort, the Syrian garrisons were spread over the land. All men of note, suspected of disaffection, were compelled to give their sons as hostages for their good behaviour. Alcimus, the Hellenizing High Priest, began alterations in the Temple, which were probably intended to weaken it as a fortress, and perhaps to assimilate it to the Grecian model. The patriots made no head; they were weak and scattered; they appeared to have almost ceased to exist; and when, upon the death of Alcimus, tranquillity continued undisturbed, Bacchides, regarding the insurrection as put down, returned to Antioch, and left Judæa to itself for two years.

50. *the fort in Jericho.*] Jericho, one of the chief strongholds of the Canaanites, was a place of little importance under the independent Jewish monarchy, but rose to eminence after the return from the Captivity, and became a favourite residence of Herod the Great. When Pompey took it, two forts, called "Threx" and "Taurus," commanded its approaches (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40). Whether it was one of these that Bacchides now built is uncertain.

Emmaus.] This is probably the place mentioned in ch. iii. 40, which afterwards became Nicopolis, and is now 'Amwâs, about 20 miles west by north of Jerusalem.

Bethhoron.] On the site of Beth-horon, see the comment on ch. iii. 16.

Bethel.] Bethel, the southern seat of the idolatrous calf-worship instituted by Jeroboam, was attached to the kingdom of Judah by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 15) and re-occupied by some of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 28), continuing thenceforth to be recognised as a Jewish city (Neh. xi. 31). It was, however, of small importance, and obtains no mention in the later Jewish history, except in the present passage.

Thamnatha, Pharathoni.] No comma should separate these words. The "Thamnatha" here mentioned is distinguished from other cities of the same name by the epithet of "Pharathoni." There was a Timnath-heres (Judg. ii. 9) or Timnath-serah (Josh. xix. 50) in Mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (*ib.* xxiv. 30), and a Timnathah in the Philistine country, from which Samson took his wife (Judg. xiv. 1–5). The latter is mentioned, under the form of Tamna, in Sennacherib's inscriptions. Timnatha-Pharathoni was probably distinct from both.

B. C. cir. 161. Joseph. Tecoa.

Pharathoni, and ‖Taphon, *these did he strengthen* with high walls, with gates, and with bars.

51 And in them he set a garrison, that they might work malice upon Israel.

‖ Gr. *the city in Bethsura.*

52 He fortified also ‖the city Bethsura, and Gazara, and the tower, and put forces in them, and provision of victuals.

53 Besides, he took the chief men's sons in the country for hostages, and put them into the tower at Jerusalem to be kept.

B. C. 159.

54 Moreover in the hundred fifty and third year, in the second month, Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down; he pulled down also the works of the prophets.

B. C. 159.

55 And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued, and his enterprizes hindered: for his mouth was stopped, and he was taken with a palsy, so that he could no more speak any thing, nor give order concerning his house.

56 So Alcimus died at that time with great torment.

57 Now when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king: whereupon [c]the land of Judea was in rest two years.

[c] ch. 7. 50.

Taphon.] Rather, "Tepho"—probably identical with the "Beth-Tappuah" of Josh. xv. 53, near Hebron, which is now "Tefleh" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 70).

51. *in them.*] *I.e.* "in each of them."

work malice upon Israel.] Literally, "be at enmity with Israel."

52. *Bethsura and Gazara.*] On "Bethsura," see above, ch. iv. 61, and compare ch. vi. 26, 31, 50; on Gazara, or Gazera, see ch. iv. 15, and the comment *ad loc.*

the tower.] The Syro-Macedonian fortress in the city of Jerusalem (ch. i. 33–36; iii. 45; iv. 41; vi. 18–24, 61).

53. *he took the chief men's sons . . . for hostages.*] A new stroke of policy, and one likely to prove very effective. It had long been employed by the Romans (*supra*, ch. viii. 7).

54. *in the hundred fifty and third year.*] B.C. 160–159. The "second month" is probably the *Jewish* second month, Zif or Iyar, corresponding mainly with our May, and, as the Syro-Macedonian year began in October, would be May B.C. 159.

Alcimus commanded that the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary should be pulled down.] The inner court of the sanctuary was that accessible to the Priests and Levites only. Its destruction would tend to obliterate the difference between clergy and laity, thus assimilating the Jews to their Grecian neighbours, among whom there was no such thing as a priest caste. At the same time, its destruction would tend to weaken the defences of the Temple, since each enclosing wall might be defended separately, and a besieged force would retreat from one court to another. The Temple, though in a certain sense under Alcimus, who was now generally accepted as High Priest, seems to have been still viewed as probably, in the last resort, the fortress to which the patriots would gather, and where they would resist to the uttermost.

he pulled down also the works of the prophets.] What these were is uncertain. The second Temple had been built by Zerubbabel under the guidance and encouragement of Zechariah and Haggai (Ezra v. 1; vi. 14; Hag. i. 1, 12–14; Zech. iv. 6–10, &c.); but it is not clear that they had had any part in the arrangement of the plan of the building. Still, it may well be, that, at the distance of above 350 years, some special parts of the edifice were ascribed to them.

55. *And as he began to pull down, even at that time was Alcimus plagued.*] The writer undoubtedly regards the death of Alcimus as God's judgment upon him for his impiety in meddling with the time-honoured arrangements of the Temple building. He seems to have had a stroke of paralysis (ἐπλήγη) exactly at the time when the workmen commenced to carry out his alterations. His illness caused a stoppage of the works.

his mouth was stopped.] Some obstruction of the power of speech is a common feature of paralysis. The affliction of Alcimus was such that he could not even leave directions concerning his household affairs.

56. *Alcimus died . . . with great torment.*] He died—as we should now express it—after severe sufferings.

57. *when Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king.*] It is probable that Alcimus, like other renegades, had been more bitter against those who kept to the old faith, than the party to which he had

B. C. cir. 157.

58 Then all the ungodly men held a council, saying, Behold, Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care: now therefore we will bring Bacchides hither, who shall take them all in one night.

59 So they went and consulted with him.

60 Then removed he, and came with a great host, and sent letters privily to his adherents in Judea, that they should take Jonathan and those that were with him: howbeit they could not, because their counsel was known unto them.

61 Wherefore they took of the men of the country, that were authors of that mischief, about fifty persons, and slew them.

62 Afterward Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with him, got them away to Bethbasi, which is

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joined himself. He had, it would seem, stimulated the lukewarm zeal of Bacchides, and held him to the work of persecution. No sooner, therefore, was Alcimus dead, than the Syrian chief changed his policy, left the religious Jews in peace, and returned to Antioch. The result was a respite from suffering. "The land of Judæa was in rest two years."

§ 5. LAST EFFORTS OF BACCHIDES AND THEIR FAILURE—PEACE MADE BETWEEN BACCHIDES AND JONATHAN—JONATHAN RULES JUDÆA FROM MICHMASH.

58–73. In Judæa, left to itself, the patriotic party speedily revived, and obtained the upper hand. "Jonathan and his company were at ease and dwelt without care" (*v.* 58). All that they needed was to be let alone, and the nation would be sure to rally to them. But, in the space of two years (*v.* 57), this became fully evident to the opposite party, who saw that without external aid they were lost. Once more, therefore, they had recourse to Bacchides, and induced him, in B.C. 158–7, to make a fresh invasion, under promise that they would deliver Jonathan into his hands. But they were unable to redeem their pledge, and Bacchides, enraged at his failure, put fifty of them to death (*v.* 61). Still, he did not desist, but made a further attack, probably in B.C. 157–6, when he besieged the stronghold of Beth-basi, which the patriots had made their headquarters. Defeated here by a combined movement, skilfully executed by Jonathan and Simon (*vv.* 65–68), he again vented his wrath on his supporters, by fresh executions (*v.* 69); and determined to give up the struggle. Though Bacchides alone is mentioned, we must suppose Demetrius cognizant of all, and a party to the change of policy. It is a reasonable conjecture that Roman influence was the main factor in producing the change, and that the agreement between Jonathan and Bacchides (*vv.* 70–72) was the direct consequence of the treaty made by Judas with Rome (ch. viii. 17–30), and of the message sent to Demetrius, warning him against interference with Rome's allies (*ibid.* 31, 32). The new policy was probably inaugurated about B.C. 156, and for four years Jonathan governed Israel quietly from the ancient city at Michmash.

58. *the ungodly men.*] *I.e.* the Hellenizing party. (See ch. ii. 44; iii. 5, 8, &c.)

Jonathan and his company are at ease, and dwell without care.] Literally, "dwell at ease and are trustful." They had confidence in the good faith of Bacchides, and were, therefore, quite easy in their minds, expecting nothing hostile.

who shall take them all in one night.] Apparently the design was to bring Bacchides with an army into the country secretly, and to make a night attack on Jonathan and his friends, whom it was expected to surprise and capture.

60. *Then removed he, and came.*] Rather, "Then removed he, **to come**." The intention, not its execution, is stated.

and sent letters.] On starting from Antioch, Bacchides wrote to his partisans in Judæa, throwing on *them* the duty of seizing Jonathan and his friends, which they had assigned to him (*v.* 58). This duty they were unable to execute, since their designs had got wind, and Jonathan was upon his guard.

their counsel was known unto them.] *I.e.* the counsel of the Hellenizers was known to Jonathan and his friends.

61. *they took.*] A new subject is to be supplied by the common sense of the reader, viz. "the Syrians." The Syrians, disappointed at the failure of an enterprise, which had been represented as so easy, took vengeance on those who had deluded them by putting fifty of them to death. So Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 1, § 5). Grimm, however, and Ewald suppose that the executions were the work of Jonathan.

62. *Bethbasi.*] This is a wholly unknown site, and receives no light from the alternative reading of "Beth-alaga" in Josephus (*l. s. c.*).

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in the wilderness, and they repaired the decays thereof, and made it strong.

63 Which thing when Bacchides knew, he gathered together all his host, and sent word ‖ to them that were of Judea.

‖ Or, *to such of the country as were his friends to take his part.*

64 Then went he and laid siege against Bethbasi; and they fought against it a long season, and made engines of war.

65 But Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth himself into the country, and with a certain number went he forth.

66 And he smote ‖ Odonarkes and his brethren, and the children of Phasiron in their tent.

‖ Or, *Odomarra.*

67 And when he began to smite them, and came up with his forces, Simon and his company went out of the city, and burned up the engines of war,

68 And fought against Bacchides, who was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore: for his counsel and travail was in vain.

69 Wherefore he was very wroth at the wicked men that gave him counsel to come into the country, insomuch as he slew many of them, and purposed to return into his own country.

B. C. cir. 156.

70 Whereof when Jonathan had knowledge, he sent ambassadors unto him, to the end he should make peace with him, and deliver them the prisoners.

71 Which thing he accepted, and did according to his demands, and sware unto him that he would never do him harm all the days of his life.

72 When therefore he had restored unto him the prisoners that he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judea, he returned and went his way into his own land, neither ‖ came he any more into their borders.

‖ Gr. *added he to come any more.*

73 Thus the sword ceased from Israel: but Jonathan dwelt at Machmas, and began to ‖ govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel.

‖ Gr. *judge.*

The place was probably in some part of "the wilderness of Tekoa" (*v.* 33). It had been fortified, but had fallen into decay.

63. *all his host.*] *I.e.* the "great host" of *v.* 60, which he had brought with him from Antioch.

sent word to them that were of Judea.] To his partisans among the Jews — the Hellenizers.

64. *and made engines of war.*] Bacchides had not expected a severe struggle, and had, therefore, not brought with him a siege train. He was consequently compelled to set to work and make his own military engines. This delay afforded an opportunity to Jonathan.

65. *Jonathan left his brother Simon, &c.*] Jonathan divided his forces. Leaving Simon in the city under the protection of walls, he took the post of danger, and "went out," with the object of collecting a relieving army and so saving the place. The operation was completely successful (*vv.* 66–68).

with a certain number.] Rather, "with a small number." Compare Is. x. 19; Ecclus. xvii. 2.

66. *he smote Odonarkes.*] The MSS. have either "Odoarrhes" or "Odomera." Neither form of the name is otherwise known; nor can it be determined whether an independent chief, or an officer in the service of Bacchides, is intended.

children of Phasiron.] One of the many desert tribes that are not otherwise known to us.

69. *he slew many of them.*] Compare *v.* 61, and for the readiness of Bacchides to massacre men in cold blood, see ch. vii. 19, 24; ch. ix. 26.

70. *the prisoners.*] *I.e.* those of the patriotic party whom he had previously arrested and held as prisoners. See *vv.* 26 and 72.

73. *Jonathan dwelt at Machmas.*] "Machmas" is undoubtedly the "Michmash" of 1 Sam. xiii. and xiv., where Saul and Jonathan defeated the Philistines. It lay about seven miles north of Jerusalem, in a very strong position, on the northern edge of the great Wady Suweinit. Sennacherib occupied it on his first expedition against Hezekiah (Is. x. 28); and it was among the places where the Jews re-established themselves on their return from the Captivity (Ezra ii. 27; Neh.

B. C. cir. 152.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Demetrius maketh large offers to have peace with Jonathan.* 25 *His letters to the Jews.* 47 *Jonathan maketh peace with Alexander,* 50 *who killeth Demetrius,* 58 *and marrieth the daughter of Ptolemeus.* 62 *Jonathan is sent for by him, and much honoured,* 75 *and prevaileth against the forces of Demetrius the younger,* 84 *and burneth the temple of Dagon.*

‖ Joseph. *the son of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

IN the hundred and sixtieth year Alexander, ‖the *son* of Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, went up and took Ptolemais: for the people had received him, by means whereof he reigned there. B. C. cir. 152.

2 Now when king Demetrius heard thereof, he gathered together an exceeding great host, and went forth against him to fight.

3 Moreover Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with loving words, so as he magnified him.

4 For said he, Let us first make

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vii. 31, xi. 31). The site is still known as "Mukhmas"—a small and poor village. Jonathan's choice of Michmash indicates a feeling of insecurity, and a desire to establish himself in a position where he could not be easily surprised or overpowered.

CHAPTER X.

§ 1. ALEXANDER BALAS SETS HIMSELF UP AS A RIVAL TO DEMETRIUS — BOTH PRINCES COURT THE FAVOUR OF THE JEWS, WHO DETERMINE TO SIDE WITH ALEXANDER.

1–47. Rome had never cordially forgiven Demetrius his escape from her custody and seizure of the Syrian crown without her permission. She had actually acknowledged him as king, but she was glad of any opportunity to do him an injury. In this spirit she had promised the Jews her protection (ch. viii. 22–32) about the year B.C. 160, and now in B.C. 153–2 she openly supported the pretensions of a Syrian, who assumed the name of Alexander, and claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to the Syro-Macedonian throne (Polyb. xxxiii. 16). Under her sanction he enrolled troops, allied himself with Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and Ptolemy Philometor, and landing at Ptolemaïs, on the coast of Palestine, assumed the title of king. Demetrius had rendered himself odious to a large number of his subjects; he had become a habitual drinker, and was intoxicated during the greater part of each day (*ibid.* xxxiii. 14, § 1). Alexander's pretensions were consequently received with a considerable degree of favour; the Syrians were divided into two parties, and a civil war of some duration ensued. Under these circumstances, it was natural that both parties should desire the friendship of the Jews, and should endeavour to outbid each other in the offers which they made to Jonathan. The first offers of Demetrius are contained in *vv.* 3–6, those of Alexander in *vv.* 18–20, the second offers of Demetrius in *vv.* 25–45. These last were very tempting: but it was felt that no dependence could be placed upon the king's adherence to them, if he were successful. The Jews therefore threw in their lot with Alexander, and continued his firm adherents throughout the struggle (*v.* 47).

1. *In the hundred and sixtieth year.*] The 160th Seleucid year commenced in October, B.C. 153, and terminated in October B.C. 152. The seizure of Ptolemaïs is thought to have taken place in the first half of the latter year (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 325).

Alexander, the son of Antiochus.] It was natural that the Jews should accept this view of the matter, which even the Roman Senate did not shrink from endorsing with their authority (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 9). But it is generally maintained by the classical writers, that there was in reality no such relationship between Alexander Balas and Epiphanes (Polyb. xxxiii. 16, § 10; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 67; Justin, xxxv. 1). Justin goes so far as to say that Balas was a man of low birth.

and took Ptolemais.] On the situation of Ptolemaïs, see the comment on ch. v. 22. It was at this time, next to Seleucia, the most important city on the Syrian coast.

the people had received him.] *I.e.* the people of Ptolemaïs.

2. *Demetrius . . . went forth against him to fight.*] Justin (*l. s. c.*) tells us that Demetrius shewed much courage and spirit in defending his crown. In the first battle which he fought with his antagonist he was successful; and it was only when the forces of Egypt, Cappadocia, and Pergamus were brought into the field against him that he succumbed. Nearly two years elapsed between the landing of Alexander at Ptolemaïs and the defeat and death of his adversary.

3. *with loving words.*] Literally, "with *peaceful* words."

so as he magnified him.] Rather, "**so as to magnify him.**" That proposals of peace and alliance should have been made to him by the great Syrian king was for the honour of

B. C. cir. 152. peace with him, before he join with Alexander against us:

5 Else he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and against his brethren and his people.

6 Wherefore he gave him authority to gather together an host, and to provide weapons, that he might aid him in battle: he commanded also that the hostages that were in the tower should be delivered him.

7 Then came Jonathan to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in the tower:

8 Who were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together an host.

9 Whereupon they of the tower delivered their hostages unto Jonathan, and he delivered them unto their parents.

10 This done, Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem, and began to build and repair the city. B. C. cir. 152.

11 And he commanded the workmen to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with square stones for fortification; and they did so.

12 Then the strangers, that were in the fortresses which Bacchides had built, fled away;

13 Insomuch as every man left his place, and went into his own country.

14 Only at Bethsura certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments remained still: for it was their place of refuge.

15 Now when king Alexander had heard what promises Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: when also it was told him of the battles and noble acts which he and his brethren had done, and of the pains that they had endured,

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Jonathan, and raised him in the opinion of his neighbours.

6. *he gave him authority to gather together an host.*] Even in seeking their alliance, Demetrius did not fail to maintain his sovereign rights as lord paramount over the Jews. His permission implied that they might not levy an army, or forge weapons, unless he gave them leave.

the hostages that were in the tower.] See above, ch. ix. 53.

7. *Jonathan . . . read the letters.*] Jonathan summoned an assembly of the people, and invited the Syrian authorities who held "the tower" to attend it. He then read aloud before them the letters which he had received from Demetrius. Their genuineness was at once admitted, and acted on. The hostages were given up.

9. *their hostages.*] Rather, "the hostages."

10. *Jonathan settled himself in Jerusalem.*] *I.e.* removed from Michmash, and made Jerusalem the seat of his government.

began to build and repair the city.] Instead of collecting troops and forging arms, as Demetrius had suggested, in order to come to his help against Balas, Jonathan considered primarily his own interests and those of his nation. These required the immediate renovation of the Temple fortress, which had been much weakened by Lysias (ch. vi. 62) and Alcimus (ch. ix. 54).

11. *the mount Sion.*] *I.e.* the Temple mount. (See the comment on ch. iv. 37.)

with square stones.] Rather, "squared stones" — stones hewn into a rectangular form. Ordinary fortifications were often constructed of stones that were unhewn and of irregular shapes.

12. *the strangers.*] The foreign garrisons, placed by Bacchides in the various strongholds which he fortified in different parts of the country (ch. ix. 50–52).

15. *king Alexander . . . heard.*] The importance of an alliance with the Jews had not occurred to Alexander at first. It was only when he heard of the offers made by his rival, that he woke up to an appreciation of the aid which it was in their power to render to the side whose cause they espoused. He was thus somewhat tardy in his application. He had it, however, in his favour,—1. That no bitter memories overshadowed his past—2. That there was no reason to doubt his good faith. It may also have been an important circumstance in his favour that he was known to have the support of Rome, and that an alliance with him would certainly not injure the Jews with their Western protectors.

the battles and noble acts which he and

B. C. cir. 152.

16 He said, Shall we find such another man? now therefore we will make him our friend and confederate.

17 Upon this he wrote a letter, and sent it unto him, according to these words, saying,

18 King Alexander to his brother Jonathan sendeth greeting:

19 We have heard of thee, that thou art a man of great power, and meet to be our friend.

20 Wherefore now this day we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend; (and therewithal he sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold:) and *require thee* to take our part, and keep friendship with us.

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21 So in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of the tabernacles, Jonathan put on the holy robe, and gathered together forces, and provided much armour.

22 Whereof when Demetrius heard, he was very sorry, and said,

23 What have we done, that Alexander hath prevented us in making amity with the Jews to strengthen himself?

24 I also will write unto them words of encouragement, *and promise them* dignities and gifts, that I may have their aid.

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his brethren had done.] See above, ch. iii.–vii. and ch. ix.

18. *King Alexander to his brother Jonathan.*] The expression "brother" was a full acknowledgment of Jonathan's independence and actual sovereignty. Demetrius had not gone nearly so far. We may fairly conclude that the concession, which was not a mere flattery (Grimm), had considerable weight in determining Jonathan to accept the alliance of Balas.

19. *We have heard.*] The plural of dignity was commonly affected by the Oriental kings, from an early, though not from the very earliest, date. Traces of its use are found in Herodotus (i. 32, 35). But it scarcely seems to have become the ordinary form of speech until the time of which our author treats. (Compare ch. xi. 31–35, xiii. 37–40, xv. 9; 2 Macc. xi. 23–26, 28, 29, &c.) Even then it was frequently superseded by the first person singular. (See below, *vv.* 29–40, 52–56; xi. 9, 10; xv. 3–6, &c.)

20. *we ordain thee to be the high priest of thy nation.*] The Syrian kings, from the time of Epiphanes, had claimed the right of appointing the Jewish High Priests from among the qualified persons, *i.e.* from among the descendants of Aaron. Epiphanes had appointed successively as High Priests Jason and Menelaus, deposing Onias to make room for Jason, and Jason to make room for Menelaus (2 Macc. iv. 7–26). Demetrius had given the office to Alcimus (*supra*, vii. 9). Since the death of Alcimus in B.C. 159 (ix. 56) it had remained vacant, neither Jonathan nor any other person having ventured to assume the position, and Demetrius having made no fresh appointment. It now occurred to Balas, or his advisers, that it would be an excellent way of securing the favour of Jonathan to confer the office on him, since he could not but covet it, and his accepting it at the hands of Balas would be an acknowledgment of him as Syrian king.

and to be called the king's friend.] See the comment on ch. ii. 18.

a purple robe and a crown of gold.] The symbols of sovereignty. Compare ch. viii. 14, and the comment *ad loc.*

21. *in the seventh month.*] The seventh (Jewish) month, Ethanim or Tisri, corresponding with the latter part of September and the earlier of October, would be the twelfth Syrian month of the year. The Feast of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 34).

the holy robe.] Not the "purple robe" which Balas had sent him (*v.* 20), but the entire priestly *dress* (στολήν), as described in Ex. xxviii. 4–39.

22. *Demetrius . . was very sorry.*] Literally, "was grieved." He saw that he had been outbid—he had missed a great opportunity by not offering terms sufficiently liberal at once. Still, he hoped that it might not be too late to retrieve his error; and certainly the terms that he now submitted for the consideration of the people were sufficiently liberal. As Ewald observes, "there seems every reason to regard the document contained in *vv.* 25–45 of this chapter as genuine, and of high historical importance" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 328, note [2]). It throws a large amount of light on the ordinary fiscal relations subsisting between the Syrian monarchs and their Jewish subjects.

24. *promise them dignities.*] Rather, "promise them **exaltation**." It was a general

B. C. 152. 25 He sent unto them therefore to this effect: King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews sendeth greeting:

26 Whereas ye have kept covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, not joining yourselves with our enemies, we have heard hereof, and are glad.

27 Wherefore now continue ye still to be faithful unto us, and we will well recompense you for the things ye do in our behalf,

28 And will grant you many immunities, and give you rewards. B. C. 152.

29 And now do I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews, from tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from crown taxes,

30 And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed, and the half of the fruit of the trees, I release it from this day forth, so that they shall not be taken of the land of Judea, nor of the three governments which

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elevation of their position among his subjects, rather than any special "dignities" or offices, that Demetrius now offered.

25. *King Demetrius unto the people of the Jews.*] The contrast between this address and that of Balas (*v.* 18) is striking. Demetrius ignores Jonathan altogether, regarding him doubtless as pledged to his rival, and addresses himself to the "people," whom he perhaps hopes to separate from their leader. Throughout his whole long letter he makes no allusion to Jonathan's existence.

26. *Whereas ye have kept covenants with us.*] Rather, "**your** covenants." As no overt act of hostility had been yet committed, Demetrius is able to assume the friendliness of the Jews towards himself, and their fidelity to the engagements which existed between him and them (ch. ix. 70–72). He thinks it prudent to take this line, as making it easier for them to revert to his alliance, if so disposed.

28. *many immunities.*] Literally, "remissions." (See the enumeration of them in *vv.* 29–31.)

29. *I free you, and for your sake I release all the Jews.*] There is nothing corresponding to "for your sake" in the original. By "you" Demetrius means the Jewish community in Palestine; by "all the Jews," all those settled in any part of his dominions. There were many thousands at Antioch.

from tributes.] Rather, "**from the poll-tax.**" In Oriental countries, a poll-tax (not necessarily the same for all) is always levied on all the inhabitants. It is ordinarily levied by the head men of each town and village, and remitted by them to the government. The Syro-Macedonians, and after them the Romans, kept up the immemorial practice (Luke xx. 22, xxiii. 2; Rom. xiii. 6).

from the customs of salt.] Or "from the duty on salt." The salt of Palestine was derived chiefly from the Dead Sea, where it is formed naturally. Private persons were allowed to collect it, but had to pay a duty, of the nature of an excise, to the government before removing what they had collected. The effect was to raise the price of salt to the consumer generally.

and from crown taxes.] Rather, "**from the payment in lieu of crowns.**" It had been customary for the subject-nations to make presents of crowns of gold to the reigning monarch on various occasions, as when he gained a victory, or recovered from an illness, or when they had any petition to ask of him. In course of time it was thought convenient to commute this irregular and voluntary payment into a fixed sum due to the government annually, and known as φόρος στεφανίτης (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 3, § 3) or στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα (Suidas), corresponding to the Roman *aurum coronarium* (Cic. 'Leg. Agr.' ii. 22). This is the payment of which Demetrius offered the remission.

30. *And from that which appertaineth unto me to receive for the third part of the seed.*] Rather, "for the third part of the crop." Σπορὰ is used here for the "crop" or "produce," as σπόρος is more commonly (Herod. iv. 53; Soph. 'Philoct.' l. 706, &c.). In Oriental countries, as much as one-half of the produce is said to have been sometimes claimed by the state (Mirkhond, 'Histoire des Sassanides,' p. 372); and the same proportion was required of the Spartan helots (Tyrt. Fr. 5; Pausan. iv. 14, § 3). The payment in kind had, under the Seleucidæ, been commuted for a payment in money.

and the half of the fruit of the trees.] Rather, "and **for** the half," &c. The tree-tax had been commuted, like the corn-tax. A tax on fruit-trees has been common in the East in all ages. (See Tabari, 'Chronique,' vol. ii. p. 226; Maçoudi, 'Prairies d'Or,' vol. ii. p. 204.)

the three governments which are added thereunto.] Compare *v.* 38, and see also ch. xi.

B. C. 152. are added thereunto out of the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth for evermore.

31 Let Jerusalem also be holy and free, with the borders thereof, both from tenths and tributes.

32 And as for the tower which is at Jerusalem, I yield up my authority over it, and give it to the high priest, that he may set in it such men as he shall choose to keep it.

33 Moreover I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews, that were B. C. 152. carried captives out of the land of Judea into any part of my kingdom, and *I will* that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.

34 Furthermore *I will* that all the feasts, and sabbaths, and new moons, and solemn days, and the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast, shall be all days of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in my realm.

28, 34. It appears from ch. xi. 34, that these "governments" were named respectively Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathem (= Ramathaim). "Aphærema" is thought to be a Greek corruption of the Hebrew word "Ephraim," and to designate the most southern part of the Samaritan territory. Lydda must be the tract about that town, which lay on the edge of the plain of Sharon, north-west of Jerusalem. Ramathem is probably the tract about Ramathaim, the city of Samuel's father (1 Sam. i. 1), the exact position of which is unknown. Under what circumstances these three districts had been detached from Samaria and added to Judæa, we have no record; but the transfer had probably been made to punish some Samaritan rebellion. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 227, 228.)

and Galilee.] These words seem superfluous, and are quite out of place here. Elsewhere the three districts are uniformly represented as Samaritan; and Galilee was too far off for any portion of it to have been attached to Judæa at this period. If not the error of a scribe, accustomed to couple Galilee with Samaria, the words must be ascribed to an error on the part of the author.

31. *both from tenths and tributes.*] Rather, **"and the tithes, and the taxes."** Jerusalem was to be free of all payments to the crown, and so were to be the tithes collected for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and the taxes levied on the Jews by the native authorities for the support of the fabric and service of the Temple (Neh. x. 32–37). No deduction was to be made from either of these two sources of revenue for the benefit of the Syrian exchequer.

32. *as for the tower.*] Compare ch. i. 33–36; and see, in the present chapter, *vv.* 6–9.

I . . . give it to the high priest.] Demetrius speaks as though he were ignorant who had assumed the office of High Priest, but concluded that the nation, under the circumstances, would set one up. There can be little doubt that he knew of Jonathan's elevation, and purposely ignored it.

33. *I freely set at liberty every one of the Jews that were carried captives.*] This is a new point. In the wars between the Syrians and the patriotic party in Judæa a large number of captives must have been made. These languished in confinement in various parts of the Syrian dominions. It was a tempting offer to the friends of the captives, that they should, all of them, be at once set free.

I will that all my officers remit the tributes even of their cattle.] This is obscure. By the context, the remission should concern especially the captive Israelites; but it is not likely that they would possess cattle. If the concession was to be general, perhaps Josephus may not have been not far wrong in explaining it as an exemption of the Jewish animals from compulsory employment in the service of the Syrian state. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 3.)

34. *all the feasts . . . and solemn days.*] A distinction seems to be intended between the recognised feasts, whether commanded in the Law, or established by ecclesiastical authority, and occasional days appointed (ἀποδεδειγμένοι) from time to time to be kept holy by those to whom the right of such appointment belonged. Both classes of days were to be equally days of state exemption for the Jewish community. The exemption was to consist of ἀτέλεια, "freedom from tax"—the advantage of which, when limited to certain days, is not very apparent, and ἄφεσις, "remission of state claims on their time," which would clearly have been a considerable boon to certain classes—*e.g.* soldiers, state officials, and other *employés*.

the three days before the feast, and the three days after the feast.] The time commonly spent in their journeys backwards and forwards by such Syrian Jews as were in the habit of attending the great Jewish festivals.

B.C. 152. 35 Also no man shall have authority to meddle *with them*, or to molest any of them in any matter.

36 *I will* further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, unto whom pay shall be given, as belongeth to all the king's forces.

37 And of them *some* shall be placed in the king's strong holds, of whom also *some* shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and *I will* that their overseers and governors be of themselves, and

[Gr. *walk.*] that they [‖] live after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded in the land of Judea. B.C. 152.

38 And concerning the three governments that are added to Judea from the country of Samaria, let them be joined with Judea, that they may be reckoned to be under one, nor bound to obey other authority than the high priest's.

39 As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I give it as a free gift to the sanctuary at Jerusalem for the necessary expences [‖] of the sanctuary.

[‖] Or, *of the holy things.*

40 Moreover I give every year

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35. *no man shall have authority to meddle with them.*] We must understand, "at such times." Demetrius could not mean that no one should under any circumstances arrest, or take legal proceedings against, a Jew.

36. *I will further, that there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews.*] The enrolment of Jews among the king's forces would mark them as full citizens, trusted to bear arms, and receive a military training, as much as any others. It was a privilege, and not a burthen, especially as the soldiers received pay. The number, 30,000, would be surprising, if the Jews of Palestine only were meant; but we must remember that there were large colonies of Jews in various parts of the Empire, as, especially, at Antioch, Babylon, Seleucia, Nearda, &c.; and that the Jews of those places might have been glad to take military service.

37. *And of them some shall be placed in the king's strong holds.*] A further mark of confidence. The Jews were to be employed, equally with the rest of the Syrian troops, in garrison duty.

of whom also some shall be set over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust.] An employment of Jews in offices of trust is here promised; but the nature of the offices is not specified. The promise was vague, and might easily have been evaded. It certainly did not amount to a declaration that Jews were to be regarded as "qualified for all offices" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 328).

I will that their overseers and governors be of themselves.] This would, no doubt, have been a considerable boon. It would have secured the Jews from having heathen governors placed over them. Still it would have admitted of their being subjected to the tender mercies of renegades and Hellenizers, such as Menelaus and Alcimus.

and that they live after their own laws.] An entire revocation of the edict of Epiphanes (ch. i. 41–50), by which the Jews were required to "leave their laws," and "follow the strange laws" which he made the "law of the land" (*ib. v.* 44).

38. *concerning the three governments.*] See the comment on *v.* 30. It is probable that these districts had hitherto had separate governors, or a separate governor. Now they were to be subjected to the sole authority of the High Priest. The ungrammatical construction of the Greek, which follows a Hebrew idiom, does not introduce any ambiguity into the meaning of the stipulation.

39. *As for Ptolemais, . . . I give it as a free gift.*] It is pertinently remarked, that Ptolemaïs was not now in the possession of Demetrius, so that he could give it away. Ptolemaïs was exactly the place where the rival king had established his court, and fixed his government. It was, no doubt, selected to be made over to the Jews on this account. The appeal made to them was to this effect—"If you will lend your assistance to crush Balas and recover Ptolemaïs, which has proclaimed him king, the city and its territory shall be ceded to you as a permanent possession." To have greater weight with the religious Jews, the ceded territory was made part of the endowment of the Temple.

40. *Moreover I give every year fifteen thousand shekels.*] Rather, "**I for my part**," or "I, **in my own person**, give," &c. This is put in contrast with the gift—given once for all—of the revenues of Ptolemaïs. The context shews that it was to be a contribution on the part of the king to the Temple service. Fifteen thousand shekels of the Maccabee period would be worth from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

B. C. 152. fifteen thousand shekels of silver out of the king's accounts from the places appertaining.

41 And all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time, from henceforth shall be given toward the works of the temple.

42 And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, which they took from the uses of the temple out of the accounts year by year, even those things shall be released, because they appertain to the priests that minister.

43 And whosoever they be that flee unto the temple at Jerusalem, or be within the liberties thereof, being indebted unto the king, or for any other matter, let them be at liberty, and all that they have in my realm.

44 For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary expences shall be given of the king's accounts. B. C. 152.

45 Yea, and for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, expences shall be given out of the king's accounts, as also for the building of the walls in Judea.

46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credit unto them, nor received them, because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel; for he had afflicted them very sore.

47 But with Alexander they were well pleased, because he was the first that entreated of true peace with

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out of the king's accounts.] To be deducted, that is, from the balance due to the king, and to be kept back by the Jewish authorities.

from the places appertaining.] Rather, "from the (most) **convenient** places."

41. *all the overplus, which the officers payed not in as in former time.*] The intention of this is obscure. It would most naturally point to the outstanding debts due to the treasury from the collectors of taxes; but it is difficult, in that case, to understand the expression "as in former time"—literally "as in the first years"—since under any system of taxation there will always be such arrears. Perhaps in the first years of the Syrian rule the practice had been that these arrears of the king's taxes went to the Temple treasury, and Demetrius proposed a restoration of the system. "As in the first years" must then be connected with what follows, not with what precedes it.

42. *beside this, the five thousand shekels, &c.*] A temple tax of 5000 shekels a year had, apparently, been exacted by the Syrian monarchs. This Demetrius proposed to remit.

43. *whosoever they be that flee unto the temple.*] The right of asylum, which the Greeks regarded as attaching, in some degree or other, to all their own temples, was to be recognised as belonging in a high degree to the Temple at Jerusalem. It was to be possessed, not only by the main building, but by all its purlieus and precincts (ὅρια), and was to cover, not only criminals, but debtors —or at any rate, *crown* debtors. Even the goods of such debtors were to be safe from attachment, during their abode in the Temple.

44. *For the building also and repairing of the works of the sanctuary.*] See above, *vv.* 10, 11.

of the king's accounts.] Rather, "**out** of the king's accounts."

45. *for the building of the walls in Judea.*] Rather, "for the building of the **forts**," or "**strongholds**." Compare above, ch. ix. 50–52. Demetrius was ready to undertake all these expenses, but of course on the implied condition that Jerusalem and the "strongholds" should be held for him, and against his adversary.

46. *when Jonathan and the people heard these words.*] Demetrius failed to stir up any jealousy or dissension between the people and their leader. Liberal as his offers were, and tempting as they might have been, if regarded as an honest expression of his intentions with respect to the Jewish nation, they had under the circumstances no weight or power of attraction. They were regarded as extorted from him by his needs, and no confidence was felt that he would consider himself bound to their observance, if he should succeed in crushing Balas.

he had afflicted them very sore.] Through Alcimus, Bacchides, and Nicanor. See especially ch. vii. 16, 19, 22, 34; ch. ix. 2, 25–27, &c.

47. *he was the first that entreated of true peace with them.*] Our translators have in-

B.C. 152. them, and they were confederate with him always.

B. 150. 48 Then gathered king Alexander great forces, and camped over against Demetrius.

49 And after the two kings had joined battle, Demetrius' host fled: but Alexander followed after him, and prevailed against them.

50 And he continued the battle very sore until the sun went down: and that day was Demetrius slain. B. C. 150.

51 Afterward Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemee king of Egypt with a message to this effect:

52 Forasmuch as I am come again to my realm, and am set in the throne of my progenitors, and have

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serted the epithet "true" before "peace," without any warrant from the original, in order to overcome the difficulty which arises from the fact, recorded earlier in the chapter (*vv.* 3–6), that Demetrius, and not Balas, began the negotiations. In point of fact, there is a contradiction between *vv.* 3 and 47, which cannot be got over. As Homer "nods" sometimes, so does our author.

§ 2. THE WAR BETWEEN DEMETRIUS AND BALAS—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF DEMETRIUS.

48-50. The details of the war between Demetrius and Alexander Balas are but little known. It appears to have lasted somewhat more than two years (B.C. 152–150). Attalus, king of Pergamus, induced Balas to come forward, but did not at first support him with his troops. After his seizure of Ptolemaïs, or Acre, in B.C. 152, Demetrius attacked him, and in the first engagement gained a decided victory (Justin, xxxv. 1). Attalus then took part in the war openly, as did Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, and Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia. Thus strengthened, Balas fought a second battle, which is the one here spoken of (*vv.* 49, 50). The fortunes of the fight were chequered; but in the end Balas was victorious, and Demetrius was slain (Justin, *l. s. c.*; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 4).

48. *Then gathered king Alexander great forces.*] Justin tells us that the three kings, Attalus, Ptolemy, and Ariarathes, sent their forces to his aid: Porphyry says he had an army of mercenaries, and contingents from Ptolemy and Attalus (Euseb. 'Chr. Can.' i. 40, § 15).

49. *Demetrius' host fled.*] According to Josephus, Demetrius had at first the advantage. After inflicting a great slaughter, he put the army of Balas to flight, and was hotly pursuing them, when his horse became entangled in a bog and threw him, whereupon he was overpowered and slain ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 2, § 4). The party of Balas then gained the day. Justin also says that Demetrius had "killed many thousands," before he fell fighting bravely in the thick of the struggle. The battle must have taken place about August, B.C. 150 (Clinton, 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 324), when Demetrius had held the throne for nearly twelve years. (See ch. vii. 1.)

§ 3. THE MARRIAGE OF BALAS WITH CLEOPATRA, DAUGHTER OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR—HONOURS PAID TO JONATHAN AT THE TIME OF THE WEDDING.

51–66. It was natural that Balas should wish to strengthen himself by a matrimonial alliance. Upstarts are always eager to obtain admittance into the family circle of kings; and Balas was an upstart of an exceedingly weak character, who could feel no confidence in himself. The Syrian monarchs had already intermarried with the Ptolemies, so that there would be nothing strange or unusual in the proposal of another such alliance. Ptolemy Philometor readily accepted it, expecting no doubt to gain something for himself by the transaction. The author relates the affair of the marriage mainly on account of the honours paid to Jonathan at the time of its celebration (*vv.* 59–65).

51. *Ptolemee king of Egypt.*] The Ptolemy contemporary with Balas was Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), who ascended the Egyptian throne in B.C. 181 and reigned till B.C. 146. He became king at the age of seven, and was consequently at this time about 38 or 39 years of age. Demetrius had angered him by an attempt to obtain possession of Cyprus, which was an appanage of the Egyptian crown; and, though the attempt failed, Philometor never forgave it. His support of Balas, even to the extent of accepting him for a son-in-law, was, in fact, a mode of avenging his wrongs. But it may also have been dictated by policy. Balas was so weak that Philometor may have expected to wrest from him Cœle-Syria and Palestine—the desire of Egypt at this time—without much difficulty. (See ch. xi. 1.)

with a message.] he message was probably sent off almost immediately after the battle. Balas at once assumed all the airs of a great king. He takes to himself the whole credit of the victory, without any mention of the aid lent him by Ptolemy and the other kings. He, of course, assumes his legitimacy,

B. C. 150. gotten the dominion, and overthrown Demetrius, and recovered our country;

53 For after I had joined battle with him, both he and his host was discomfited by us, so that we sit in the throne of his kingdom:

54 Now therefore let us make a league of amity together, and give me now thy daughter to wife: and I will be thy son in law, and will give both thee and her gifts according to thy dignity.

55 Then Ptolemee the king gave answer, saying, Happy be the day wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and satest in the throne of their kingdom.

56 And now will I do to thee, as thou hast written: meet me therefore at Ptolemais, that we may see one another; for I will marry my daughter to thee according to thy B. C. 150. desire.

57 So Ptolemee went out of Egypt with his daughter Cleopatra, and they came unto Ptolemais in the hundred threescore and second year:

58 Where king Alexander meeting him, he gave unto him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great glory, as the manner of kings is.

59 Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan, that he should come and meet him.

60 Who thereupon went honourably to Ptolemais, where he met the two kings, and gave them and their friends silver and gold, and many presents, and found favour in their sight.

61 At that time certain pestilent fellows of Israel, men of a wicked

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and claims descent from the old line of the Syrian monarchs. He addresses Ptolemy as altogether his equal, if not his superior, and demands, rather than requests, his daughter in marriage.

54. *I . . . will give both thee and her gifts.*] Presents to the bride and her father (ἔδνα, ἐεδνα) were usually made before marriage by the Greeks. The bride's portion was called φερνή, and became part of her dower; the father's represented the actual purchase-money of primitive times. The character of the gifts varied according to the rank of the parties.

56. *now will I do to thee, as thou hast written.*] Ptolemy's ready acceptance of the proposal of Balas is not, perhaps, surprising. He may have believed him to be a son of Epiphanes, in which case the match would have been an equal one; and he may have expected to derive advantage of some kind or other from the connection, although the exact nature of the advantage could scarcely have been as yet apparent. It would depend on circumstances and the character of Balas.

meet me therefore at Ptolemais.] The message of Balas had probably been sent from Antioch, whither he no doubt proceeded after his victory. But Ptolemaïs, halfway between Egypt and Antioch, seemed to Philometor a more convenient place for the wedding. He proposed, therefore, to bring his daughter thither.

57. *in the hundred threescore and second year.*] The 162nd Seleucid year would commence in October B.C. 151, and terminate in October B.C. 150. It was probably towards the close of the year that the wedding took place.

59. *Now king Alexander had written unto Jonathan.*] Here we have the first hint of the writer's purpose in dwelling so long upon the wedding. It is Maccabee, not Syrian, history that he is writing; and, but for Jonathan being a guest at the wedding, he might scarcely have noticed it. He regards the occasion, however, as having greatly redounded to Jonathan's glory; since, 1, he went there on special invitation: 2, he stayed there as an equal and companion of two of the greatest kings of the East; 3, he received special honours while there, which are described in *vv.* 62–65.

60. *went honourably to Ptolemais.*] Rather, "went **magnificently**." A large train and much display of wealth are implied in the expression, μετὰ δόξης.

he . . . gave them and their friends . . . many presents.] According to the usual Eastern custom. It was especially incumbent on a king to be lavish of gifts (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 2); and Jonathan, having been raised to the kingly rank (*supra*, *vv.* 18–20), contrived by some means or other to obtain sufficient wealth to play the part of king nobly.

61. *certain pestilent fellows.*] Literally, "men (who were) pests." The expression, rare in Greek (Demosth. in Reiske's 'Orat.

B.C. 150. life, assembled themselves against him, to accuse him: but the king would not hear them.

62 Yea more than that, the king commanded to take off his garments, and clothe him in purple: and they did so.

63 Also he made him sit by himself, and said unto his princes, Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any matter, and that no man trouble him for any manner of cause.

64 Now when his accusers saw that he was honoured according to the proclamation, and clothed in purple, they fled all away. B.C. 150.

65 So the king honoured him, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a duke, and ‖partaker of his dominion. ‖ Or, *governor of a province.*

66 Afterward Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

67 Furthermore in the hundred threescore and fifth year came Demetrius son of Demetrius out of Crete into the land of his fathers: cir. 148.

Att.' 794. 5), is common enough in Latin, and is well rendered in our Version.

men of a wicked life.] Literally, "men who were transgressors of the law." Probably no more is meant than by the customary ἄνομοι (ch. ii. 44; iii. 6; vii. 5; ix. 23, 58, &c.), men who had given up the observance of the Jewish law, and regarded it as no longer binding. Such persons did not necessarily lead an immoral life. On the contrary, they often sought to recommend their views by strictness and purity of living. It was natural that the leaders of the Hellenizing party, finding that Jonathan was in such favour, should make a last effort to discredit him with the Syrian king.

62. *the king commanded to . . . clothe him in purple.*] Jonathan had, apparently, not yet assumed the royal apparel which had been conceded to him (*v.* 20). At this time the efforts of his enemies resulted in his open and manifest exaltation to the royal dignity.

63. *Also he made him sit by himself.*] *I.e.*, "he (Balas) made him (Jonathan) take the seat by his side"—perhaps on the same throne—thus publicly exhibiting him as his equal.

Go with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation.] Compare Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 9–11. The main object was to make Jonathan's royal dignity known as widely as possible.

65. *the king . . . wrote him among his chief friends.*] It is implied that there was a catalogue in which the names of the "king's friends" were inscribed, as there was of "royal benefactors" among the Achæmenian Persians (Herod. viii. 85; Esther ii. 23, vi. 1). It appears further that there were gradations of rank among the "friends," the bulk of them forming an "ordinary" class, while a certain number were recognised as "chief friends." (See the comment on ch. ii. 18.)

made him a duke.] Rather, "a general"—*i.e.* gave him the rank of general in his army. The Latin *dux* did not come to have a mere titular force till after the time of Constantine.

partaker of his dominion.] Rather, "provincial ruler," or "governor of a district." The word used is rare, being only found in this place and in Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 5).

§ 4. DEMETRIUS II. CLAIMS THE SYRIAN CROWN—WAR BETWEEN HIS GENERAL, APOLLONIUS, AND JONATHAN—SUCCESS OF JONATHAN, AND FRESH HONOURS GRANTED TO HIM.

67–89. Balas was scarcely settled on the throne when he shewed himself quite unfit for sovereignty. He committed the affairs of the kingdom to a certain Ammonius, who robbed and murdered at his pleasure, while his master gave himself up to all kinds of vicious indulgences. He thus alienated the affections of his subjects, and gave an opportunity to the son of the late king, of which he was not slow to take advantage. In B.C. 148–7, when Balas had been king about two years, this prince left Crete, where he had been staying, accompanied by a body of Cretan mercenaries, and, landing on the coast of Cilicia, assumed the title of king. Alexander, on hearing the intelligence, quitted Ptolemaïs, his favourite residence, and went first to Antioch (*v.* 68) and thence into Cilicia (ch. xi. 14), where he endeavoured to crush the revolt. Meanwhile Jonathan maintained his cause in Palestine against the general Apollonius, who held Cœlesyria for Demetrius, and obtained the important successes which are related in *vv.* 74–86. Balas shewed his gratitude by conferring on the victorious Maccabee a new dignity and an increase of dominion (*vv.* 88, 89).

67. *in the hundred threescore and fifth year.*] The 165th Seleucid year began in

B. C. cir. 148.

68 Whereof when king Alexander heard tell, he was right sorry, and returned into Antioch.

69 Then Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celosyria his general, who gathered together a great host, and camped in Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,

70 Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, and I am laughed to scorn for thy sake, and reproached: and why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?

71 Now therefore, if thou trustest in thine own strength, come down to us into the plain field, and there let us try the matter together: for with me is the power of the cities.

B. C. cir. 148.

72 Ask and learn who I am, and the rest that take our part, and they shall tell thee that thy foot is not able to stand before our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.

73 Wherefore now thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen and so

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October B.C. 148, and ended in October B.C. 147.

Demetrius, son of Demetrius.] The elder Demetrius, when attacked by Balas, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidus, to the care of a friend. Neither of them was grown up at the time (B.C. 152). Four years later, the elder, Demetrius, having attained to manhood according to Eastern ideas, came forward and claimed his father's crown (Justin, xxxv. 2).

out of Crete.] Demetrius, when he determined to assert his rights, seems to have left Cnidus and gone to Crete, where he collected a body of mercenaries, with whom he crossed the sea and landed on the coast of Cilicia (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 3).

68. *king Alexander . . . returned into Antioch.*] From Ptolemaïs, which he had made his principal capital.

69. *Demetrius made Apollonius the governor of Celosyria his general.*] The form of expression used shews that Apollonius was already governor under Balas. His defection must have been a severe blow to that monarch's cause, as Celosyria, or rather Cœlesyria, embraced the entire tract between Emesa (Hems) and the borders of Egypt. It has been suggested that the Apollonius here mentioned was the foster-brother and friend of the elder Demetrius, of whom Polybius speaks (xxxi. 21, § 2), who accompanied him when he made his escape from Rome (Grimm). The supposition is not improbable, and would account for the part which Apollonius played.

Jamnia.] See the comment on ch. iv. 15. Jamnia lay almost due west of Jerusalem, at the distance of about thirty miles. It was in the Shefelah, or low coast plain.

sent unto Jonathan.] Challenges to combat, conveyed in insulting terms, were not uncommon in the ancient world, and with the Greeks had the sanction of Homeric usage. It was expected that taunts would rouse passions strong enough to overpower reason, and lead men to fight at a disadvantage.

70. *Thou alone.*] The expression in the original is stronger—*σὺ μονώτατος*—"thou altogether by thyself."

why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains?] The character of the hill-country of Judæa no doubt gave its defenders a certain advantage, though the elevation of the hills is not great, in no case exceeding 4000 feet. There was no call upon Jonathan, either of duty or of honour, to forego this advantage.

71. *with me is the power of the cities.*] The force of this argument is not quite clear. Perhaps Apollonius means that he might shut himself up in his walled cities, if he liked, as Jonathan shut himself up in his fastnesses, and that thus there was no unfairness in his asking the Jewish leader to come down and fight him in the open plain. Each side would be making a sacrifice.

72. *thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land.*] By "thy fathers" we are probably to understand "thy predecessors"—"those who have headed this revolt before thee"—Apollonius not caring to be accurate about the relationship. What two occasions are intended is uncertain; but probably one of them is the battle in which Judas was slain (ch. ix. 14–18), while the other may be either the defeat of Joseph and Azarias (ch. v. 60), or that of Judas near Beth-Zacharias, which was partially redeemed by the exploit of Eleazar (ch. vi. 42–47). It is surprising that Apollonius did not enlarge his taunt, since there were more occasions of defeat than these. (See ch. ii. 38; v. 67; vii. 19; ix. 2, 36, &c.)

73. *thou shalt not be able to abide the horsemen.*] Cavalry was the arm in which the Syrians placed their principal trust. In B.C. 166–5 Nicanor and Gorgias brought into the field 7000 horse (ch. iii. 39); and Lysias, in the ensuing year, had 5000 (ch. iv. 28).

B. C. cir. 148. great a power in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

74 So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing ten thousand men he went out of Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him.

75 And he pitched his tents against Joppe: but they of Joppe shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there.

76 Then Jonathan laid siege unto it: whereupon they of the city let him in for fear: and so Jonathan won Joppe.

B. C. cir. 148.

77 Whereof when Apollonius heard, he took three thousand horsemen, with a great host *of footmen*, and went to Azotus ‖as one that journeyed, and therewithal ‖drew him forth into the plain, because he had a great number of horsemen, in whom he put his trust.

‖ Or, *as though he would pass through it.*

‖ Or, *led his company.*

78 Then *Jonathan* followed after him to Azotus, where the armies joined battle.

The horsemen of the same commander in B.C. 163–2 are reckoned at 20,000 (ch. vi. 30). Cavalry, however, was of little service among the Judæan hills, which were unsuitable for its movements; and an army, the chief strength of which was in its horse, would naturally desire to meet its enemy "in the plain."

where is neither stone nor flint.] Rather, "neither stone nor **shingle**." The statement is an exaggeration, but expresses in a graphic way the general contrast that exists between the hill-country of Judæa and the low Philistine plain at its base.

nor place to flee unto.] Rather, "nor place **for flight**." In the plain there was no place where flight would not be disastrous, and consequently no situation that tempted to it.

74. *when Jonathan heard these words, . . . he was moved in his mind.*] The taunts used had their intended effect. Unlike the great Fabius (Liv. xxii. 12), Jonathan allowed himself to be "moved" by them, and descended from the high ground to the level plain, there to meet his rival. Better fortune than he deserved awaited him (*vv.* 78–84).

choosing ten thousand men.] Judas, as we have seen (*v.* 36), had at one time brought into the field more than 13,000. Jonathan seems now to have at his command not fewer than 20,000. (See Grimm, *ad loc.*)

where Simon his brother met him.] Rather, "**and** Simon, his brother, met him." The place of meeting is not indicated.

75. *he pitched his tents against Joppe.*] Joppe, or Joppa (now Jaffa), is generally spoken of as "the port of Jerusalem." It was the principal harbour on the sea-board belonging to Judæa, which was of restricted dimensions, shut in by Philistia on the one hand and Phœnicia on the other. Allotted to Dan at the time of Joshua's conquest of Palestine (Josh. xix. 46), and apparently reoccupied at the return from the Captivity (Ezra iii. 7), it had at all times a Jewish population, which may have encouraged Jonathan to select it as the object of his first attempt against Apollonius. It would seem to be implied, in the latter part of the verse, that the population would have admitted him within the walls at once, had they not been overawed by the foreign garrison which Apollonius had put there.

76. *they of the city.*] *I.e.* "the native inhabitants." They took heart after a while, and admitted Jonathan despite the Syrian garrison.

77. *he took three thousand horsemen.*] Literally, "he put under arms," or "formed an expedition of" three thousand horsemen, &c. These evidently constituted his main force, and were his chief dependence (*v.* 73). It might well have seemed that in the smooth Philistian plain they would be irresistible.

and went to Azotus as one that journeyed.] Instead of marching northwards from Jamnia (*v.* 69) against Joppa, Apollonius, as though unconscious or careless of Jonathan's movement, proceeded southwards, as if he were making a mere tour of inspection, towards Azotus, spreading his troops over the plain, and thus tempting Jonathan to make an attack upon him.

and therewithal drew him forth into the plain.] Rather, "and therewithal **kept advancing** into the plain." Προῆγεν is imperfect, not aorist, and intransitive, not transitive. The action of Apollonius in spreading his troops is described.

78. *Jonathan followed after him to Azotus.*] Thus, once more, taking the exact course which Apollonius desired, and for which his plans had been laid. Apollonius must have been delighted to see that his enemy fell, as it seemed, blindly into the trap laid for him.

where the armies joined battle.] This is said with some vagueness. The armies joined

B. C. cir. 148.

79 Now Apollonius had left a thousand horsemen in ambush.

80 And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment behind him; for they had compassed in his host, and cast darts at the people, from morning till evening.

81 But the people stood still, as Jonathan had commanded them: and so the ‖ enemies' horses were tired.

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

82 Then brought Simon forth his host, and set them against the footmen, (for the horsemen were spent,) who were discomfited by him, and fled.

83 The horsemen also, being scattered in the field, fled to Azotus, and went into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple, for safety.

B. C. cir. 148.

84 But Jonathan set fire on Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took their spoils; and the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, he burned with fire.

85 Thus there were burned and slain with the sword well nigh eight thousand men.

86 And from thence Jonathan removed his host, and camped against Ascalon, where the men of the city

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battle in the neighbourhood of Azotus, not directly under the walls of the town. When the horsemen of Apollonius were "scattered in the field," they "fled to Azotus" (*v.* 83).

79. *in ambush.*] Josephus says that they were concealed in the channel of a winter torrent, which is highly probable.

80. *Jonathan knew.*] How Jonathan discovered the ambush, we are not told. He can scarcely have conjectured its existence from the mere fact, that he was surrounded and harassed with darts from morning till evening. Probably he had information from his scouts, or through deserters from the enemy.

81. *the people stood still.*] If a retreat had been ordered, the ambush would have risen up in the path of the retreating army, and would most probably have completed its discomfiture. By remaining in the position where he was attacked, and sturdily maintaining his ground, Jonathan rendered the ambush wholly useless.

the enemies' horses were tired.] The horse of Apollonius did not charge, but hovered about the force of Jonathan, and, galloping hither and thither, discharged its arrows at them. Jonathan's troops remaining absolutely on the defensive, in course of time the assailants grew weary. Both horses and men were tired out by their long-continued exertions.

82. *Then brought Simon forth his host.*] The troops of Simon had, apparently, not been as yet engaged. When the horse of Apollonius, exhausted by its efforts, desisted from the assault, and retired, Simon's force attacked the infantry of the Syrians, which was defeated with ease.

83. *The horsemen . . . went into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple.*] A temple, as the Greeks understood the term, was a consecrated space, walled round, within which, and occupying only a small part of it, was a sacred building, constituting the sanctuary or shrine. In the open space between the outer wall and the sanctuary, a beaten force not unfrequently took refuge. (See Thucyd. iv. 96, 97; and cf. above, ch. v. 43.) Beth-Dagon, "the house of Dagon," was the native name of the entire consecrated space which was sacred to that deity. Dagon's temple at Ashdod (Azotus) is mentioned in 1 Sam. v. 2–5. (On the position of Dagon in the mythology of Phœnicia, see note in "Speaker's Commentary" on Judg. xvi. 23; and cf. Rawlinson's 'Ancient Religions,' pp. 162–164.)

84. *the temple of Dagon, with them that were fled into it, he burned with fire.*] As Judas had done with the temple of Ashteroth-Karnaim, and those who sought refuge in it (*suprà*, ch. v. 44. See the comment on the passage).

86. *Jonathan . . . camped against Ascalon.*] Ascalon, or Askelon, one of the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. v. 16–18), appears as a place of importance in the Syrian wars of Rameses II.—the probable Pharaoh of the Israelite oppression—about B.C. 1350. It lay in the tract assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 45–47), and was conquered by the men of that tribe soon after Joshua's death (Judg. i. 18), but soon regained its independence (*ib.* xiv. 19). About the year B.C. 700, it was taken by Sennacherib ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 431). In the great Scythian invasion of B.C. 630–620, it was occupied by the hordes, who plundered its temple of Astarté, or Atargatis (Herod. i. 105), but otherwise did it no injury. On the return of the Jews from the Captivity, we find it still spoken of as powerful (Zech. ix. 5), and threatened with destruction. It now appears for the first time in the Maccabean wars, and seems to have been a place of no great strength, since it submits at once. The

B. C. cir. 148. came forth, and met him with great pomp.

87 After this returned Jonathan and his host unto Jerusalem, having many spoils.

88 Now when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured Jonathan yet more,

89 And sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood: he gave him also Accaron with the borders thereof in possession.

CHAPTER XI.

B. C. cir. 146.

12 *Ptolemeus taketh away his daughter from Alexander, and entereth upon his kingdom.* 17 *Alexander is slain, and Ptolemeus dieth within three days.* 20 *Jonathan besiegeth the tower at Jerusalem.* 26 *The Jews and he are much honoured by Demetrius,* 48 *who is rescued by the Jews from his own subjects in Antioch.* 56 *Antiochus the younger honoureth Jonathan.* 61 *His exploits in divers places.*

AND the king of Egypt gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore, cir. 146.

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position of Ascalon, half-way between Ashdod and Gaza, on the Philistine coast, is well ascertained, a small village, which occupies the site, still retaining the name.

89. *a buckle of gold.*] A buckle or rather a broach (*πόρπη, fibula*), was commonly used to fasten the cloak, or shawl, which formed the chief outer garment of both Greeks and Orientals, and prevent it from falling off the wearer. The most ordinary place for it was above the right shoulder. Several shapes were employed; but the most common was a flat circular ring with a pin passing across its centre.

as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood.] Cf. ch. xi. 58; xiv. 44. The usage here mentioned seems to have been peculiar to the Syrian kings. At least it is not recorded of any others.

he gave him also Accaron.] "Accaron" is the ordinary form used in the Septuagint to express the Hebrew Ekron. This was, like Ascalon, one of the five associated cities of the Philistines. It was the most northern of the five, and the nearest to the Hebrew border. The site is probably identified with that of the modern "Akir," a small village about five miles south-west of Ramleh, and three miles east of Yebna.

in possession.] Grimm suggests that the gift was not a transfer of jurisdiction, but a mere assignment to Jonathan individually, during his lifetime, of the crown revenues of Ekron. He compares Thucyd. i. 138; Corn. Nep. 'Vit. Themist.,' § 10; 2 Macc. iv. 30. But the term used—*κληροδοσία*—seems to imply a more complete and absolute cession.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. EXPEDITION OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR INTO SYRIA—HIS CRAFTY PROCEEDINGS, AND DEFEAT OF ALEXANDER — HIS DEATH. DEMETRIUS II. MOUNTS THE THRONE.

1-17. The issue of the war between Alexander Balas and the younger Demetrius was decided by the defection of Ptolemy. The cause of his defection is uncertain. Josephus says that Balas had formed designs against his life ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 6), and that, on discovering them, Ptolemy changed sides and went over to Demetrius. But our author takes an entirely different view (*vv.* 10, 11), and he is supported to some extent by Diodorus (Müller's 'Fragmenta Hist. Gr.,' vol. ii. Fr. 19, p. xvi.). Diodorus regards Ptolemy as having entered Syria with the intention of assisting Balas, and as changing his mind on finding that his son-in-law was wholly weak and incapable. Our author thinks that he was false and treacherous from the first (*v.* 1). But both agree that he invented the charge against Balas as a mere pretext for deserting him. And probability leans this way. Ptolemy seems to have been moved wholly by ambition. He thought that he saw in the weakness of Balas and the distressed state of Syria, an opportunity for his own aggrandizement, and he resolved to take advantage of it. Whether he aimed at annexing all Syria, or only Cœlesyria and Palestine, is perhaps uncertain. He may have aimed originally at the greater design and have ultimately acquiesced in the lesser. But his ambitious schemes, whatever dimensions they may have had, were cut short by his death, which was caused by the wounds received in the great battle in which Balas lost his crown (*vv.* 15-18). His removal, and that of Balas, by the treachery of an Arab sheikh, left the throne vacant for Demetrius II., who was generally recognised as Syrian king in the year B.C. 146-5.

1. *the king of Egypt.*] Ptolemy Philometor, who had assisted Balas previously, and given him his daughter in marriage (ch. x. 56-58).

gathered together a great host, like the sand that lieth upon the sea shore.] The author is here poetical beyond his wont. But the phrase was too familiar to the Jews to seem forced or out of place. (See Gen. xxii. 17;

B. C. c. r. 146. and many ships, and went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom, and join it to his own.

2 Whereupon he took his journey into Syria in peaceable manner, so as they of the cities opened unto him, and met him: for king Alexander had commanded them so to do, because he was his father in law.

3 Now as Ptolemee entered into the cities, he set in every one of them a garrison of soldiers to keep it.

4 And when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple of Dagon that was burnt, and Azotus and the suburbs thereof that were destroyed, and the bodies that were cast abroad, and them that he had burnt in the battle; for they had made heaps of them by the way where he should pass. B. C. cir. 146.

5 Also they told the king whatsoever Jonathan had done, to the intent he might blame him: but the king held his peace.

6 Then Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppe, where they saluted one another, and ‖ lodged. ‖ Gr. *slept.*

7 Afterward Jonathan, when he had gone with the king to the river called Eleutherus, returned again to Jerusalem.

8 King Ptolemee therefore, having gotten the dominion of the cities by

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xxxii. 12; Josh. xi. 4; Judg. vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 1 Kings iv. 29.)

many ships.] Egypt was a naval power from a very early date. A sea-fight between the Egyptians and the Tekaru is represented in the sculptures of Rameses III. (See Rosellini, 'Monumenti Storici,' pl. cxxxi.) Neco had two fleets, one in the Red Sea and another in the Mediterranean (Herod. ii. 159). Apries fought at sea with the Tyrians (*ib.* 161). Egypt furnished 200 triremes to the fleet of Xerxes (*ib.* vii. 89, § 2). Under the Ptolemies a large navy was maintained (Polyb. v. 34, 35); and even Cleopatra was able to furnish Antony with sixty ships at Actium.

went about through deceit to get Alexander's kingdom.] This is probably a false charge. The writer has a strong bias in favour of Balas, and therefore a strong prejudice against all those who were instrumental in effecting his downfall. Diodorus, who has no feeling either way, says that Ptolemy entered Syria with the full intention of helping Balas (Fr. xix.). So also Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 5).

2. *they of the cities opened unto him.*] *I.e.* admitted him within their walls, with his troops.

and met him.] In friendly fashion, and probably with pomp and display. (Compare ch. x. 86.)

3. *Ptolemee . . . set in every one of them a garrison.*] The writer sees in this an ill intention; but it would have been quite natural for a friend and ally, whose forces were large (*v.* 1), to strengthen the garrisons in the various towns through which he passed, in order to secure them against the partisans of the pretender.

4. *the temple of Dagon that was burnt.*] See above, ch. x. 84. Jonathan's proceedings had been high-handed and harsh, but not beyond what the usages of war were held to justify. The Ashdodites hoped that Ptolemy would regard them as not warranted under the circumstances; but either he thought differently, or else he wished to avoid a rupture with the Jewish leader, who had shewn himself at once an able general and a faithful subject. Hence he took no notice of the Ashdodite complaints (*v.* 5).

6. *Jonathan met the king with great pomp at Joppe.*] After reducing Ascalon, Jonathan had returned to Jerusalem (ch. x. 87). It was open to him to have remained there; but no doubt the recognised etiquette of the time and country pointed out as proper the course which he took, namely, that of meeting the Egyptian king, and escorting him as far as he conveniently could. He met him "at Joppe," as the first city towards the south which he could claim as his own, Gaza, Ascalon, and Ashdod being Philistine, and not Judæan.

7. *the river called Eleutherus.*] The Eleutherus is made by Strabo the boundary between Syria and Palestine (xvi. p. 753). It is mentioned also by Pliny ('H. N.' v. 17) and Ptolemy (v. 15). The former says that it flows from Lebanon and empties itself into the sea between Tripolis and Orthosia. These notices are sufficient to identify it with the modern Nahr-el-Kebir, which has "its highest source at the north-east base of Lebanon," and "sweeps round the northern end of the range," falling into the sea about twenty-five miles north of Tarabulus (Tripolis). "During summer and autumn the Eleutherus is but a small stream, easily forded; but in winter it swells into a large and rapid river" (Porter, in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 519).

B. C. cir. 146. the sea unto Seleucia upon the sea coast, imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.

9 Whereupon he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a league betwixt us, and I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign in thy father's kingdom:

10 For I repent that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.

11 Thus did he slander him, because he was desirous of his kingdom. B. C. cir. 146.

12 Wherefore he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius, and forsook Alexander, so that their hatred was openly known.

13 Then Ptolemee entered into Antioch, where he set two crowns upon his head, the crown of Asia, and of Egypt.

14 In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia, because those

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8. *Seleucia upon the sea coast.*] There were numerous Seleucias. The most important was that built by Seleucus Nicator on the right bank of the Lower Tigris, opposite to which arose the city of Ctesiphon in Parthian times. This was an inland city. There was also an inland Seleucia in Syria on the course of the Orontes. From this the maritime Seleucia—the port of Antioch—is distinguished, as ἡ παραθαλασσία, or ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ (Polyb. v. 59). It lay some seven or eight miles north of the mouth of the Orontes, at the foot of a lofty mountain known as Mount Coryphæus, and was the second city of Syria Proper during the Seleucid period. The site, which is still known as Selefkiyeh, is marked by some considerable ruins (Chesney, 'Journal of the Royal Geograph. Society,' vol. viii. p. 228 *et seqq.*).

imagined wicked counsels against Alexander.] It may have been when he was at Seleucia that Ptolemy became convinced of the utter incapacity of Balas (Diod. Sic. Fr. 19), and resolved on a "new departure." Relinquishing the idea of supporting his son-in-law against Demetrius, he made up his mind to come to terms with the latter. To justify his change of sides, he professed to have discovered a plot laid by Balas against his life (*infra*, *v.* 10; Diod. Sic. *l. s. c.*); but of the existence of this plot there is no evidence.

9. *he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius.*] Demetrius was probably still in Cilicia, where Balas was confronting him with the chief forces of the empire (see *v.* 14). Ptolemy could easily communicate with him by sea.

I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath.] Divorce for political reasons was common at the time among all the Oriental princes. Ptolemy evidently regarded his daughter as a mere pawn to be played in the political game—to be married, divorced, remarried, perhaps divorced anew, at his pleasure. It is not clear how or when he obtained possession of her—whether at Ptolemaïs, or when he was received into Antioch.

10. *he sought to slay me.*] It is certain that Ptolemy made this charge against Balas (Diod. Sic. *l. s. c.*; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 6); whether justly or not is disputed. Diodorus considered the charge to have been unjust; Josephus admits its truth.

11. *Thus did he slander him.*] Ἐψόγησεν is not "slandered," but simply "**blamed**"—"**found fault with.**" Our author does not distinctly state whether he believed the accusation or not.

12. *he took his daughter from him, and gave her to Demetrius.*] So Livy ('Epit.' lii.) and Diodorus (Fr. xix.).

13. *Then Ptolemee entered into Antioch.*] Diodorus (*l. s. c.*) enters into some detail. On quitting Antioch and marching into Cilicia to meet Demetrius, Balas had entrusted affairs to two men, Hierax and Diodotus. These persons, regarding his cause as desperate when Ptolemy declared against him, and being afraid of Demetrius because they had taken part against his father, made the city over to Ptolemy, in the hope that he would accept the government and protect them against both the Syrian princes. Outwardly he acquiesced in their plans, entered the city as Syrian king, and assumed the diadem; but secretly he came to an agreement with Demetrius to resign the crown in his favour, and retain only Cœlesyria and Palestine.

he set two crowns upon his head.] We must not understand this literally. The meaning is, that he accepted a second crown. Being already king of Egypt, he allowed himself to be crowned also as king of Syria. Hence, Polybius gives him the title (xl. 12).

the crown of Asia.] Syria was reckoned the *great* Asiatic monarchy at this time, the successor of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. The Seleucidæ, like the Achæmenidæ (Herod. i. 4; iv. 1, 118, 119), claimed to be "lords of Asia." (Compare above, ch. viii. 6.)

14. *In the mean season was king Alexander in Cilicia.*] Demetrius set himself up for king in Cilicia (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4,

B. C. cir. 146. that dwelt in those parts had revolted from him.

15 But when Alexander heard of this, he came to war against him: whereupon *king* Ptolemee brought forth *his host*, and met him with a mighty power, and put him to flight.

16 So Alexander fled into Arabia, there to be defended; but king Ptolemee was exalted:

17 For Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head, and sent it unto Ptolemee. B. C. cir. 146.

18 King Ptolemee also died the third day after, ‖and they that were in the strong holds were slain one of another.

‖ Gr. *and those that were in the holds were slain of those that were in the holds.*

19 By this means Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.

20 At the same time Jonathan gathered together them that were

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§ 3), and was there supported by the bulk of the inhabitants. Balas attacked him in that country, and was still engaged in the struggle when he heard of the movement that had taken place in his rear. Regarding Ptolemy as the more dangerous of his two enemies, he retraced his steps, and marched upon Antioch, near which the battle was fought that cost him his crown (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 16).

16. *Alexander fled into Arabia.*] Diodorus confirms this. "Alexander," he says, "after his defeat, fled with 500 followers to the place called Abæ in Arabia, to the dynast Diocles, with whom he had previously placed his infant son, Antiochus. Then two of those who had accompanied him, the captains Heliades and Casius, sent a message secretly to Demetrius, promising that, if he would grant them their lives, they would assassinate Alexander. Demetrius agreeing to this, from traitors they became murderers, and put the king to death. Alexander was in this way made away with by his friends" (Fr. xx.).

17. *Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head.*] Zabdiel is probably the person whom Diodorus calls "Diocles." The bearing of two names is characteristic of the Maccabee period. If, as is probable, he was privy to the designs and proceedings of Heliades and Casius, the murder might with reason be ascribed to him. His sending Alexander's head to Ptolemy is parallel to the act of those who brought Pompey's head to Julius Cæsar. The intention was to give actual proof of the death to the person chiefly interested.

18. *King Ptolemee also died the third day after.*] Ptolemy died of an injury received in the battle. His skull was fractured by a fall from his horse, and he was obliged to submit to an operation similar to the modern "trepanning." But either the surgeons were unskilful, or his system could not bear the shock, and he expired under the knife. (See Livy, 'Epit.' lii.)

they that were in the strongholds were slain one of another.] Literally, "those who were in the strongholds were slain by those who were in the strongholds." The meaning seems to be, that the garrisons which Ptolemy had left in the walled cities along the Syrian coast (*vv.* 3, 9) were massacred by the native inhabitants of the cities.

19. *Demetrius reigned in the hundred threescore and seventh year.*] The year beginning in October B.C. 146, and terminating in October B.C. 145.

§ 2. JONATHAN, HAVING LAID SIEGE TO THE SYRIAN FORTRESS AT JERUSALEM, IS SUMMONED TO MEET DEMETRIUS AT PTOLEMAÏS—FAVOURABLE RESULT OF THE INTERVIEW.

20-37. On the death of Balas and accession of Demetrius II., who could not but have his hands full under the troubled circumstances of the time, Jonathan thought that he saw an opportunity of quietly relieving Jerusalem of an ever-impending danger, by reducing the fortress which Epiphanes had set up (ch. i. 33-36), and which had sheltered a foreign garrison ever since. He accordingly collected siege artillery, and set himself down before the place (ch. xi. 20). But his enemies were too watchful to allow such an important matter to be carried through without opposition. They at once made representations to Demetrius (*v.* 21) on the subject, and prevailed on him to summon Jonathan to a conference, where he should give account of his proceedings (*v.* 22). Jonathan, who trusted much to his address and personal influence, obeyed the summons, and met Demetrius at Ptolemaïs, probably in B.C. 145. Terms of peace were agreed upon. Demetrius confirmed Jonathan in the High Priest's office, "gave him pre-eminence among his chief friends" (*v.* 27), and consented to most of the remissions previously offered by his father (ch. x. 29-43); but, in return, he required a payment of 300 talents (*v.* 28), and the continuance of the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem (implied in the subsequent history). The letter containing the terms, after delivery to Jonathan, was to

B. C. cir. 145. in Judea, to take the tower that was in Jerusalem: and he made many engines of war against it.

21 Then certain ungodly persons, who hated their own people, went unto the king, and told him that Jonathan besieged the tower.

22 Whereof when he heard, he was angry, and immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not lay siege to the tower, but come and speak with him at Ptolemais in great haste.

23 Nevertheless Jonathan, when he heard this, commanded to besiege it *still:* and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and the priests, and put himself in peril; B. C. cir. 145.

24 And took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides, and went to Ptolemais unto the king, where he found favour in his sight.

25 And [a] though certain ungodly men of the people had made complaints against him, [a] ch. 10. 61, &c.

26 Yet the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before, and promoted him in the sight of all his friends,

27 And [b] confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in all the ho- [b] ch. 10. 20. & 14. 38. ver. 57.

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be "set in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount" (*v.* 37).

20. *the tower that was in Jerusalem.*] See ch. *i.* 35; iv. 41; vi. 19–26, 32; ix. 53; x. 6–9 and 32.

he made many engines.] "Engines" were commonly made for the occasion of a siege, and probably broken up when the siege was over. They were too cumbersome to be generally kept in store and conveyed from place to place. (See ch. vi. 31, 52; ix. 64; xv. 25.) Still, we hear occasionally of "great provision" of them being laid up in a fortified town (2 Macc. xii. 27).

21. *certain ungodly persons.*] Literally, "transgressors of the law"—men who had cast off its authority, and desired to Hellenize the nation. (Compare above, ch. ii. 44; iii. 6, &c.; and see the comment on ch. x. 61.)

who hated their own people.] No doubt the feelings of the Hellenizers towards their orthodox brethren were very bitter; but so were those of the orthodox towards them (ch. ii. 44; iii. 5–8; vii. 24, &c.). Neither party "hated their own people." Both sought its advancement, but in different ways.

22. *he was angry.*] Demetrius I. had "yielded up his authority over the tower," and "given it to the High Priest, that he might set in it such as he should choose to keep it" (ch. x. 32). But this gift had been cancelled by the determination of the Jews to support Balas. Demetrius II., the present king, naturally regarded the citadel of Jerusalem as a part of his dominions, and resented the attack upon it as an act of war against himself.

immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais.] Probably from Antioch. His rapid movement would shew Jonathan that he was in earnest; and his presence at Ptolemaïs, within a hundred miles of Jerusalem, would be something of a menace. At the same time it might be viewed as an act of polite consideration, relieving Jonathan from the necessity of making a longer journey.

23. *Jonathan . . . put himself in peril.*] No doubt he incurred a considerable risk by going to Ptolemaïs, especially as he had declined to desist from the siege of "the tower." He had confidence, however, in his own adroitness, and in his power of purchasing impunity, and even favour. He may have also calculated that Demetrius would be afraid to exasperate the entire Jewish nation by treacherously arresting their High Priest and king.

24. *took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides.*] Intending evidently to procure the favour of others besides the king. Jonathan felt that if he could dispose favourably towards himself the minds of the royal attendants, officers, and ministers, he would be tolerably sure of gaining their master also. Gifts of "raiment" have always been common in the East (Gen. xxiv. 53, xlv. 22; 2 Kings v. 5; 2 Chr. ix. 24, &c.).

26. *the king entreated him as his predecessors had done before.*] The reference is especially to the treatment which Jonathan had received at the hands of Balas (ch. x. 59–65), but may include also some allusion to the "loving words" of Demetrius I. recorded in ch. x. 3–6. Ptolemy Philometor would scarcely be recognised by Demetrius II. among his "predecessors."

promoted him.] Rather, "exalted him"—*i.e.* paid him marked respect and honour.

27. *confirmed him in the high priesthood.*] The same expression is used with respect to Alcimus in ch. vii. 9, where it seems to mean

B. C. ar. 145 nours that he had before, and gave him preeminence among his chief friends.

28 Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute, as also the three governments, with the country of Samaria; and he promised him three hundred talents.

29 So the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan of all these things after this manner:

30 King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: B. C. cir. 145.

31 We send you here a copy of the letter which we did write unto our cousin Lasthenes concerning you, that ye might see it.

32 King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting:

33 We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with

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"conferred on him the high priesthood;" but here confirmation in the office, rather than appointment to it, is clearly intended. (See the next clause.) Jonathan had been appointed High Priest by Balas (ch. x. 20).

all the honours that he had before.] As the right to wear a crown of gold (ch. x. 20), a buckle of gold (*ib.* 89), and a purple robe (*ib.* 20), together with the official titles of "general" and "provincial governor" (*ib.* 65).

gave him preeminence among his chief friends.] Grimm translates "made (men) regard him as among his chief friends," which is a possible rendering of the original; but the meaning suggested by our translators is a more natural one. The "preeminence" was perhaps confined to the occasion.

28. *Then Jonathan desired the king, that he would make Judea free from tribute.*] This was a bold proposal. Sovereignty over a subject nation in the East is chiefly marked by payment of tribute, and dominion over foreign races is chiefly sought as a means of increasing the revenue. To ask exemption from tribute was almost equivalent to asking independence. It is true that the king's father, Demetrius I., had promised such exemption (ch. x. 29, 30); but only in an emergency, when the Jews had shewn a preference for his rival, and with the object of outbidding him. Demetrius II. was as yet in no such difficulties. The boldness of Jonathan at this time is thus scarcely diminished by the fact of the elder Demetrius's offer. He had to persuade the Syrian king that the friendship of the Jewish nation was worth a large pecuniary sacrifice. It may be questioned whether he would have succeeded had he not been prepared to offer a considerable immediate payment for the help of the king's necessities.

as also the three governments.] Compare above, ch. x. 30, 38; and below, *v.* 34.

with the country of Samaria.] A corruption of the text is here suspected. Jonathan would scarcely have stipulated for the exemption from tribute of Samaria, a hostile country, in whose welfare he had no interest. The true reading is probably ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρειτίδος, or ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας. (See *v.* 34, and compare ch. x. 38.)

three hundred talents.] About 72,000*l.* of our money.

30. *King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan.*] Compare ch. x. 18. The term "brother" corresponded in the diplomacy of the time to the "mon cousin" of modern Europe. It marked admission into the privileged circle of royal personages.

and unto the nation of the Jews.] Compare ch. x. 25. Alexander had addressed Jonathan only; Demetrius I. the Jewish nation only; Demetrius II. addressed the two in combination.

31. *our cousin Lasthenes.*] It is a reasonable conjecture that this "Lasthenes" is the Cretan who (according to Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 4, § 5) collected the troops with which Demetrius II. effected his landing in Cilicia. His services had probably been rewarded by the governorship of Cœlesyria, on which Judæa was to a certain extent dependent. The terms granted to Jonathan had therefore to be communicated to him, and it was sufficient to send the Jews a copy of the communication. The term "cousin" of our version is somewhat too definite, the true correspondent of the Greek συγγενὴς being "kinsman."

that ye might see it.] Rather, "that ye *may* see it." The clause depends, not on "we did write," but on "we send you here."

32. *his father Lasthenes.*] Like "kinsman," this is a title of honour. Its application to Lasthenes implies that he was a man of some considerable age. (Compare 2 Kings ii. 12; v. 13; xiii. 14, &c.)

33. *keep covenants with us.*] Rather, "observe their duties towards us."

B. C. cir. 145. us, because of their good will toward us.

[f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. 34 [f]Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country [e] ch. 10. 42. of Samaria, and [e]all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the payments which the king received of them yearly aforetime out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.

35 And as for other things that belong unto us, of the tithes and customs pertaining unto us, as also [d] ch. 10. 29. [d]the saltpits, and the crown taxes, which are due unto us, we discharge them of them all for their relief.

36 And nothing hereof shall be revoked from this time forth for ever.

37 Now therefore see that thou make a copy of these things, and let it be delivered unto Jonathan, and set upon the holy mount in a conspicuous place.

38 After this, when king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet be-

There had not as yet been any "covenant" between the Jews and Demetrius II.

because of their good will.] The good will had been shewn by the professions, gifts, and especially the promises of Jonathan (*v.* 28), whom Demetrius was willing to regard as representing the feelings of his nation.

34. *the three governments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathem.*] See the comment on ch. x. 30.

that are added.] Rather, "that were added." The aorist expresses a definite point of past time. (Compare ch. x. 38.)

for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem.] A distinction is drawn between those Jews who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem and those who had laid aside the practice. Only the former were to be exempt from the payments commonly exacted by the Syrian kings from their subjects. A strong inducement was thus held out for members of the Hellenizing party to go over to the side of the orthodox, since otherwise they would enjoy none of the new privileges.

instead of the payments, &c.] The syntax is difficult, and Grimm suggests that some word or words must have fallen out. But the general meaning is tolerably clear. Instead of the customary payments to the Syrian crown on account of each of the attached provinces and of Judæa itself, the provinces with their taxation were wholly made over to the Jews themselves, who were no longer to pay anything to their nominal sovereign, the Syrian monarch.

out of the fruits of the earth and of trees.] Compare ch. x. 30, and the comment *ad loc.*

35. *And as for other things.*] Rather, "as for the other things"—i.e. *all* the other heads of revenue.

of the tithes and customs.] See ch. x. 31, which shews that the Syrian crown levied a tax upon the tenths paid by the Jews for the support of the Levitical priesthood, and also upon other "dues" paid to the priestly authorities, *e.g.* the half shekel for the service of the sanctuary (Neh. x. 32; Matt. xvii. 24–27). Henceforth no claim was to be made by the Syrian crown on either of these two accounts.

the saltpits.] See the comment on ch. x. 29. Shallow ponds, connected with the Dead Sea, into which its water was admitted, and the salt then allowed to form itself by evaporation, are intended. (See Ezek. xlvii. 11; Zeph. ii. 9.)

the crown taxes.] See the comment on ch. x. 29.

37. *see that thou make a copy of these things.*] The copy here spoken of is not that which Demetrius sent to Jonathan (*v.* 31) in the form of a letter, written probably on parchment or paper, but one which Lasthenes was to have made, as a permanent memorial, and which was to be set up in a conspicuous place on the Temple mountain. It was probably inscribed, like other "memorials" of the kind (ch. viii. 22), on a bronze tablet.

§ 3. DEMETRIUS OFFENDS HIS NATIVE SOLDIERS — TRYPHO PREPARES TO BRING FORWARD ANTIOCHUS, SON OF BALAS— DEMETRIUS PROMISES JONATHAN TO RECALL THE SYRIAN GARRISONS FROM JUDÆA, IF THE JEWS WILL HELP HIM AGAINST HIS ENEMIES, BUT, THOUGH HELPED, BREAKS HIS PROMISE.

38–53. Demetrius II., after he had reigned a very short time, became unpopular. He is accused by Justin of laziness, by Livy of cruelty (Justin, xxxvi. 1; Liv. 'Epit.' lii.). According to our author, he gave offence by disbanding his Syrian troops, and maintaining an army of foreign mercenaries. The charges may, one and all, be true. That of

B. C. cir. 145. fore him, and that no resistance was made against him, he sent away all his forces, every one to his own place, except certain bands of strangers, whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen: wherefore all the forces of his fathers hated him.

39 Moreover there was one Tryphon, that had been of Alexander's part afore, who, seeing that all the host murmured against Demetrius, went to Simalcue the Arabian, that brought up Antiochus the young son of Alexander, B. C. cir. 145.

40 And lay sore upon him to deliver him *this young Antiochus*, that he might reign in his father's stead: he told him therefore all that Demetrius had done, and how his men of war were at enmity with him, and there he remained a long season.

41 In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he

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cruelty is to some extent confirmed by Diodorus, who says he was hated for his lawlessness (Fr. xxi.). The result was a rebellion, which for a time drove Demetrius from his throne (*vv.* 55, 56). It was while this rebellion was preparing that Jonathan, probably knowing the difficulties that beset Demetrius, made a request for the withdrawal from Judæa of the Syrian garrisons, which was favourably entertained by the Syrian king (*v.* 42). The king, however, required first to be helped against his enemies, whereupon Jonathan lent him a body of troops, which put down a rising in his capital. Regarding himself as now safe, the king flung his promise to the winds, did not withdraw the garrisons, and "estranged himself" from his recent ally (*vv.* 43–53).

38. *he sent away all his forces . . . except certain bands of strangers.*] Josephus is the only writer who confirms this ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 1); but it is, intrinsically, not improbable. Demetrius had gained his first successes by the swords of his mercenaries (see note on ch. x. 67), and had been opposed by the Syrian levies. He therefore naturally distrusted the latter.

whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen.] Certainly from Crete (ch. x. 67); possibly from Rhodes, Cyprus, and the islands of the Archipelago.

the forces of his fathers.] *I.e.* of his predecessors on the Syrian throne.

39. *there was one Tryphon.*] Tryphon is mentioned by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.), by Appian ('Syriac.' § 68), by Livy ('Epit.' lv.), and by Strabo (xvi. p. 752). His real name was Diodotus, Tryphon being a surname which he adopted after he had made himself king. He was a native of Casiana, a fortified place in the district belonging to the Apamea of Syria. Alexander Balas distinguished him with his favour, and appointed him, conjointly with Hierax, to take the direction of affairs at Antioch, when he marched into Cilicia to meet Demetrius (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 73). This trust he abused by admitting Ptolemy Philometor into the city after he had declared against Balas (see the comment on ch. xi. 13). We now find him playing a still bolder game. He conceives the design of bringing forward a pretender to dispute the crown with Demetrius, and ultimately murders his *protégé*, and makes himself king in his place.

Simalcue the Arabian.] Rather, "Imalcuë." He is called "Malchus" by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' *l. s. c.*), and "Jamblichus" by Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Grimm conjectures that he was the son of the "Diocles," with whom Balas placed Antiochus, when danger first threatened him (Diod. Sic. Fr. xx.). But this is very uncertain. The name is probably a formation from the root *melek* (Arab. *malik*), "king."

Antiochus, the young son of Alexander.] Antiochus is said by Diodorus (Fr. xx.) to have been "an infant" (νήπιος) when placed with Diocles. If he was the son of Alexander by Cleopatra (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 68), who became his wife in B.C. 151, he could not, when Tryphon went to seek him in Arabia (B.C. 145), have been more than five years old. Livy (according to the extant reading) makes him as little as *two* ('Epit.' lii.); but the reading is with reason questioned, and a probable emendation ("puero" for "bimulo") makes Livy merely say that he was "quite a boy." This is perhaps as much as can be affirmed with certainty.

40. *And lay sore upon him.*] *I.e.* "importuned him"—"kept urging him continually."

there he remained a long season.] Literally, "many days." Probably not more is intended than a stay of some weeks.

41. *In the mean time Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius.*] Demetrius's difficulty was Jonathan's opportunity. Affairs in Syria having reached the condition described in *vv.* 38–40, Jonathan thought the time was come when the Syrian king would be prepared to pay a considerable price for the Jewish alliance. He therefore made the proposal

would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem, and those also in the fortresses: for they fought against Israel.

42 So Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy people, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if opportunity serve.

43 Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men to help me; for all my forces are gone from me.

44 Upon this Jonathan sent him three thousand strong men unto Antioch: and when they came to the king, the king was very glad of their coming.

45 Howbeit they that were of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and would have slain the king.

46 Wherefore the king fled into the court, but they of the city kept the passages of the city, and began to fight.

47 Then the king called to the Jews for help, who came unto him

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recorded in this verse. No doubt, he gave it to be understood that, if his request were granted, Demetrius would receive a *quid pro quo*.

that he would cast those of the tower out of Jerusalem.] Cause, that is, the Syrian fortress in Jerusalem (Acra) to be evacuated.

and those also in the fortresses.] Bacchides had established Syrian garrisons in Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-horon, Bethel, Thamnatha-Pharathoni, Tephon, Beth-shur, and Gazara (ch. ix. 50–52). At the commencement of the war between Balas and Demetrius I., most of these places were evacuated (ch. x. 12, 13). Beth-shur, however, was not yielded (*ib. v.* 14), and probably others of the cities named were re-occupied. Jonathan asked that the garrisons should, one and all, be withdrawn.

they fought against Israel.] The main object of garrisoning the Jewish town was to afford a support to the Hellenizing Jews. It is not probable that the garrisons came often into collision with the patriots; but they were felt to be a hostile force ranged on the side of the opposite party.

42. *I will not only do this for thee, &c.*] Demetrius was prompt to promise, since he did not regard any promise as binding. He "dissembled in all that ever he spake" (*v.* 53). His short-sighted policy led him to tide over each difficulty, as it arose, by giving pledges which it was not his intention to redeem. The result was that his difficulties continually increased upon him. Probably a real honest alliance with Jonathan would have been more for his true interest than any other course. But he was not clear-sighted enough to see this. He supposed that political advantage was only to be gained by treachery and intrigue.

I will greatly honour thee and thy nation.] Literally, "Glorifying I will glorify thee." Cf. ch. xiv. 29, 39; xv. 9. The idiom is a common one in Hebrew (Gen. iii. 16; xxii. 17, &c.).

44. *three thousand strong men.*] This seems a weak contingent under the circumstances, and one from which no very important service could be expected. But even a small body of trained soldiers is of value against a city rabble, which was what Demetrius had chiefly to fear. His troops had been disbanded, and sent away to their homes (*v.* 38). It was the populace of Antioch that especially threatened disturbances—a populace very fickle, very unruly, and very cowardly. By "strong men" is meant "good soldiers, brave and experienced."

45. *they that were of the city gathered themselves together.*] This revolt, or riot, is not mentioned by the classical writers, whose notices of the reign of Demetrius II. are few and scanty. It is, however, quite in accord with the general character of the Antiochene populace.

to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men.] The population of Antioch is said to have amounted to 400,000; so that a riot in which 120,000 *men* took part would be quite possible.

46. *the king fled into the court.*] *I.e.* "into the palace." The rioters chose a time when he was outside the palace walls, hoping no doubt to seize his person; but in this intention they were baulked. Demetrius succeeded in escaping from them, and shutting himself up within the royal residence, which was a defensible position.

the passages.] The main "thoroughfares" of the city seem to be intended—those especially which led from the palace to the city gates. The object was to prevent the escape of the king.

47. *the king called to the Jews for help.*]

B. C. cir. 145. all at once, and dispersing themselves through the city slew that day in the city to the number of an hundred thousand.

48 Also they set fire on the city, and gat many spoils that day, and delivered the king.

49 So when they of the city saw that the Jews had got the city as they would, their courage was abated: wherefore they made supplication to the king, and cried, saying,

50 [1]Grant us peace, and let the Jews cease from assaulting us and the city.

[1] Or, *Be friends with us.*

51 With that they cast away their weapons, and made peace; and the Jews were honoured in the sight of the king, and in the sight of all that were in his realm; and they returned to Jerusalem, having great spoils. B. C. cir. 145.

52 So king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him.

53 Nevertheless he dissembled in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore.

Josephus says, that Demetrius called to his aid "the Jews sent by Jonathan, *and his own mercenaries*" ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 3), which is probable. The latter, no doubt, amounted to some thousands (see *v.* 38). Together, they effected a great slaughter of the rioters; but we may be excused from believing that the slain were really 100,000. The estimate is manifestly one of the roughest kind; and we may detect in it the usual Oriental exaggeration.

48. *Also they set fire on the city.*] Perhaps not intentionally. In every great disturbance within an Oriental town, where the buildings are chiefly of wood, there is much danger of an accidental conflagration.

gat many spoils.] They had probably the king's permission to plunder, not only the persons, but the houses, of the rioters.

49. *their courage was abated.*] Literally, "they fainted in their spirits." (Cf. Is. vii. 4; where the LXX. have nearly the same expression.)

51. *they cast away their weapons.*] The rabble of Antioch was not an unarmed rabble. In the East almost every man carries some weapon or other, life being so insecure that it is necessary to have the means of defending it. The expression "cast away their arms" seems to imply, not so much a formal surrender, as a tumultuary movement, in which each strove to rid himself of the incumbrance of armour and weapons.

the Jews were honoured.] Rather, "**glorified.**" The entire series of events was honourable to the Jews; and all faithful subjects of the Syrian king naturally gave them praise and glory. They had risked their lives in defence of the monarch—they had fought against enormous odds—they had carried all before them. Their exertions had saved the king's life (*v.* 48). Faithful subjects could not but give honour and glory to those who had so acted.

52. *the land was quiet before him.*] Cf. the opening clause of *v.* 38. Again, it must be understood that the tranquillity was of very short duration. Tryphon came forward as the champion of the young Antiochus before the close of the 168th Seleucid year, which began in October B.C. 145, and ended in October B.C. 144. Probably he was only absent a few months in Arabia, and proclaimed his *protégé* before the year B.C. 145 was ended. (See Clinton, 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. iii. p. 327.)

53. *he dissembled in all that ever he spake.*] Rather, "he **gave the lie to all his professions**"—that is, all those that he had made to Jonathan (*vv.* 42, 43).

but troubled him very sore.] Josephus says that Demetrius threatened Jonathan with war, unless all the payments were made regularly, which had been customary under the early Syrian kings. This, if true, was a revocation of the terms granted by his letter (*vv.* 32–36), which had been set up by his orders in a conspicuous place upon the holy mount (*v.* 37). Nothing could be a more palpable breach of faith.

§ 4. Tryphon brings forward Antiochus, Son of Balas, and seats him upon the Throne—Friendly Relations established between the new King and the Jews.

54–59. Tryphon found some difficulty in persuading the Arab chief (*v.* 39) to entrust Antiochus to his care; but his importunity prevailed after a time. Antiochus was proclaimed king in B.C. 145–4, and given the names of "Epiphanes" and "Dionysus." He could not have been more than five or six years old at the time. The disbanded sol-

B. C. cir. 144.

54 After this returned Tryphon, and with him the young child Antiochus, who reigned, and was crowned.

55 Then there gathered unto him all the men of war, whom Demetrius had put away, and they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.

56 Moreover Tryphon took the [1]elephants, and won Antioch.

[1] Gr. *beasts.*

57 At that time young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm thee in the high priesthood, and appoint thee ruler over the four governments, and to be one of the king's friends.

B. C. cir. 144

58 Upon this he sent him golden vessels [1]to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle.

[1] Gr. *and service.*

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diers of Demetrius embraced his cause with ardour, and flocked to the standard of Tryphon, who marched upon Antioch, met Demetrius in the field and defeated him, captured his elephants, and became master of the capital (*vv.* 55, 56). Tryphon, upon this, caused letters to be written to Jonathan in the name of the boy-king, confirming him in the High Priesthood, and granting him various privileges (*vv.* 57, 58). At the same time, he conferred on Simon, Jonathan's brother, a military command extending from "the ladder of Tyre" to the borders of Egypt (*v.* 59).

54. *the young child Antiochus.*] See the comment on *v.* 39.

who reigned and was crowned.] Literally, "who reigned and assumed the diadem." The fact of the reign is proved by coins, which extend from the 168th Seleucid year to the 170th. It is allowed by Appian ('Syriaca,' § 68) and Diodorus (Fr. xxi.). Porphyry, on the other hand, omits it (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, p. 194). Of course the boy-king was a mere puppet in the hands of Tryphon, as Eupator was in those of Lysias (*supra*, ch. vi. 17, 63).

55. *there gathered unto him all the men of war whom Demetrius had put away.*] See above, *v.* 38. Diodorus tells us that Tryphon had at first only a small force, with which he took up a position near Chalcis, on the borders of Arabia. Demetrius despised him as a mere robber-chief, and ordered his arrest, but sent no expedition against him. Tryphon, thus left to himself, largely increased his troops, the discontented flocking to him from all quarters, so that Demetrius was compelled to regard him as a serious rival (Fr. xxi.).

they fought against Demetrius, who turned his back and fled.] The defeat of Demetrius by Tryphon is confirmed by Livy ('Epit.' lii.), who says that after the battle he fled to Seleucia. No description of the battle has come down to us.

56. *Tryphon took the elephants.*] Literally, "the *beasts*;" but no doubt elephants are meant. Though by the treaty of Magnesia the Syrian monarchs were to cease to maintain any war-elephants, they undoubtedly continued to do so. Antiochus Eupator had at least twenty-two (see the comment on ch. vi. 30). Demetrius is likely to have maintained at least as large a number.

and won Antioch.] The occupation of Antioch by Tryphon follows naturally from the retreat of Demetrius to Seleucia, attested by Livy ('Epit.' lii.). It has also the witness of Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17).

57. *young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan.*] The letter was, no doubt, written in the name of the young prince, but really emanated from Tryphon. (Compare ch. vi. 57–61.)

I confirm thee in the high priesthood.] Compare ch. x. 20; xi. 27.

and appoint thee ruler over the four governments.] The "four governments" are Judæa, Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathaim. See *v.* 34.

one of the king's friends.] See above, ch. x. 20, 65; ch. xi. 27.

58. *he sent him golden vessels to be served in.*] Literally, "golden vessels and service" —an instance of *hendiadys*. Our translation gives the true sense. Gifts of golden vessels, or ornaments, by kings to those whom they delighted to honour were common in the East from very ancient times. An Egyptian of the age of Thothmes III. (B.C. 1600) boasts that Amenophis I. had given him "two golden armlets, a bracelet, a sword, and a crown inlaid with gems;" Thothmes I., "two golden armlets, four collars, a bracelet, a sword, and two golden war-axes;" and Thothmes II., "two gold armlets, six collars, three bracelets, and a war axe of silver" ('Records of the Past,' vol. iv. p. 8). The Persian practice is abundantly witnessed to by Xenophon ('Cyrop.' viii. 3, § 35; 'Anab.' i. 2, § 27, &c.) and others. The Syro-Macedonians adopted the usage from the Persians.

gave him leave to drink in gold.] Com-

B. C. cir. 144. 59 His brother Simon also he made captain from the place called The ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt.

60 Then Jonathan ‖ went forth, and passed through the cities beyond the water, and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to help him: and when he came to Ascalon, they of the city met him honourably.

B. C. cir. 144.

61 From whence he went to Gaza,

‖ Or, *went beyond the river, and passed through the cities,* or, *went and passed beyond the river and through the cities,* Gr.

pare 1 Esdras iii. 6. It may be doubted whether such permission was ever practically necessary, but it may have been a piece of court etiquette to grant it. So with ourselves, the Crown grants permission to a man to assume a name, which he can assume with equal ease apart from any such permission.

and to be clothed in purple.] See the comment on ch. x. 20.

and to wear a golden buckle.] Compare ch. x. 89, with the comment *ad loc.*

59. *His brother Simon.*] Simon had greatly distinguished himself in the war which Jonathan waged, on behalf of Alexander Balas, against Apollonius, the general of Demetrius (ch. x. 74–82), and seemed therefore to deserve special honour at the hands of Alexander's son.

the place called The ladder of Tyrus.] According to Josephus ('Bell. Jud.' ii. 10, § 2), "the ladder of Tyre" was a high mountain on the Syrian coast, 100 stades north of Ptolemaïs, or Acre. A lofty headland, the Ras-en-Nakhurah, which descends sheer into the sea, and effectually cuts off the Bay of Acre from the maritime plain to the north, is found in this position, and is generally regarded by modern travellers (Stanley, Porter, Robinson, &c.) as the "ladder" in question. It is surmounted by a path cut in zigzags, and exceedingly steep. Dean Stanley notes that it forms "the natural barrier between Phœnicia and Palestine" ('Sinai and Palestine,' p. 264).

the borders of Egypt.] The Wady-el-Arish (or "Torrens Ægypti") was commonly regarded as forming the southern boundary of Palestine and separating it from Egypt. Simon's authority over the tract within the limits named is somewhat doubtful. It certainly did not supersede that of his brother.

§ 5. CAMPAIGN OF JONATHAN ON BEHALF OF ANTIOCHUS VI.—SUBMISSION OF ASCALON AND GAZA—BATTLE OF KADESH.

60–74. Embracing with ardour the cause of the young king, Jonathan busied himself in bringing all Palestine, and Syria as far as Damascus, under his rule. He seems to have first received the submission of the Trans-Jordanic region (*v.* 60), after which he visited Philistia, occupied Ascalon, and besieged Gaza, which was forced to submit (*vv.* 61, 62). Hence he marched northward to Damascus, suppressing resistance on his way, and establishing everywhere the authority of the son of Balas. Meanwhile Demetrius had recovered from his first defeat, and recommenced the struggle for the Syrian crown. His generals proceeded against Palestine, which they entered on the north by way of Kedesh and Hazor. Jonathan met them near the site of the latter city, and a battle was fought, in which he narrowly escaped defeat and destruction, but ultimately retrieved the day by the help of two of his officers (*v.* 70), and gained a complete victory (*vv.* 73, 74). Meanwhile Simon, who had been left behind in Judæa, besieged Beth-zur, and forced it to surrender (*vv.* 65, 66).

60. *beyond the water.*] Rather, "beyond the river." "The river" here can only be the Jordan. Jonathan began with a progress through the Trans-Jordanic region, already well known to him from the expedition of Judas in B.C. 164 (ch. v. 24–52), which he accompanied, and from his own raid in B.C. 160 (ch. ix. 37–48).

all the forces of Syria.] The Syrian garrisons in Judæa are probably intended. They had embraced the cause of Antiochus, and were ready to give Jonathan all the help in their power. The main force of the empire, divided between Demetrius and Tryphon, carried on the civil war in the neighbourhood of Antioch.

when he came to Ascalon.] The transition is abrupt, and can only be excused by the author's desire of studying brevity. After arranging matters in the country east of the Jordan, Jonathan must have returned into Judæa proper, and commenced a second progress through Philistia, where he suspected disaffection. Ascalon, the first town which he visited, received him readily, being quite willing to acknowledge Antiochus as king.

61. *From whence he went to Gaza.*] Gaza was the most southern of the five cities forming the Philistine Pentapolis. It lay at the distance of twenty stades (2½ miles) from the sea, about fifteen miles south-west of Ascalon. With the exception of Ashdod, it was the strongest of the cities; and its position

B. C. cir. 144

but they of Gaza shut him out; wherefore he laid siege unto it, and burned ‖the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them.

‖Or, *the places thereabout.*

62 Afterward, when they of Gaza made supplication unto Jonathan, ‖he made peace with them, and took the sons of their chief men for hostages, and sent them to Jerusalem, and passed through the country unto Damascus.

Gr. *he gave them the right hand.*

63 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Cades, which is in Galilee, with a great power, purposing ‖to remove him out of the country,

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‖Or, *to remove him from the affairs of the kingdom.*

64 He went to meet them, and left Simon his brother in the country.

65 Then Simon encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it a long season, and shut it up:

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gave it an importance beyond that which could be claimed even by Ashdod. It was the key of Syria on the one hand and of Egypt on the other. The ancient Egyptian Pharaohs had to occupy it before they could safely conduct any expedition into Asia; and hence it is frequently mentioned in the early hieroglyphical inscriptions, where it is called "Gazatu" ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. pp. 38, 115, &c.). The Assyrian conquerors were equally bound to make themselves masters of it before they could invade Egypt; and hence we find accounts of its siege and capture in the inscriptions of the Sargonidæ. Sargon himself took it about B.C. 720, after defeating Khanun, its king. Asshur-bani-pal marched through it on his way to Egypt, and received the submission of its king (G. Smith, 'Assurbanipal,' pp. 18, 31). It is probably the "Cadytis" which was taken by Pharaoh-Necho (Herod. ii. 159). Cambyses made himself master of it before he entered Egypt (Pomp. Mel. i. 11); and Alexander the Great was detained before it for five months (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' ii. 26, 27). It is now "Ghuzzeh," a town of 16,000 inhabitants, on the verge of the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine.

they of Gaza shut him out.] Trusting, no doubt, in the strength of the position and the defences.

burned the suburbs.] As he had formerly burned those of Azotus (*supra*, *v.* 4).

62. *he . . . took the sons of their chief men for hostages.*] Compare ch. ix. 53, where Bacchides is represented as acting similarly. It marks the semi-independence of Jonathan, that he retained the hostages in his own power, and did not hand them over to Tryphon.

passed through the country unto Damascus.] Damascus was far beyond the limits of Jonathan's proper territory; but in his zeal to serve the cause of Antiochus he pushed his conquests as far north as this ancient town, which had once been the capital of Syria.

63. *Demetrius' princes.*] Literally, "Demetrius' *rulers*"—i.e. his generals.

Cades, which is in Galilee.] There were at least four cities of the name of Kadesh (= "Holy"), or Kedesh, one at the extreme south of Judah, known as Kadesh-Barnea (Num. xxxii. 8; Josh. x. 41); another in Issachar (Josh. xii. 22; 1 Chr. vi. 72); a third in Naphtali (Josh. xix. 37; Judg. iv. 6); and a fourth in the Orontes valley, the scene of the famous battle between Rameses II. and the Hittites ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. pp. 67–78). The only one of these that was "in Galilee" is the Naphtalite town, which was in the hilly region north-west of the Lake of Merom, not far from Hazor (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 6; 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18, § 1; iv. 2, § 3). It was the home of Barak, the son of Abinoam (Judg. *l. s. c.*), in the early days of the Judges, and was taken by Tiglath-Pileser in his first campaign against Israel (2 Kings xv. 29). The site is almost certainly that occupied by the modern "Kedes," four miles from the north-west corner of Lake Merom in a north-westerly direction (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. iii. p. 366).

purposing to remove him out of the country.] Rather, "purposing to remove him **from his office**." As Ewald remarks ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 331, note [5]), "office" or "public occupation" is a common meaning of χρεία (ch. xiii. 15, 37). Polybius has almost the exact phrase here used for "removing from office" ('Hist.' iv. 87, § 9).

64. *He went to meet them, and left Simon.*] Jonathan had probably returned from Damascus to Jerusalem before he heard of the attack on his northern frontier. Resolving to go in person and fight his antagonists, he "left Simon" as his representative, in Judæa.

65. *Simon encamped against Bethsura.*] Bethsura (Beth-zur) was taken by the Syrians in the reign of Eupator (ch. vi. 50), and strongly garrisoned. The fortifications were strengthened by the elder Demetrius (ch. ix. 52). When the fortresses generally were evacuated by the Syrian garrisons at the commencement of the war between Demetrius and Balas (ch. x. 12), Bethsura formed an exception (*ib. v.* 13). It was no doubt one

B.C. cir. 144. 66 But they desired to have peace with him, which he granted them, and then put them out from thence, and took the city, and set a garrison in it.

67 As for Jonathan and his host, they pitched at the water of Gennesar, from whence betimes in the morning they gat them to the plain of Nasor.

68 And, behold, the host of strangers met them in the plain, who, having laid men in ambush for him in the mountains, came themselves over against him. B.C. cir. 144.

69 So when they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle, all that were of Jonathan's side fled;

70 Insomuch as there was not one of them left, except Mattathias the *son* of Absalom, and Judas the *son* of Calphi, the captains of the host.

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of the places from which Jonathan had requested the younger Demetrius to withdraw his forces (ch. xi. 41), and which he had promised to evacuate (*ib. v.* 42). But this promise had remained a dead letter (*v.* 53). Under these circumstances it was resolved that an effort should be made by Simon to expel the garrison by force.

. *shut it up.*] *I.e.* strictly blockaded it. The defences were, probably, so strong that it could only be reduced in this way.

67. *the water of Gennesar.*] Undoubtedly the "Sea of Galilee" or "Lake of Gennesareth." We have here for the first time, the name in a form from which "Gennesaret" would be an easy derivation. In the earlier Scriptures the lake has been called "the Sea of Chinnereth" (Num. xxxiv. 11; Deut. iii. 17), from a town in its neighbourhood (Josh. xix. 35). Etymological laws do not allow of Chinnereth having become Gennesar, and it is therefore best to suppose an entirely distinct origin for the latter name. It appears to have belonged primarily to the fertile tract at the north-western angle of the lake, which was called "the land of Gennesaret" (Matt. xiv. 34), and was a "garden" (*gannah*), perhaps a "garden of princes" (*gannath sarim*) at some ancient date. Or, *sar* may be the residuum of a proper name. The water of Gennesaret, so seldom mentioned in the Old Scriptures, obtains a position of high honour in the New, and to the Christian is inseparably associated with the life, teaching, and miracles of his Lord.

they gat them to the plain of Nasor.] Several MSS. have "Asor" for "Nasor;" and so Josephus, and the Syriac and Vulgate translations. The initial *ν* has probably been repeated from the terminal *ν* of the preceding word (*πεδίον*). "Asor" is, in all probability, Hazor, for which it stands throughout the Septuagint Version. Hazor was one of the most ancient cities of Palestine. It is first found as the capital of the elder Jabin (Josh. xi. 1), and after Jabin's defeat by Joshua it fell into the hands of the latter (*ib. v.* 10), who destroyed it by fire (*ib. v.* 11). It seems, however, to have been soon rebuilt, for it is mentioned among the "fenced cities" assigned to Naphtali (*ib.* xix. 36). Early in the period of the Judges it is once more Canaanite, and a second Jabin reigns there (Judg. iv. 2), who oppresses Israel, and contends with Deborah and Barak. Solomon made it one of his fortified posts (1 Kings ix. 15); and Tiglath-Pileser seized it on his first expedition against Israel (2 Kings xvi. 29). The site of Hazor is not yet satisfactorily identified. Capt. Conder places it at Hadireh (Map, Sheet IV.), fourteen miles west of Merom; but the position suggested by Robinson ('Researches,' vol. iii. pp. 364–5), on a hill, immediately above the lake, seems preferable. "The plain of Asor" would in that case be the tract lying north-west of this site, between Tel-el-Khuraibeh and Kedes.

68. *the host of strangers.*] Grimm supposes the "strangers" of *v.* 38 to be meant, but the word in the original is different. Probably *ἀλλόφυλοι* is merely used, as in ch. iv. 12, 26, 30, for the more common *ἀλλότριοι*, in the sense of "foreigners."

69. *all that were of Jonathan's side fled.*] This is an evident exaggeration. Josephus softens the tale, and reduces it to the level of the possible, by saying ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 4) that "all fled except about fifty men," who remained with Mattathias and Judas; but it may be doubted whether he had any authority for his statement.

70. *Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Calphi.*] That these chiefs especially distinguished themselves in the battle cannot be doubted. Otherwise their names would not have been placed on record with such particularity. Probably they restrained their immediate followers from flight, when the panic seized the rest of the army, and so enabled Jonathan to restore the battle. Our author does not say (as

B. C. cir. 144.

71 Then Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head, and prayed.

72 Afterwards turning again to battle, he put them to flight, and so they ran away.

73 Now when his own men that were fled saw this, they turned again unto him, and with him pursued them to Cades, even unto their own tents, and there they camped.

74 So there were slain of the heathen that day about three thousand men: but Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XII.

B. C. cir. 144.

1 *Jonathan reneweth his league with the Romans and Lacedemonians.* 28 *The forces of Demetrius, thinking to surprise Jonathan, flee away for fear.* 35 *Jonathan fortifieth the castles in Judea,* 48 *and is shut up by the fraud of Tryphon in Ptolemais.*

NOW when Jonathan saw that the time served him, he chose certain men, and sent them to Rome, [a] for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them. [a] ch. 8. v. 20.

2 He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians, and to other places, for the same purpose.

3 So they went unto Rome, and

Josephus does) that they were "*the* captains of the host," but only that they were "captains" (ἄρχοντες, not οἱ ἄρχοντες).

71. *Jonathan rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head.*] Possible actions in an Oriental under such circumstances, though so contrary to the manner of the West. (Compare above, ch. iv. 39; and see Herod. iii. 66, viii. 99, ix. 34, &c.)

and prayed.] Compare the prayers of Judas (ch. iv. 10, 30–33).

73. *pursued them to Cades.*] Kedes is about 2½ miles north-west of the supposed site of Hazor (see the comment on *v.* 67), and would naturally serve as a refuge to the fugitives.

even unto their own tents.] Rather, "their own *camp*." See *v.* 63.

74. *there were slain of the heathen . . about three thousand men.*] Josephus, with unusual moderation, reduces the number of the slain to *two* thousand.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 1. JONATHAN SENDS EMBASSIES TO ROME AND SPARTA—REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY HIS AMBASSADORS.

1–23. It is not very clear what advantage Jonathan expected to derive from an interchange of compliments with Rome and Sparta. Perhaps the object was merely to assert his own rank and dignity as a sovereign prince, semi-independent at any rate. Possibly, however, his recognition as an ally by the Romans may have helped to encourage those who were disposed to be friendly to him, and have tended to alarm his enemies. It seems certain that he sought no material aid in either quarter. His ambassadors were sent with complimentary messages only. They started in the winter of B.C. 145–144, but did not return until after his death in the last-named year. The embassy to Rome was in continuation of the friendly relations established by Judas (ch. viii. 1–32); that to Sparta stood connected with an earlier effort of the same kind made in the reign of the Spartan king Areus, who ascended the throne in B.C. 309, and held it till B.C. 265.

1. *when Jonathan saw that the time served him.*] *I.e.* "was convenient," either because there was nothing more important to occupy his attention, or because the situation of affairs seemed to favour some fresh diplomatic efforts.

he chose certain men.] For the names of the men selected see *v.* 16, and compare ch. xiv. 22.

for to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with them.] See ch. viii. 1–32. Judas in his last days had been induced to seek the moral support of the Roman alliance. It no doubt added to his prestige, and may even have been of some material value, by determining the attitude of powers which took an active part in the contest for political predominance that was going on at the time.

2. *He sent letters also to the Lacedemonians.*] Literally, "to the Spartans;" and so throughout the chapter. The Spartans, or people of the capital, Sparta, had alone in the ancient times exercised political power. Hence, even in the later times, when a tyranny had been established, the entire people were as often called Spartans as Lacedæmonians.

to other places.] As, perhaps, Pergamus, between which and Judæa there were friendly relations (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 10, § 22).

3. *they . . . entered into the senate.*] See the comment on ch. viii. 19.

B. C. cir. 144. entered into the senate, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the people of the Jews, sent us unto you, to the end ye should renew the friendship, which ye had with them, and league, as in former time.

4 Upon this *the Romans* gave them letters unto the governors of every place, that they should bring them into the land of Judea peaceably.

5 And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Lacedemonians:

6 Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting:

7 There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from ‖ Darius, who reigned then among you, to signify that ye are our brethren, as the copy here underwritten doth specify. B. C. cir. 144. ‖ *Areus:* See Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

8 At which time Onias entreated the ambassador that was sent honourably, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of the ‖ league and friendship. ‖ Or, *kindred,* Joseph. Antiq.

9 Therefore we also, albeit we need none of these things, for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands to comfort us,

10 Have nevertheless attempted to send unto you for the renewing of brotherhood and friendship, lest

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to the end ye should renew the friendship.] Such "renewals" were frequent in antiquity, even where there had been no rupture of friendship. They were regarded as specially appropriate when a new sovereign had ascended the throne (see Polyb. iv. 26, § 8; vii. 3, § 1; xi. 34, § 11; xxiii. 1, § 5; xxviii. 1, § 9; xxxiii. 16, § 2).

as in former time.] Compare ch. viii. 21–32.

4. *the Romans gave them letters.*] Apparently Rome hesitated to commit herself, perhaps doubting how the contest would go between Tryphon and Demetrius. She could not do less than what she did—*i.e.* grant the ambassadors a safe conduct through her dominions on their return.

5. *this is the copy of the letters.*] Rather, "of the **letter**." The plural ἐπιστολαὶ is used for a single letter in Greek (Thucyd. i. 132), as *litteræ* in Latin. Cf. ch. x. 17; xi. 29; xii. 19; xiv. 20; xv. 1. Our version gives the correct translation in ch. x. 17.

6. *the elders of the nation.*] Literally, "the *senate.*" According to the author of the Second Book, the Jews had a recognized "senate" in the time of Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. xi. 27) and even in that of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 44); but this is the first mention of such an institution by the author of the First Book. Grimm conjectures that the institution really originated in the time of Jonathan; but of this there can scarcely be said to be any evidence. Probably the "senate" of Maccabean times was the same body with the Herodian "sanhedrin" (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiv. 9, § 4).

their brethren.] See below, *v.* 21, where the supposed connection, and the grounds of it, will be considered.

7. *There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius.*] For "Darius" we must certainly read "**Areus**," as in *v.* 20. Areus, grandson of Cleomenes II., succeeded his grandfather as King of Sparta in B.C. 309, and had a reign of forty-four years (Diod. Sic. xx. 29), dying B.C. 265. He was contemporary with the Jewish High Priest, Onias I., successor of Jaddua, for nine years—from B.C. 309 to B.C. 300. Sparta was greatly depressed at this time, crushed under the yoke of Alexander's "successors," and may well have sought to strengthen herself even by so humble an alliance as one with the Jews of the time, who were dependants upon Egypt.

8. *the letters.*] Rather, "the **letter**." See the comment on *v.* 5.

wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship.] Rather, "**of alliance** and friendship." For the "declaration" itself, see *v.* 23.

9. *albeit we need none of these things.*] *I.e.* "neither alliance nor friendship." The boast is strange, since "alliance and friendship" were being sought; but the very strangeness is in favour of the genuineness of the passage. The Jews always felt themselves to be a favoured nation, and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries, as it were, under protest, and with the feeling that they were conferring, not receiving, a benefit.

for that we have the holy books of scripture in our hands.] The words "of scripture" are added by our translators, and should be in italics.

10. *for the renewing of brotherhood.*] *I.e.* "of the acknowledgment of brotherhood." (See *vv.* 6, 7, 21.) The brotherhood itself

B. C. cir. 144. we should become strangers unto you altogether: for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.

11 We therefore at all times without ceasing, both in our feasts, and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as reason is, and as it becometh us to think upon our brethren:

12 And we are right glad of your honour.

13 As for ourselves, we have had great troubles and wars on every side, forsomuch as the kings that are round about us have fought against us.

14 Howbeit we would not be troublesome unto you, nor to others of our confederates and friends, in these wars:

15 For we have help from heaven that succoureth us, so as we are delivered from our enemies, and our enemies are brought under foot. B. C. cir. 144.

16 For this cause we chose Numenius *the son* of Antiochus, and Antipater *the son* of Jason, and sent them unto the Romans, to renew the amity that we had with them, and the former league.

17 We commanded them also to go unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters concerning the renewing of our brotherhood.

18 Wherefore now ye shall do well to give us an answer thereto.

19 And this is the copy of the letters ‖ which Oniares sent. ‖ Read out of Joseph. *which Areus sent to Onias.*

20 Areus king of the Lacedemo-

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was a (supposed) fact, which might be acknowledged or disputed, but which it was impossible to "renew."

there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.] No less a time than 155 years, or from that to 164 years. If the alliance was to be kept up, it was certainly high time that some further demonstration should be made. The advantage, however, of a sentimental friendship between states so distant, and so isolated one from the other, as Sparta and Judæa, is more than doubtful.

11. *our feasts.*] The Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Dedication, and Purim.

other convenient days.] Such as Sabbaths, and "new moons."

do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer.] The Jews prayed for the prosperity of any kingdom or state whereto they were subject (Ezra vi. 10; Jer. xxix. 7) so long as they were subject to it; and this practice continues to the present day. But prayer and sacrifice on behalf of allies is not elsewhere mentioned. Probably Jonathan means to say, not that the Spartans were specially named in the Jewish public worship, but that, as prayer was made for the "brethren" generally, and the Spartans were "brethren," they were included.

13. *the kings that are round about us have fought against us.*] Exact accuracy is not to be expected in a diplomatic paper transmitted to a distant state. Probably Jonathan had especially in his mind the wars with the Syrian kings, Epiphanes, Eupator, Demetrius I., and Demetrius II. He may also have intended to glance at the attacks which had been made on the Jews by the Edomites (ch. v. 3), the people of Ptolemaïs, Tyre, and Sidon (*ib. v.* 15), and those of the Trans-Jordanic heathen (*ib. vv.* 9–51).

14. *we would not be troublesome unto you.*] We have therefore not asked you, nor any of our allies, for material help; but have carried on all the wars in which we have been engaged, without even seeking to obtain the aid of foreign troops.

15. *we have help from heaven.*] See above, ch. iii. 18–23; iv. 8–14, 30–34, &c. Though not miraculously helped, the Jews of Maccabean times believed, as firmly as their forefathers of any previous age, that success in war was granted them from God. The great odds against which they contended and their almost unbroken series of victories deepened and strengthened the impression.

16. *we chose Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason.*] Hellenistic Jews, or at any rate Jews with Greek names, and belonging therefore to Hellenizing families, are again chosen (see above, ch. viii. 17) as channels of communication with the heathen, to whom they would be more acceptable than the more strictly orthodox. Antipater was perhaps a son of the Jason sent on the former occasion.

17. *our letters.*] Rather, "our **letter.**" See the comment on *v.* 5.

19. *Oniares.*] This word is manifestly composed of the two names, Onias and Areus. Probably the original reading was as follows:—τοῦτο τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῶν ἐπιστο-

B. C. cir. 144. nians to Onias the high priest, greeting:

21 It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham:

22 Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your ‖prosperity.

23 We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are our's, and our's are your's. We do command therefore *our ambassadors* to make report unto you on this wise.

24 Now when Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to fight against him with a greater host than afore,

25 He removed from Jerusalem,

‖ Gr. *peace.*

B. C. cir. 144.

λῶν ὃν ἀπέστειλεν Ὀνίᾳ Ἀρεύς· Ἀρεὺς βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιατῶν κ.τ.λ. A copyist omitted one Ἀρεὺς by accident, or thinking to correct a mistake, and the reading became that of which we have a trace in the Vulgate: "Hoc est rescriptum epistolarum quod miserat Oniæ Arius, rex Spartanorum." Another (later) copyist turned Ὀνίᾳ Ἀρεὺς into Ὀνιαρεὺς, which passed into Ὀνιάρης.

21. *It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and the Jews are brethren.*] Literally, "It was found in a writing." The reference seems to be to some particular (supposed) discovery. Cf. Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 4, § 10): Ἐντυχόντες γραφῇ τινι εὕρομεν. What the writing was, what its authority, how it made out the relationship, are points on which we are reduced to mere conjecture, and on which even a plausible conjecture is difficult. One thing alone the present writer tells us—the relationship was traced through Abraham. Both the Jews and the Lacedæmonians were regarded as his descendants (ἐκ γένους Ἀβραάμ). Hence the supposed connection could not have been traced through Peleg, regarded as the progenitor of the Pelasgi, since Peleg was not a descendant, but an ancestor, of Abraham, not to mention that the Spartans were not Pelasgi (Herod. i. 56). Probably some verbal resemblance was found, like that of Perseus with the Persians, or of Udæus with Judæa (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἰουδαία), on which the ethnic affinity was built up. In reality, the Jews and Spartans were races as diverse and unconnected as any two that it is possible to mention. The relationship, however, once asserted, was believed very generally, and affected the treatment and conduct of individuals (2 Macc. v. 9; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 26, § 1).

22, 23. The *nexus* of these verses is not shewn in our translation. They should be thus rendered:—"Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write to us of your prosperity; and we (in that case will) write back to you. Your cattle and goods are ours," &c. (On the particular mode of expressing alliance, cf. 1 Kings xxii. 4; 2 Kings iii. 7.)

The genuineness of this letter (*vv.* 20–23) has been called in question, and the very fact of any diplomatic intercourse between the Jews and Spartans denied; but the best authorities, even within the sceptical school, regard the intercourse as distinctly made out (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 245, 332); and the letter, though not an actual transcript of the original, but the translation back into Greek of a Hebrew translation of it, probably gives the real purport of the communication addressed by Areus I. to Onias, between B.C. 309 and B.C. 300.

§ 2. Second Campaign of Demetrius' Generals against Jonathan—Its Failure—Jonathan attacks the Zabdæans; after which he and Simon strengthen the Jewish Fortresses.

24–38. The defeat at Kadesh (ch. xi. 73, 74) was not accepted by the Demetrian generals as decisive. They still hoped to get the better of Jonathan. Accordingly, in B.C. 144, having collected a large force, they again advanced upon Palestine by the Orontes Valley, intending to repeat their invasion. Jonathan, however, was not inclined to allow his own territory to be the seat of war, but crossed the frontier and met the invaders in the old "land of Hamath," known at the time as "Amathis." The two armies encamped opposite each other; and Jonathan learned by his spies that he was to be attacked by night; but his preparations so deranged the enemy's plans that, instead of carrying them out, they fled hastily, leaving their camp-fires burning. He pursued as far as the river Eleutherus, but was unable to come up with them. The retreat, however, set him free to act on the offensive, and he at once fell on a hostile Arab tribe, the Zabdæans, whom he defeated, after which he took possession of Damascus. Simon, meanwhile, was active in the south, where he occupied Ascalon and Joppa, securing the latter by a strong garrison. Efforts were then made to isolate the Acra of Jerusalem, which the Syrians still occupied; the wall of Jerusalem was repaired; and a

B. C. cir. 144.

and met them in the land of Amathis: for he gave them no respite ‖ to enter his country.

‖ Or, *to set foot in his country: or, to invade his country.*

26 He sent spies also unto their tents, who came again, and told him that they were appointed to come upon them in the night season.

27 Wherefore so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready to fight: also he sent forth centinels round about the host.

28 But when the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and ‖ they kindled fires in their camp.

B. C. cir. 144.

‖ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. *they went away.*

29 Howbeit Jonathan and his company knew it not till the morning: for they saw the lights burning.

30 Then Jonathan pursued after them, but overtook them not: for they were gone over the river Eleutherus.

31 Wherefore Jonathan turned to the Arabians, who were called ‖ Zabadeans, and smote them, and took their spoils.

‖ Joseph. Gr. *Nabatheans*, or, *Zabatheans.*

32 And removing thence, he came to Damascus, and so passed through all the country.

33 Simon also went forth, and

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fortified post established between Jerusalem and Joppa, at Adida. The Demetrians were thoroughly worsted; but it was perhaps not quite clear to the opposite party, that they were advantaged—the Jewish chieftain may have appeared to them bent on making his principality altogether independent.

25. *the land of Amathis.*] The gentle elevation which, midway in the Cœlesyrian valley, forms the watershed separating the stream of the Orontes from that of the Litany, was known in ancient times as "the entering in of Hamath" (Num. xxxiv. 8, &c.), and the valley beyond the "entering in" was the "land of Hamath" (ἡ Ἀμαθῖτις χώρα). Hamath itself was situated at the distance of above 70 miles from the watershed, but the whole of the upper valley was considered to belong to it, and (as the present passage shews) retained its name, though the town had become Epiphaneia.

26. *He sent spies also unto their tents.*] Rather, "into their **camp**."

27. *he sent forth centinels.*] Rather "**outposts**" or "**picquets**" (προφύλακες). This was not an ordinary practice in the East, or even among the Romans. The gates and walls of camps were guarded; but detached bodies of troops, *in front* of the walls or lines, were uncommon. Their employment on this occasion marks Jonathan's military capacity.

28. *trembled in their hearts.*] Literally, "cowered." An access of panic fear seems to be spoken of. It had been expected that the Jews would be taken unawares, and easily defeated and dispersed. When they were found on their guard, ready to resist an attack, not only did the attack seem hopeless, but the assailants despaired of success altogether, and determined on a hasty retreat.

they kindled fires in their camp.] As a means of concealing their retreat. The stratagem has been largely employed, both in ancient and in modern times. (See 2 Kings vii. 7; Herod. iv. 135: Polyb. ii. 25, § 5; iii. 50, § 9; ix. 5, § 7, &c.)

30. *they were gone over the river Eleutherus.*] The boundary between Palestine and Syria, as already mentioned. (See the comment on ch. xi. 7.)

31. *the Arabians who were called Zabadeans.*] This tribe is not elsewhere mentioned. It probably held possession of that portion of the Antilibanus range where we still find existing the names *Zebdeni* and *Zebad.* The former is a village of nearly 3000 inhabitants, situated in a plain, known as the "Ard Zebdeni," on the course of the upper Barada, and upon the direct route from Balbek to Damascus. A rivulet which rises behind the village is called the "Moiet Zebdeni," and the mountains of the district are known as the Jebel Zebdeni. (See Burckhardt, 'Syria,' p. 3.) Kefr Zebad is a village not far from Zebdeni, on the western slopes of the Antilibanus. Josephus has wrongly substituted the well-known "Nabatæans," who are never found so far north, and who were friendly to the Jews (ch. v. 25), for the obscure Zabadæans.

32. *he came to Damascus.*] Compare ch. xi. 62. From the two passages combined we gather that Jonathan now regarded Damascus as within the limits of his principality, and exercised authority over it. Damascus had sunk into comparative insignificance on the rise of Antioch, but was still a large and populous town.

33. *Simon also went forth.*] Simon's new rank and position (ch. xi. 59), though not rendering him independent of Jonathan,

B. C. cir. 144. passed through the country unto Ascalon, and the holds there adjoining, from whence he turned aside to Joppe, and won it.

34 For he had heard that they would deliver the hold unto them that took Demetrius' part; wherefore he set a garrison there to keep it.

35 After this came Jonathan home again, and calling the elders of the people together, he consulted with them about building strong holds in Judea,

36 And making the walls of Jerusalem higher, and raising a great mount between the tower and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be alone, that men might neither sell nor buy in it. B. C. cir. 144.

37 Upon this they came together to build up the city, ‖forasmuch as *part of* the wall toward the brook on the east side was fallen down, and they repaired that which was called Caphenatha.

‖ Or, According to the Roman reading, *and he came near to the wall of the brook toward the east.*

38 Simon also set up Adida in Sephela, and made it strong with gates and bars.

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seemed to call upon him for some correspondent exertion. Accordingly, during Jonathan's absence in the Cœlesyrian and Damascene regions, he busied himself in obtaining a firmer grasp of the south.

passed through the country unto Ascalon.] Ascalon had submitted to Jonathan in B.C. 147 (ch. x. 86). On its situation and history, see the comment *ad loc.*

turned aside to Joppe, and won it.] Rather, "occupied it." Joppa had been "won" by Jonathan in the same year as Ascalon (ch. x. 76), and had remained in his possession; but there was a danger, as we learn from *v.* 34, of the inhabitants, or a portion of them, admitting the soldiers of Demetrius into the citadel, and so handing the place over to the Demetrian party. To frustrate this scheme, Simon anticipated the movement, by suddenly occupying the citadel with his own troops and leaving a sufficient garrison there.

35. *Jonathan . . . calling the elders of the people together.*] See the comment on *v.* 6. Ewald regards this as the calling together of a "popular assembly" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 332); but a consultation of the γερουσία of *v.* 6 is probably intended.

36. *raising a great mount between the tower and the city.*] No remains of any such "mount" are now to be seen. Indeed, the design seems never to have been executed, since when Simon obtained possession of the Acra, it still overlooked the Temple, and was such a menace that he not only destroyed it, but cut down the hill on which it stood (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 7).

that men might neither sell nor buy in it.] The words "in it" are added by our translators, and give a wrong sense. Evidently, the erection of a mound between the citadel and the Temple could be no hindrance to traffic among those who were inside the citadel itself. Jonathan's object was to impede the traffic which went on between the garrison of the Acra and the Jews without, especially those of his own portion of Jerusalem, that situated on the Temple hill. He wished, as Josephus says ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 5, § 11), to restrict their marketing, and diminish their supply of provisions.

37. *part of the wall . . . was fallen down.*] Ἔπεσε is undoubtedly the true reading, and not ἤγγισε.

the brook on the east side.] *I.e.* the brook Kidron, or Cedron, the deep ravine on the eastern side of Jerusalem, which carries off the heavy rains that sometimes fall, but is dry during by far the greater part of the year. A portion of the wall along the brow of the hill overhanging the ravine had "fallen," apparently by natural decay.

that which was called Caphenatha.] "Caphenatha" is not otherwise known to us. It is conjectured to have been "a small fortification" on the eastern side of the city (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 332, note 8). Perhaps it was "the tower that lay out" (Neh. iii. 26).

38. *Adida in Sephela.*] Adida is probably the 'Hadid' of the Canonical Books (Ezra ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34). According to Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 4), it was situated on a hill, at the edge of the low plain of the *Shefelah*, on which it looked down. Eusebius places it three miles east of Lydda (Ludd): and in this position is found a village, called "El-Haditheh," which occupies the summit of a round hill, and answers perfectly to all the notices of Adida. The place lay on the direct route between Joppa and Jerusalem. We must regard its occupation and fortification as intended to check the march of any Syrian force which might be landed at Joppa, and attempt to seize Jerusalem.

B. C. cir. 144.

39 Now Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia, and to kill Antiochus the king, that he might set the crown upon his own head.

40 Howbeit he was afraid that Jonathan would not suffer him, and that he would fight against him; wherefore he sought a way how to take Jonathan, that he might kill him. So he removed, and came to Bethsan.

41 Then Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men chosen for the battle, and came to Bethsan.

42 Now when Tryphon saw that Jonathan came with so great a force, he durst not stretch his hand against him;

B. C. cir. 144.

43 But received him honourably, and commended him unto all his friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his men of war to be as obedient unto him, as to himself.

44 Unto Jonathan also he said, Why hast thou put all this people to so great trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us?

45 Therefore send them now home again, and choose a few men to wait on thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee, and

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§ 3. THE DESIGN OF TRYPHON TO MAKE HIMSELF KING—HE SUCCEEDS IN ENTRAPPING JONATHAN—THE REMNANT OF JONATHAN'S ARMY MAKES GOOD ITS RETREAT.

39-53. It is probable that Tryphon had had his own interests in view from the first moment that he came forward as the champion of Antiochus. But hitherto he had masked his personal ambition under the pretence of advocating a particular cause. The time, however, had now come when he thought he might venture to throw off the mask. A boy king would naturally stir little enthusiasm; and the cause of Antiochus had sunk low, before Tryphon initiated the new movement. He might hope, in striking for the crown, to rally to his standard all the more ambitious spirits, and the bulk of those who were discontented, with the Seleucid rule. But he felt that Jonathan could not be counted on to support his enterprise. He therefore resolved to remove him before proceeding to the last extreme against the titular king. The author relates, in *vv.* 40–48, the attempt of Tryphon against Jonathan, and its successful issue. In *vv.* 49–53, he gives the sequel of the attempt—(1) the escape of the 2000 men whom Jonathan had left in Galilee; and (2) the consternation of the Jews and satisfaction of their enemies at what had befallen Jonathan.

39. *Tryphon went about to get the kingdom of Asia.*] Tryphon's ambitious views are attested by Josephus, Appian, Justin, Strabo, and others. His actual assumption of kingly power is proved by his coins.

and to kill Antiochus.] See ch. xiii. 31, and comment *ad loc.*

40. *So he removed, and came to Bethsan.*] Bethsan was in the Jordan valley, on the right bank of the stream, at the point where the valley of Jezreel opens into the Jordan vale from the west. It was a place of great antiquity, having belonged to the Canaanites before the entrance of Israel into Palestine, and it remained in their possession till long after (Judg. i. 27). A probable etymology of the word is "the house of San," or "of the Sun," San being the Babylonian Sun-God. In Roman times the place was undoubtedly called "Scythopolis" (Strab. xvi. 2, § 40: Plin. 'H. N.' v. 18; Polyb. v. 70, § 4, &c.); but under what circumstances the change of name took place, or what exactly was intended to be signified by it, is uncertain. At present the old name has recovered itself, and the village which marks the site is known as "Beisan." Tryphon's coming so far south unopposed is an indication that Jonathan was taken by surprise.

41. *Jonathan went out to meet him with forty thousand men.*] This number is very much larger than had as yet been brought into the field by any Maccabean leader, and marks the great increase of power and territory which had been effected under Jonathan, whose rule extended from Damascus to the borders of Egypt. The force was not the greatest that he could have raised, but one consisting of "picked men."

43. *commended him unto all his friends.*] Rather, "introduced him"—"brought him into their company."

gave him gifts.] Compare ch. x. 20, 60, 89; xi. 58, &c.

45. *come thou with me to Ptolemais, for I will give it thee.*] At first sight, the device by which Tryphon got Jonathan into his power seems too transparent to have imposed on any one who was not greatly wanting in

B. C. cir. 144. the rest of the strong holds and forces, and all that have any charge: as for me, I will return and depart: for this is the cause of my coming.

46 So Jonathan believing him did as he bade him, and sent away his host, who went into the land of Judea.

47 And with himself he retained but three thousand men, of whom he ‖ Gr. *left two thousand in Galilee.* ‖sent two thousand into Galilee, and one thousand went with him.

48 Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and took him, and all them that came with him they slew with the sword. B. C. cir. 144.

49 Then sent Tryphon an host of footmen and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's company.

50 But when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain, they encouraged one another, and went close together, prepared to fight.

51 They therefore that followed upon them, perceiving that they were ready to fight for their lives, turned back again.

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sagacity, and we feel inclined to be angry with Jonathan for his simplicity. But it must be borne in mind, that this was not the first occasion upon which the cession of Ptolemaïs had been suggested with an appearance of sincerity. Demetrius I. had made a similar offer during his war with Balas (ch. x. 39), certainly without any treacherous intent. Still, there were suspicious circumstances in Tryphon's rapid march without notice, and his sudden assumption of a friendly tone, which should have put the Jewish prince upon his guard; and we cannot altogether exonerate him from the charge of rashness and credulity.

and the rest of the strong holds.] "The strong holds" are the places in Judæa still occupied by Syrian garrisons, among which by far the most important was the Acra, or "citadel" of Jerusalem (see *v.* 36). The prospect of having these surrendered to him must have been very tempting to Jonathan; but the greater the value of the thing promised, the less likely was it that the promise was a sincere one.

and forces, and all that have any charge.] It was unlikely that the strongholds would be voluntarily surrendered. It was still more unlikely that they would be surrendered, *with their garrisons, and with the civil officers* who resided in them. Yet this was what Tryphon's words imported. It is strange that Jonathan did not share the feelings expressed by the familiar words—"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

46. *who went into the land of Judea.*] Bethsan was reckoned to Galilee at this time, and was at a considerable distance from Judæa proper. Jonathan, by sending his troops back *to Judæa*, put it out of his power to recall them.

47. *three thousand men, of whom he sent two thousand into Galilee.*] Three thousand men were too many for a body-guard, too few for an army. Jonathan did well to reduce his three thousand to one, since he thereby endangered fewer lives, without really lessening his own chance of safety. When he had once consented to dismiss his army, he had put himself into Tryphon's power; and it was his best policy to appear to feel perfect confidence in the Syrian's pledged word.

49. *into the great plain.*] "The great plain" of this place is regarded by some as identical with "the great plain before Bethsan," mentioned in ch. v. 52. But, in the absence of any qualifying phrase, it is more natural to understand the really "*great* plain" of Palestine, reckoned at this time to Galilee, the "plain of Esdraelon." This was the level tract lying north-east of the Carmel range and watered by the Kishon river, which extended nearly twenty miles from the roots of Mount Gilboa to the pass into the plain of Akko, and was from five to ten miles broad. Here were the important towns of Megiddo, Jokneam, Taanach, En-gannim, Jezreel and Japhia, which Jonathan would be anxious to secure in case of any accident happening to himself, and hither would he most readily have sent the 2000 men, whom he probably dismissed on entering the Akko plain by the pass above mentioned. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 2.)

to destroy all Jonathan's company.] *I.e.* the two thousand whom he had "sent into Galilee" (*v.* 47).

50. *when they knew that Jonathan and they that were with him were taken and slain.*] Report exaggerated the disaster. The men had been slain (*v.* 48); but Jonathan had merely been arrested, and was a prisoner in the hands of Tryphon. (See ch. xiii. 15–19.)

went close together.] Or "marched in close array," like the Ten Thousand on their return from Cunaxa (Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 3, § 6, &c.).

B. C. cir. 144.

52 Whereupon they all came into the land of Judea peaceably, and there they bewailed Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; wherefore all Israel made great lamentation.

53 Then all the heathen that were round about them sought to destroy them: for said they, They have no captain, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away their memorial from among men. B. C. cir. 144.

CHAPTER XIII.

8 *Simon is made captain in his brother Jonathan's room.* 19 *Tryphon getteth two of Jonathan's sons into his hands, and slayeth their father.* 27 *The tomb of Jonathan.* 36 *Simon is favoured by Demetrius,* 40 *and winneth Gaza, and the tower at Jerusalem.*

NOW when Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered toge-

52. *they bewailed Jonathan.*] *I.e.* they mourned him, as dead, being still under the impression that he had been slain with his troops (see *v.* 50).

all Israel made great lamentation.] Compare the lamentation at the death of Josiah (2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25), and the more recent one at the death of Judas (ch. ix. 20).

53. *all the heathen that were round about them sought to destroy them.*] This is rather rhetorical than historical. We see no movement of "the heathen *round about*" after the death of Jonathan, as we do after the first successes of Judas (ch. v. 9–15). The heathen no doubt rejoiced and were excited, but there was no general attack. Tryphon *alone* followed up his first blow by an invasion (ch. xiii. 1, 12, 20), which however was attended with no great success.

take away their memorial from among men.] Compare ch. iii. 35.

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 1. SIMON COMES FORWARD, AND IS ACCEPTED AS LEADER IN JONATHAN'S PLACE—HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST TRYPHON.

1–24. Simon occupied a position of greater dignity (ch. xi. 59) at the capture of Jonathan, than that which Jonathan had held at the death of Judas. Hence there was at this crisis no interregnum. Simon came forward at once in his brother's place, and actively exerted himself to compose the fears of the people, and rouse them to fresh efforts. He offered himself to be their leader; and his offer was, as a matter of course, accepted, since there was no one else to whom it was possible for the people to have turned. His first measures were thoroughly judicious; he completed the fortifications of Jerusalem (*v.* 10), and sent a trusty captain to secure Joppa (*v.* 11). Tryphon's counter movements were not wanting in cleverness. He marched his army straight into Judæa, hoping to find affairs in disorder, but, when met by Simon at Adida, he astutely altered his tone, declared that he only held Jonathan in confinement on account of his being indebted to the Syrian crown, and promised to release him on the payment of 100 talents of silver, and on receiving two of his sons as hostages for his good behaviour (*v.* 16). Simon, though misdoubting him, thought it necessary to accept the conditions (*vv.* 17–19), and "sent the money and the children," but without result, since Tryphon was false to his word, and still kept Jonathan a prisoner. Foiled, however, in his attack by Simon's advance to Adida, he formed a new plan, and "marching round the western mountains of Judah in a southerly direction" (Ewald. 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 333), made a fresh attempt upon Judæa by way of Adora, south-west of Hebron, laying the country waste far and wide, and compelling Simon to take the field against him in this quarter (*v.* 20). Meanwhile, by Simon's orders, the siege of the Acra at Jerusalem was pressed, and the garrison brought into difficulties. Tryphon was intreated by the famished defenders to come to their relief, and had arranged to conduct a convoy to Jerusalem, when a sudden fall of snow rendered the execution of his plans impossible. Further operations under the circumstances seemed hopeless; and the adventurer returned through the Trans-Jordanic region to Syria, ridding himself on the way of his prisoner, Jonathan, whom he put to death at an obscure village called Bascama (*v.* 23).

1. *when Simon heard.*] Simon had probably been left to conduct affairs in Judæa, when Jonathan marched at the head of his 40,000 men upon Bethsan. Originally designated by Mattathias to be the counsellor of his brethren (ch. ii. 65), he had gradually come more and more forward, until, in the time of Jonathan, he was distinctly recognised as only second to him in rank and authority. Hence, on Jonathan's disappearance, it at once devolved upon him to determine on the course which should be taken.

that Tryphon had gathered together a great host.] The treachery practised upon Jonathan was designed as a step towards the subjugation

B. C. cir. 144. ther a great host to invade the land of Judea, and destroy it,

2 And saw that the people was in great trembling and fear, he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together,

3 And gave them exhortation, saying, Ye yourselves know what great things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, the battles also and troubles which we have seen,

4 By reason whereof all my brethren are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone.

5 Now therefore be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of trouble: for I am no better than my brethren.

6 Doubtless I will avenge my nation, and the sanctuary, and our wives, and our children: for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of very malice.

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7 Now as soon as the people heard these words, their spirit revived.

8 And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou shalt be our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother.

9 Fight thou our battles, and whatsoever thou commandest us, that will we do.

10 So then he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste [a] to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about.

[a] See ch. 12. 36.

11 Also he sent Jonathan the *son* of Absalom, and with him a great power, to Joppe: who casting out

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of Judæa. The "great host" was held in readiness, and no sooner was Jonathan a prisoner than it commenced its march. Simon found himself confronted with a great danger upon the frontier, and almost unsupported at home.

2. *the people was in great trembling and fear.*] Compare ch. xii. 52.

he . . . gathered the people together.] Something more than a meeting of the council (ch. xii. 35) seems to be here intended. Simon meant to suggest his elevation to the post of leader; and this position could only be conferred by the nation at large, or some popular gathering sufficiently representing it. (Compare ch. ix. 28–31.)

3. *my father's house.*] Compare ch. xiv. 26; xvi. 2. Grimm concludes from this, that the brothers and other relatives of Mattathias had taken part in the struggle; but it may be questioned whether the expression is not simply pleonastic. We never hear of any relatives of Mattathias, except his sons, assisting him.

4. *all my brethren are slain.*] Simon, like the Jews generally (ch. xii. 50–52), believed Jonathan to be dead. His three other brothers had actually fallen in fight (ch. vi. 46; ix. 18, 36–38).

6. *Doubtless I will avenge my nation.*] In offering himself as an "avenger," Simon suggested his appointment to be leader. It was a post of honour certainly, but still more a post of danger. Simon's courage is to be commended; a more timid man would have shrunk from the perils.

all the heathen are gathered to destroy us.] Compare ch. xii. 53. Simon may well have expected a general rising, though apparently none took place.

8. *Thou shalt be our leader.*] Compare the appointment of Jonathan (ch. ix. 30). It is not clear whether the "leadership" carried with it the high priesthood, or whether that office remained for a time in abeyance. Simon is first addressed as "High Priest" in the letter sent him by Demetrius (infra, *v.* 36).

10. *he . . . made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem.*] The strengthening and, in part, rebuilding of the walls had been commenced by Jonathan while he was on friendly terms with Tryphon and at war with Demetrius (ch. xii. 36, 37). Simon had therefore only to "finish" what was already begun.

he fortified it round about.] *I.e.* "strengthened the defences round the entire circuit of the wall."

11. *Jonathan the son of Absalom.*] This individual has not been previously mentioned. He may, not improbably, have been the son of the "Absalom" mentioned in ch. xi. 70, as the father of a "Mattathias" who was one of the "captains of the host." Absalom, a devoted adherent of the Maccabeans, had named his sons after the most distinguished members of the patriotic family.

to Joppe.] As the port from which Jerusalem was most accessible, Joppa had a quite peculiar importance. We see traces of this in ch. x. 76 and xii. 33: as also in the fortification of Adida (ch. xii. 38), which lay on the direct route between the two cities.

B. C. cir. 144.

them that were therein remained there in it.

12 So Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea, and Jonathan was with him in ward.

13 But Simon pitched his tents at Adida, over against the plain.

14 Now when Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, he sent messengers unto him, saying,

15 Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold, it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure, ‖ concerning the business that was committed unto him.

‖ Or, *for the affairs, or, offices, that he had, or, the necessary uses which he had.*

16 Wherefore now send an hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will let him go.

B. C. cir. 144.

17 Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him, yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people:

18 Who might have said, Because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is *Jonathan* dead.

19 So he sent them the children and the hundred talents: howbeit *Tryphon* dissembled, neither would he let Jonathan go.

20 And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and

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Simon, distrustful of the native inhabitants, determined on their expulsion at this time, in order to secure his own hold upon the place. (See Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 3.)

12. *Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea.*] Tryphon's march was probably along the coast, through the plain of Akko, and round the base of Carmel into the tract known as Sharon. Thence he struck inland towards Jerusalem.

Jonathan was with him in ward.] He took Jonathan with him, to convince the Jews that he was still alive, and to make some profit out of his captive.

13. *Simon pitched his tents at Adida.*] Adida had been occupied and fortified (ch. xii. 38), as commanding the approaches to Jerusalem from the coast. It looked down on the Shefelah, or great Philistine plain (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' *l. c.*). No invader could venture to march past it, and proceed along the direct road to Jerusalem, while it lay unconquered in his rear. Tryphon had to choose between delivering an attack on the position, in which he would probably have suffered a repulse, and advancing by some other line of route. Having determined on the latter course, he set himself to utilise the possession of his captive by proposing terms of redemption, which he had no intention to observe, as related in the three following verses.

14. *Simon was risen up.*] *I.e.* "was at the head of affairs." Compare ch. ix. 31.

15. *Whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold.*] Apparently this was the first intimation that Simon, or any of the Jews, had of Jonathan's being still alive.

it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure.] This, of course, was a mere pretext. It may, however, have had a foundation in fact. Tryphon may have regarded Jonathan as bound to pay over annually to the royal treasury certain sums, which Jonathan considered himself entitled to keep. The relations of the Judean sub-king to the Syrian monarch were at this time unsettled; and it might well be that their respective views and claims clashed.

concerning the business that was committed unto him.] Rather, "concerning the **offices which he held.**" The governorship and high priesthood are probably intended.

16. *now send an hundred talents of silver.*] If Attic talents are intended, as is probable, the sum demanded was considerable, exceeding 24,000*l.* Simon felt compelled to pay it, lest he should seem to interfere, for his own advantage, with his brother's being set at liberty. But he was not deceived by Tryphon's artifices. (See *v.* 17.)

19. *he sent them the children.*] Rather, "he sent the children." There is no word corresponding to "them" in the original; and the children and money were sent to Tryphon.

dissembled.] Rather, "**hid**," or "**broke his word.**"

20. *after this came Tryphon . . . going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora.*] Adora is probably the "Adoraim" of the author of Chronicles, which was forti-

B. C. cir. 144. his host marched against him in every place, wheresoever he went.

21 Now they that were in the tower sent messengers unto Tryphon, to the end that he should hasten his coming unto them by the wilderness, and send them victuals.

22 Wherefore Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night: but there fell a very great snow, by reason whereof he came not. So he departed, and came into the country of Galaad. B. C. cir. 144.

23 And when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, who was buried there.

24 Afterward Tryphon returned and went into his own land.

25 Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. cir. 143.

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fied by Rehoboam against Shishak (2 Chr. xi. 9), and which lay on the southern border of Judæa, between Lachish and Hebron. The MSS. of Josephus shorten the name into Dora, which corresponds closely to the modern "Dura," a village in the required position (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. p. 215). The Syrians seem to have regarded the approach to Jerusalem as easier from the side of Idumæa than from any other quarter. (See ch. iv. 29; vi. 31–54.)

Simon and his host marched against him.] As Tryphon made his circuitous march, Simon, acting on an inner circle, always opposed his troops between the army of Tryphon and Jerusalem. Meanwhile he was strenuously pushing the siege of the Acra at that place, and had almost brought the Syrian garrison to extremities. (See the next verse.)

21. *they that were in the tower.*] See above, ch. xii. 36. It is clear that Simon had continued the policy of Jonathan with respect to the Acra, and had so far succeeded in cutting off its supplies as greatly to distress the garrison, which was therefore urgent on Tryphon to come or send to its relief.

by the wilderness.] The tract south-east of Jerusalem, towards the Dead Sea, was known as "the wilderness of Judæa." The garrison suggested a march through this tract, which was undefended by any fortress.

22. *Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night.*] A night march of the cavalry for the relief of the fortress was arranged, the intention being no doubt to traverse the whole distance—about twenty miles—before dawn. "But there fell a very great snow." The somewhat unusual occurrence of a heavy fall of snow frustrated the enterprise, and induced Tryphon to break up from his quarters, and return through the Trans-Jordanic region to his own country. Snow falls in Palestine occasionally between October and March. It rarely lies more than a day; but sometimes it is deep, and remains on the ground several days, or even as much as a fortnight. Heavy falls occurred in the winters of 1722, 1754, 1818, and 1854–5. (See Grove, in Dr. Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 692.)

he departed, and came into the country of Galaad.] Grimm conjectures that he marched round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, thus reaching Gilead through the Moabite territory.

23. *when he came near to Bascama.*] Bascama, shortened by Josephus into Basca ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 5), is an unknown site in the Trans-Jordanic region. No mention of it occurs anywhere excepting as the scene of Jonathan's murder.

§ 2. SIMON REMOVES THE BODY OF JONATHAN TO MODEÏN, AND ERECTS A MAGNIFICENT MONUMENT THERE OVER THE GRAVES OF HIS FATHER, HIS MOTHER, AND HIS FOUR BROTHERS.

25–30. On learning his brother's death and burial at Bascama, Simon sent persons to obtain the body and convey it to Modeïn, the native place of the Maccabee family (ch. ii. 1–18), where Mattathias (ch. ii. 70) and the three sons previously deceased were already buried (ch. ix. 19; xiii. 27). It was probably not until after he had captured the Acra (*v.* 50) and settled himself in his kingdom that Simon undertook the architectural works mentioned in *vv.* 27–29, which are noticed at this point of the narrative, from the connection of subject-matter, and not of time.

25. *Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan.*] By a well-known Hebrew idiom, the dead body of a man is called "his bones," whatever condition it is in. Thus the mummy of Joseph is spoken of as his "bones" in Gen. l. 25, and Ex. xiii. 19; and the bodies of Saul and his sons, when taken from the wall of Bethshan, are called "their bones," in 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

in Modin, the city of his fathers.] Compare ch. ii. 70; and on the site of Modin, or Modeïn, see the comment on ch. ii. 1.

B. C. cir. 143.

[b] ch. 9. 20.

26 And [b]all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days.

27 Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before.

28 Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren.

B. C. cir. 143.

29 And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.

30 This is the sepulchre which he

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26. *all Israel made great lamentation.*] This seems to have been a second mourning, additional to the premature one mentioned in ch. x. 52. It is described in almost the same words as the mourning for Judas (ch. ix. 20), a fact which would seem to shew that the Jews held the two brothers in equal, or nearly equal, honour.

27. *Simon also built a monument.*] Compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 5. It had been customary for the Jews to bury in rock-cut graves, with little or no external display. The Greeks and Romans, on the contrary, like the Egyptians, Lydians, Lycians, and other Orientals, erected conspicuous monuments over their dead, which were often costly and magnificent. The vast monument raised by Artemisia in honour of her husband, Mausolus, at Halicarnassus, shortly before the time of Alexander, was greatly admired by the ancients, and was even reckoned one of the wonders of the world. The example thus set spread, and many tombs of much architectural pretension exist in Asia and Africa which follow the type of the mausoleum, and appear to have been reproductions, to a greater or less extent, of its principal features. The monument erected by Simon at Modeïn is no exception to the general rule. It was "of hewn stone behind and before;" it was "raised aloft to the sight;" it had "great pillars" set about it, which, according to Josephus, formed porticoes (στοαί). Mr. Fergusson's restoration of the Mausoleum ('Hist. of Architecture,' vol. i. p. 249) furnishes probably a good idea of the general character of Simon's monument; which was, however, different from all similar structures by the combination of the pyramid with the pillared tomb, of the old sepulchral architecture of Egypt with the comparatively recent style of Asia Minor. Simon's "seven pyramids" can only have been adjuncts to his main structure, from which they were probably separated by some little distance.

with hewn stone.] Literally, "with polished stone." Josephus adds that the colour of the stone was white.

28. *seven pyramids.*] So also Josephus. As six would have been the proper number for his parents and brothers, we must suppose that Simon looked forward to the time when he too would be gathered to his fathers, and erected one pyramid for himself. It was common in the East for monarchs to prepare their own tombs.

one against another.] The pyramids were built, it would seem, in two rows, so that each had its fellow opposite to it. This arrangement could only extend to six pyramids out of the seven. The seventh must have stood by itself, without a companion.

29. *in these he made cunning devices.*] Rather, "**on** these," or "**for** these." The pyramids were not plain, like the Egyptian, but ornamented with sculpture on their surfaces.

about the which he set great pillars.] The pillars appear to have been set "about" the pyramids, in a manner quite unknown in Egypt, but probably with the object of marking out a *temenos*, or "sacred enclosure," within which no one might intrude. A set of pillars, which seem, like these, to have been unconnected, mark out the *temenos* attached to the Tomb of Cyrus. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. iv. p. 295.)

upon the pillars he made all their armour.] Rather, "he **represented panoplies**." Imitations, probably, of the ordinary Greek trophy, which consisted of a helmet and coat of mail, supported by a post or trunk of a tree.

ships carved.] The "ships" probably commemorated the capture of Joppa (ch. x. 76), and the impulse thereby given to the commercial activity of the Jews. Cf. ch. xiv. 5.

that they might be seen.] It is impossible that the details of the sculptures can have been visible from the Mediterranean, which was at least twelve miles off; but the main monument, and even the pyramids, may, in the clear Syrian atmosphere, have been discernible from that distance.

made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day. B. C. cir. 143

31 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him.

32 And he reigned in his stead, and crowned himself king of Asia, and brought a great calamity upon the land. B. C. 142.

33 Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judea, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals ‖therein. B. C. cir. 142.

‖ Gr. *in the strong holds.*

34 Moreover Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because ‖all that Tryphon did was to spoil.

‖ Gr. *all Tryphon doings were robberies.*

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30. *it standeth yet unto this day.*] Josephus says that it still remained when he wrote (about A.D. 70). So also Eusebius ('Onomasticon,' *ad voc.* MODIM), writing about A.D. 320. Modern researches are thought to have discovered some trace of it in the remains of large sepulchral vaults and broken columns near the modern village of Medieh; but the traces are few, and perhaps not altogether certain. (See the 'Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund' for April 1873, p. 93).

§ 3. TRYPHON MURDERS THE YOUNG ANTIOCHUS, AND BECOMES KING — SIMON MAKES A TREATY WITH DEMETRIUS.

31–42. After three years and a half of hesitation Tryphon (in B.C. 142) threw off the mask, murdered the puppet king, whose cause he had professed to espouse, and assumed the crown himself. Simon, upon this, broke off all relations with his brother's murderer, and entered into negotiations with Demetrius, who still maintained the struggle with Tryphon from Seleucia, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Naturally Demetrius received his overtures favourably, and proposed the terms which are given in *vv.* 36–40. These terms involved the practical independence of Judæa. So important was the new agreement considered, that in connection with it a new era was set up, which thenceforth prevailed in legal instruments and contracts, though the Seleucid era was not wholly disused.

31. *Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus.*] According to Livy ('Epit.' lv. *ad fin.*), he gave out that Antiochus suffered from calculus, and required an operation for his relief, which the physicians were instructed to render fatal. The unfortunate boy was but ten years of age at his decease.

32. *he . . . crowned himself king of Asia.*] The actual reign of Trypho is attested by a coin, which has the inscription Βασιλέως Τρύφωνος αὐτοκράτορος (Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. iii. p. 1573). According to Clinton ('F. H.' vol. iii. pp. 327–8), he held the throne from early in B.C. 142 to late in B.C. 139— something short of four years. On the title "King of Asia," see the comment on ch. viii. 6.

brought a great calamity upon the land.] Josephus says that he shewed himself "a thorough lover of luxury," and thereby alienated the soldiery, who went over to the party of Demetrius. Diodorus speaks of his having carried on wars with various "satraps" in Mesopotamia, Cœlesyria, and the vicinity of Antioch (Fr. xxv.). His reign was undoubtedly a time of continuous warfare and disturbance, in which "the land," *i.e.* Syria, suffered greatly.

33. *Then Simon built up the strong holds in Judea.*] Simon was the most prudent of the sons of Mattathias (ch. ii. 65). He never let slip an opportunity. Tryphon's difficulty was his opportunity. While the civil war raged in his neighbourhood he held aloof from it, and devoted his energies to strengthening the defences of his own country. The chief "strongholds" of Judæa are enumerated in ch. ix. 50–52. Simon not only put them in a state to resist a sudden assault, but provisioned one and all against a siege.

high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars.] These were, in the time of Simon, and for many centuries afterwards, the main defences of every fortified city. Walls were carried to a height which (it was thought) scaling-ladders could not equal; the towers which flanked them, or dominated them, were strengthened in every possible way; gates were made of the most solid and least combustible materials; bars were multiplied and augmented in thickness. Simon included in his scheme of defence all that the art of the time had elaborated with respect to the fortification of strongholds.

34. *Simon . . . sent to king Demetrius.*] Demetrius appears to have been at Seleucia (Liv. 'Epit.' lii.; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' ii. 40, § 17; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 7, § 1). Simon could readily communicate with him by sea from his port of Joppa (ch. xiv. 5).

to the end he should give the land an immunity.] Simon required the renunciation, on the part of the Syrian king, of all claim to tribute or tax of any sort or kind. Demetrius granted the demand (*v.* 39).

B. C. cir. 142.

35 Unto whom king Demetrius answered and wrote after this manner:

36 King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting:

37 The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted.

38 And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strong holds, which ye have builded, shall be your own. B. C. cir. 142.

39 As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also, which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid.

40 And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

41 Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the B C. 142. hundred and seventieth year.

42 Then the people of Israel

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all that Tryphon did was to spoil.] Literally, "all the acts of Tryphon were robberies." It is not quite clear that this charge had any other foundation besides the exaction of the hundred talents (*v.* 19) as ransom. Tryphon had scarcely sufficient power to compel Simon to pay him tribute.

36. *King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest.*] Simon had become "High Priest" at the death of his brother Jonathan, if not even earlier. (See the comment on *v.* 8.) It is to be noted that Demetrius does not even claim to confer the title on him.

and friend of kings.] Compare ch. x. 16, 19, 20, 65; xi. 27, &c.

the elders.] Probably the members of the council or senate. (See ch. xii. 6, and comment *ad loc.*)

37. *The golden crown and the scarlet robe.*] On the practice of sending crowns of gold as presents to states or sovereigns about this period, see the comment on ch. viii. 14, and compare ch. x. 20. The word translated "scarlet robe" seems to mean really "a splendid over-robe embroidered with golden palm-twigs, as symbols of victory" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 334, note [5]). Compare the Roman *palmata.*

to confirm the immunities which we have granted.] Rather, "**to grant you immunities.**" The immunities intended may be those promised in ch. xi. 34, 35; but it is not so stated in the text, which is vague.

38. *whatsoever covenants we have made with you.*] This is a distinct reference to the treaty made with Jonathan in B.C. 146–5 (ch. xi. 29–37), and revived all its conditions.

the strong holds.] See *v.* 33.

39. *As for any oversight or fault committed . . . we forgive it.*] In these words there would seem to have been granted a general amnesty for all offences committed against the Syrian crown, and therefore for all the recent acts of rebellion of which the Jews had been guilty since they forsook the cause of Demetrius and espoused that of Tryphon (ch. xi. 54–59).

the crown tax also.] See the comment on ch. x. 29.

if there were any other tribute.] On the various dues claimed by the Syrian monarchs before the time of the Maccabee princes, and paid by the Jews, see ch. x. 29, 30. All these were to cease, and Judæa to be exempt from any payment whatever to the Syrian crown.

40. *look who are meet among you to be in our court.*] The invitation is not to furnish courtiers to the Syrian court, but soldiers towards the royal body-guard. Compare ch. x. 36. The value of a contingent of Jewish troops in his capital had been already experienced by Demetrius (ch. xi. 47–51). For "be in our court," translate, "**be enrolled in our guard.**"

41. *Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away.*] Ewald remarks with truth, that "the concessions and engagements of the kings and other potentates of this period generally lasted so long as they were destitute of the power to elude or repudiate them" ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 335); and Judæa was certainly still far from having secured absolute independence. Still it would seem that, on the whole, there was no time at which a greater step was made towards independence than the present, and thus it was quite reasonable that the year of the agreement with Demetrius (B.C. 142) should be made an era, and called "the first year of freedom." The "yoke of the heathen," if not now absolutely "taken away," was, at any rate, made considerably lighter.

began [c] to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.

43 In those days Simon camped against Gaza, and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it.

44 And they that were in the engine leaped into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city:

45 Insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon [f] to grant them peace.

46 And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy.

47 So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with songs and thanksgiving.

48 Yea, he put all uncleanness out

B. C. cir. 142.

[c] ch. 14. 27.

B. C. cir. 142.

[f] Gr. *to give them his right hand.*

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§ 4. SIMON'S SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GAZARA.

43–48. That Simon turned his treaty with the Syrian king to account by at once engaging in the reduction of those fortresses which most interfered with Jewish independence is clear. But there is a doubt as to the city which he first attacked. All the MSS. of the First Book of Maccabees, and also the ancient versions, give the name of the city as "Gaza." Josephus, on the contrary, has "Gazara," both in 'A. J.' xii. 6, § 7, and in 'B. J.' i. 2, § 2. And probability is in favour of Gazara having been the object of attack. The remote Gaza was no obstacle to Judæan independence; the near Gazara was at once a menace and a real danger. It is most unlikely that, before attacking the great stronghold of his adversaries, the Acra at Jerusalem, Simon should have felt it incumbent on him to engage in a war at the extreme south of Philistia; it is quite reasonable that he should have delivered his first assault upon the fortress which was, next to the Acra, the main support of the Hellenizers (ch. x. 52), since its fall would at once be a relief to the neighbouring Judæans, and an alarm to the garrison of the Acra. The siege and capture appear to have occupied but a short time.

43. *In those days.*] See the comment on ch. i. 11.

Simon camped against Gaza.] On the probability that "Gazara" is the true reading, see the comment on *vv.* 43–48.

besieged it round about.] Literally, "surrounded it with his camps."

he made also an engine of war.] Most of the MSS. have ἑλεπόλεις, "engines of war," but the mention of a single such engine in the next verse seems to imply that the singular number must have been used here also. The *helepolis* was a moveable tower, resting on wheels, which was brought up close to the walls of a besieged town, and which operated both on the wall itself and on the defenders. Demetrius Poliorcetes had a single engine of this kind at Salamis in Cyprus, and was indebted to it for his successful siege of that place (Diod. Sic. xx. 48). He had also another at the siege of Rhodes, which was an engine of even greater power. As one "iron-clad" of the first rank decides a modern sea-fight, so one of these "helepoleis" often determined the fate of a siege in ancient times.

44. *there was a great uproar in the city.*] Rather, "a great **commotion**."

45. *climbed upon the wall.*] Rather, "**went up** upon the walls." There would be no need to "climb," since the wall would be readily ascended on the inside by frequent flights of steps.

46. *Deal not with us according to our wickedness.*] The "wickedness" which the Gazarites confessed was probably that sin of religious apostasy which the Maccabee princes always so sternly denounced and sometimes so severely punished (ch. ii. 24, 44; iii. 8; vii. 24, &c.). They seem to have feared lest Simon should put them all to the sword.

47. *So Simon was appeased toward them.*] Simon accepted their submission and spared their lives, but forced them to quit the city, and re-peopled it with persons whom he could trust (*v.* 48).

cleansed the houses wherein the idols were.] We see by this that the "Hellenizing" of the time was not a mere preference for Grecian manners and amusements (ch. i. 14), but an actual lapse into idolatry. Images of heathen gods were set up in the private houses of the Hellenizers, and the customary offerings made to them. (Cf. ch. i. 55.)

48. *he put all uncleanness out of it.*] *I.e.* all the traces of idolatry—altars, images, emblems, sacrificial vessels and dresses, unclean beasts for sacrifice, &c.

B. C. cir. 142. of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwellingplace for himself.

49 They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished through famine.

50 Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him ‖to be at one with them: which thing he granted them; and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions: B. C. cir. 141.

‖ Or, *to make peace with them.*

51 And entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees, and with harps, and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs: because B. C. 141.

placed such men there as would keep the law.] Not specially pious men, but men of the party of the orthodox, who could be trusted to allow no Hellenizing practices.

and built therein a dwellingplace for himself.] This furnishes a strong argument against the city intended being Gaza, since it would be quite out of the question that Simon should ever reside so far south. It is also a positive argument for the city being Gazara, since we find by verse 53 (cf. ch. xvi. i. 19, 21) that John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, had his ordinary residence in that town.

§ 5. SIMON OBTAINS POSSESSION OF THE ACRA OR CITADEL OF JERUSALEM, AND MAKES HIS SON JOHN CAPTAIN OF THE HOST.

49–53. At length the time was come when the defenders of the Acra at Jerusalem could no longer maintain themselves. They had been the object of frequent attacks on the part of the Maccabee princes for above twenty years. (See ch. vi. 20, and cf. ch. xi. 20, 23, 41: xii. 36; xiii. 21.) Hitherto they had successfully held their most important position, and had been a thorn in the side of each successive Jewish ruler. From time to time the Syrian kings had relieved them, reinforced them, and no doubt re-victualled them. But, as the power of Syria declined and that of Judea increased, this ceased to be possible. Tryphon's hands were at this time too full for him to repeat the effort which had been baffled by the snow-storm (ch. xiii. 20–22). Demetrius had allied himself with Simon, and could not venture to offend him. The garrison was thus left to its fate. Simon, with the prudence which distinguished him (ch. ii. 65), resolved to waste no lives on an assault, but to trust to famine for the achievement of his purpose. The event was as he expected. In the spring of B.C. 141 the garrison of the Acra was starved out and surrendered itself (*vv.* 49, 50). Simon granted them their lives, and took possession of the vacant stronghold with every demonstration of joy and thankfulness (*v.* 51). He ordered an annual commemoration of the happy event (*v.* 52), demolished the Acra and (according to Josephus) cut down the hill on which it stood, while he made the Temple still stronger than it had been previously. Shortly afterwards, feeling the decay of his own physical strength, he made over the command of the army to his son John (*v.* 53), who afterwards became his successor (ch. xvi. 24).

49. *They . . . of the tower . . . were kept so strait.*] Cf. ch. xii. 36, where we find the policy of "straitening" the place and cutting off its supplies first adopted. No doubt, after getting rid of Tryphon, Simon was able to make his blockade of the place more effective.

nor buy, nor sell.] See the comment on ch. xii. 36.

50. *he cleansed the tower from pollutions.*] Here, too, idolatry had been practised, and purification was necessary before the place could be a fit dwelling for Jews. (Comp. *v.* 48.)

51. *the three and twentieth day, &c.*] The three and twentieth day of the second (Jewish) month, Zif or Iyar, of the 171st (Seleucid) year, would correspond with May B.C. 141.

with thanksgiving, and branches of palm trees.] The use of palm-branches had belonged originally to the feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 40; Neh. viii. 15), in the celebration of which it had been customary, not only to weave them into booths, but also to carry them in the hand. (See Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. iii. p. 1421.) From this festive employment of it, the palm-branch came to be a general sign of rejoicing, and was used in triumphal processions of all kinds (2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13).

harps, and cymbals, and with viols.] Compare ch. iv. 54; where, however, the cithern (κιθάρα) takes the place of the viol (νάβλα) of this passage. Both words are probably translations of the same Hebrew original, *nêbel.*

B. C. 141. there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.

52 He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness. Moreover the hill of the temple that was by the tower he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company.

53 And when Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man, he made him captain of all the hosts; [d] ch. 16. 1. and [d] he dwelt in Gazara.

CHAPTER XIV.

B. C. 140.

3 *Demetrius is taken by the king of Persia.* 4 *The good deeds of Simon to his country.* 18 *The Lacedemonians and Romans renew their league with him.* 26 *A memorial of his acts is set up in Sion.*

NOW in the hundred threescore and twelfth year king Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into Media, to get him help to fight against Tryphon.

2 But when Arsaces, the king of

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there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel.] Compare ch. i. 36, where the Acra is called "an evil adversary (διάβολος πονηρός) to Israel."

52. *He ordained also that that day should be kept.*] The celebration of the day does not appear to have continued very long. Josephus makes no mention of it.

the hill of the temple . . . he made stronger.] Josephus says nothing of this, but declares that Simon's first care, after taking the Acra, was to raze it to the ground, after which he proceeded to cut down the hill upon which the fortress had been built, so that it might no longer command the Temple site. Three years of continual labour on the part of the people of Jerusalem were necessary for the accomplishment of the work ('Ant. Jud.' xiii. 6, § 6). Ewald accepts his narrative as true in its main features; and the recent excavations conducted by the Palestine Exploration Society are thought to confirm it. (See the 'Transactions of the Bibl. Archæology Society,' vol. vii. pp. 309–315.) But ch. xiv. 37 throws some doubt on the story.

53. *Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man.*] Literally, "was a man," but probably in an intensive sense. Compare ch. v. 63.

he made him captain of all the hosts.] Simon must have been now advanced in years. He was the second son of Mattathias, and as early as B.C. 167–6 had earned a character for caution and prudence (ch. ii. 65). If he was then forty, he would have been now sixty-five. It was well that he should shift the active duties of military command on younger shoulders.

he dwelt in Gazara.] Gazara seems to have been viewed at this time as the Jewish fortress next in importance to Jerusalem (ch. xiv. 7). On this account Simon had "built therein a dwelling-place for himself;" and in this dwelling-place he now installed his son John, the commander-in-chief of his forces.

CHAPTER XIV.

§ 1. The March of Demetrius into Media, and his Capture by Arsaces.

1–3. The alliance which he had made with Simon, and the success of Simon against Tryphon (ch. xiii. 20–24, 43–50), encouraged Demetrius (in the year B.C. 141–0) to attempt an enterprise of extreme importance. This was no less a thing than the recovery of his eastern provinces out of the hands of the Parthians, who, in the space between B.C. 163 and B.C. 141, had overrun the entire country between Parthia proper and the Euphrates, thus reducing the kingdom of the Seleucidæ to less than half its previous dimensions. No effort had been as yet made to reclaim the lost territory. Demetrius seems now to have thought that he might safely leave Tryphon to be kept in check by his wife, Cleopatra, and his generals, while he marched eastward and drove the Parthians beyond his borders. He intended then to come back to Syria with an army levied from among his eastern subjects, and hoped by their aid speedily to reduce Tryphon to submission (*v.* 1). Justin tells us that he was at first very successful, gaining several victories over the Parthian monarch ('Hist. Phil.' xxxvi. 1); but after a while he fell a victim to Asiatic treachery, was entrapped at a conference, seized, and made a prisoner, while his army was at the same time surprised and defeated. (Compare App. 'Syriaca,' § 67; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17; Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 5, § 11, where, however, the expedition is misdated.)

1. *in the hundred threescore and twelfth year.*] The 172nd Seleucid year began in October B.C. 141, and ended in October B.C. 140. The expedition of Demetrius seems not to have been made till late in this year.

to get him help to fight against Tryphon.] The Parthian rule over the newly-conquered countries was detested (Justin, *l. s. c.*), and Demetrius had therefore reason to believe that the native inhabitants would flock to his standard as soon as they had the opportunity.

B.C. 140. Persia and Media, heard that Demetrius was entered within his borders, he sent one of his princes to take him alive:

3 Who went and smote the host of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces, by whom he was put in ward.

4 As for the land *of Judea*, [a]that was quiet all the days of Simon; for he sought the good of his nation in such wise, as that evermore his authority and honour pleased them well.

B. C. cir. 140.

[a] ch. 7. 50.

5 And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppe

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In this he was not disappointed. Numbers of the Persians, Elymæans, and even the Bactrians joined him and fought on his side. Had he been proof against Parthian craft, his enterprise would probably have had all the success which he expected from it.

2. *Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media.*] This was Arsaces VI., better known as Mithridates I. of Parthia, the great conqueror who carried his arms from the Hindu Kush to the Euphrates, and transformed the Parthian kingdom into an Empire. His reign lasted from B.C. 174 to B.C. 136. All the Parthian monarchs took the name Arsaces, and placed it upon their coins. Those of Mithridates bear the legend, "The king of kings, the great and illustrious Arsaces." In calling him "king of Persia and Media," our author means to point out that, from the time of Mithridates, the Parthian monarchy became the great power of Western Asia, the true successor and representative of that Persian kingdom which had ruled over the East for above two centuries.

Demetrius was entered within his borders.] Mithridates claimed the newly-conquered provinces as his. Demetrius, no doubt, disputed the claim, and regarded himself as still in his own territories. Josephus says he crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia.

he sent one of his princes.] One of the *vitaxæ*, or governors of provinces, of whom there were fourteen or fifteen. (See Rawlinson's 'Sixth Monarchy,' p. 87.)

to take him alive.] This is probably our author's conclusion from the subsequent event. But it is very unlikely that the commanders employed against Demetrius originally received any such instructions. Their object was to defeat him; but this for a considerable time they failed to do, suffering defeat themselves in several engagements (Justin, *l. s. c.*).

3. *Who went and smote the host of Demetrius, and took him.*] There is no reason to doubt the statement of Justin, that Demetrius was deceived by a pretence of negotiations and so captured ("pacis simulatione deceptus capitur"). An attack on his army seems however to have been made at the same time with his own seizure, and the result was its complete defeat (Justin, xxxviii. 9).

he was put in ward.] At first Demetrius was put in fetters of iron (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 17), and carried about through the provinces which had embraced his cause, to excite ridicule (Justin, xxxvi. 1); but afterwards he received courteous and even kindly treatment. He was assigned a residence in Hyrcania, where he was maintained as a prince, and given a wife in the person of Rhodogune, Mithridates' daughter (Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 67).

§ 2. The Prosperity of Judæa under Simon.

4–15. A short period of tranquillity followed the recovery of the Acra, and the departure of Demetrius on his eastern expedition. Tryphon was sufficiently occupied in Syria proper to make no further attempt against Judæa. The Hellenizing party among the Jews was paralysed by the loss of the Acra and of Gazara, and by the firmness with which Simon governed the land. Antiochus, the brother of Demetrius, had not yet quitted his obscure retreat at Sida, and when he did so was for some time engaged in contest with Tryphon. Thus "the land was quiet in the days of Simon." From B.C. 141, when the Acra was recovered, to B.C. 138–7, when Cendebæus made his invasion (ch. xv. 40), the land rested. It is this period especially which the author here describes.

4. *the land . . . was quiet all the days of Simon.*] This is contradicted by the later narrative (ch. xv. 38–41; ch. xvi. 1–19), and must be viewed as a rhetorical exaggeration. Simon's reign was on the whole quiet, compared with those of Judas and Jonathan, and again of John Hyrcanus; but it was not a time of uninterrupted tranquillity.

for he sought.] Rather, "**And** he sought."

5. *he took Joppe for an haven.*] *I.e.* "with the view and object of making it a haven." The "ships" on Simon's monument at Modeïn (ch. xiii. 29), the employment of Joppa as a haven, and the opening of trade between that port and "the isles of the sea," are to be connected together. Regarding war as over,

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for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea,

6 And enlarged the bounds of his nation, and recovered the country,

7 And gathered together a great number of captives, and had the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the tower, out of the which he took all uncleanness, neither was there any that resisted him.

8 Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit.

9 The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of [f] good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.

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[f] Or, *the wealth of the land.*

10 He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.

11 He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy:

12 For [b] every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them:

[b] 1 Kings 4. 25. Mic. 4. 4. Zech. 3. 10.

Simon turned himself to the works of peace, which were most congenial to his temperament, and determined on the encouragement of trade and commerce. He has been called the "Solomon" of the Asmonæan kingdom (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363); and certainly in this respect he imitated the example of his great predecessor and prototype (1 Kings ix. 26–28; 2 Chr. viii. 17, 18; ix. 10, 21).

the isles of the sea.] By "the isles of the sea" (Heb. *iyyê hayyâm*) we must understand the islands and sea-coasts of Europe generally (compare ch. vi. 29; xv. 11)—by "making an entrance to them," allowing them freely to import their commodities into his country.

6. *enlarged the bounds of his nation.*] The reference is probably to the recovery of Gazara and the Acra (ch. xiii. 43–51) and to the occupation of Joppa by Judæans (*ib.* 11). Otherwise Simon does not appear to have made any conquests.

7. *And gathered together a great number of captives.*] *I.e.* he redeemed from slavery many Jewish captives—probably, prisoners of war—and restored them to their native country. Compare the boast of Nehemiah (Neh. vi. 8).

had the dominion of Gazara.] Rather, "**made himself master of Gazara.**" (Cf. ch. xiii. 43–7.)

and Bethsura.] Compare *v.* 33, and see also ch. xi. 65–66. From the latter passage it appears that the capture of Beth-sura was effected by Simon during Jonathan's lifetime.

and the tower.] The Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem. (See ch. xiii. 49–51.)

neither was there any that resisted him.] This is another exaggeration (see the comment on *v.* 4). Antiochus of Sida resisted him (ch. xv. 27–39); Cendebæus resisted him (ib. *vv.* 40, 41; ch. xvi. 1–10), and his own son-in-law, Ptolemy the son of Abubus, not only resisted him but murdered him at a banquet (ch. xvi. 11–16).

8. *Then did they till their ground in peace.*] Agriculture, neglected during the time of war and disturbance, once more flourished; the earth brought forth abundance both of grain and fruit.

the trees of the field.] Vines and olives, especially, figs and pomegranates also to some extent. (Compare Deut. viii. 8; Josh. xxiv. 13; 1 Sam. viii. 14; 2 Kings xviii. 32; Hag. ii. 19; &c.) The fruit crop was reckoned by the Jews quite as important as the crop of grain.

9. *The ancient men sat all in the streets.*] The prophecy of Zechariah was fulfilled, which said: "There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age" (Zech. viii. 4). Grimm rightly observes that the author has this text in his mind.

the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.] The young men wore for display "the accoutrements in which they had won their country's freedom" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 364).

10. *set in them all manner of munition.*] Literally, "made them all into vessels of strength." The fortification of the cities seem to be intended. (Compare ch. xiii. 10, 33, 48, 52; xiv. 33, 34.)

his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world.] *I.e.* "far and wide." Simon attracted attention at Rome (*vv.* 16, 24, and ch. xv. 16–24), at Sparta (*vv.* 16–23), in Asia Minor (ch. xv. 23), in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Cyrene (*ibid.*). No prince of the Asmonean family had as yet been so generally famous.

12. *every man sat under his vine and his fig tree.*] Compare 1 Kings iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10. The phrase was used to

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13 Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.

14 Moreover he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.

15 He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple.

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16 Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry.

17 But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein:

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express perfect tranquillity and security. It came home to each Jew who was wont to sit under the shadow of "the vine which overspread his own house, and the fig-tree in his own garden" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' *l. s. c.*).

there was none to fray them.] Rather, "to **affright** them." But the word "fray" had this meaning, when our translation was made. (See Deut. xxviii. 26; Jer. vii. 33; Zech. i. 21; Ecclus. xxii. 20.)

13. *Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them.*] See the introductory paragraph to this section.

the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.] The writer refers probably to the defeat and captivity of Demetrius, who was made prisoner by the Parthians in B.C. 138, and the reverses suffered by Tryphon in B.C. 138–7. (See ch. xv. 10–37.)

14. *he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low.*] Literally, "all the humble of his people." By "the humble" are meant, not the pious generally, but the oppressed and those of low estate.

the law he searched out.] *I.e.* studied its full meaning, with a view to its better observance. Compare the Sept. version of Ps. civ. 45, where our translators give "keep his laws."

every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away.] Like his predecessors (ch. ii. 24, 44; iii. 5, 8; vii. 6, 24, &c.), Simon acted with severity against all those who neglected the observance of the law, and assimilated themselves to the heathen, rooting them out (ἐξαίρων), *i.e.* either putting them to death, or banishing them from the land. Some modern critics regret this "intolerance;" but it was in accordance with the commands given by God to Moses; and a gentler policy would, in all probability, have produced the effacement of the nation.

15. *He . . . multiplied the vessels of the temple.*] On the numerous "vessels" required in the temple service, see 1 Kings vii. 38–50; 2 Chr. iv. 11–22; Ezra i. 9–11, viii. 25–30. It was always regarded as an act of piety to "multiply" them.

§ 3. SIMON HAS FRIENDLY COMMUNICATION WITH SPARTA AND ROME.

16–24. From his general sketch of the prosperity of Judæa under Simon, in which "the prosaic historian of fifty (?) years later warms almost into poetry" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363), the author proceeds to other points which reflected credit and glory upon his hero. In the present section he tells of two embassies which he received—the sequel of the steps taken by his brother, Jonathan (ch. xii. 1–18)—one from Sparta and the other from Rome, unequal no doubt in value, but both of them giving him dignity in the eyes of surrounding nations. The respective ambassadors brought with them documents renewing the leagues which were recognised as subsisting between the nations which they represented and the Jews.

16. *at Rome, and as far as Sparta.*] Though Sparta was geographically so much nearer to Judæa than Rome, it was practically more remote. Rome was in constant communication with Syria and Palestine. Her agents were everywhere. The little state of Sparta had, on the contrary, no agents, and but rare communication with any foreign country.

they were very sorry.] A diplomatic sorrow is intended. They expressed themselves as deeply grieved.

17. *as soon as they heard.*] Grammatically, both the Romans and the Spartans should be spoken of; but there is a difficulty in supposing that the Romans really acted in the manner here stated. It was not their practice to volunteer communications with new rulers of countries in alliance with them. Their diplomacy was more reserved. They waited till the new ruler made overtures to them and asked for a renewal of alliance (Polyb. xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 16; Liv. xlii. 6, &c.). Perhaps the writer has misplaced the conclusion of the Roman treaty, which in point of fact did not precede, but followed, the embassy of Numenius (*v.* 24).

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18 They wrote unto him in tables of brass, to renew the friendship and league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan his brethren:

19 Which writings were read before the congregation at Jerusalem.

20 And this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent; The rulers of the Lacedemonians, with the city, unto [c] Simon the high priest, and the elders, and priests, and residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, *send* greeting:

[c] See ch. 12. 6.

21 The ambassadors that were sent unto our people certified us of your glory and honour: wherefore we were glad of their coming,

22 And did register the things that they spake in the [‖] council of the people in this manner; Numenius *son* of Antiochus, and Antipater *son* of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.

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‖ Or, *publick records.*

23 And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their ambassage in publick records, to the end the people of the Lacedemonians might have a memorial thereof: furthermore we have written a copy thereof unto Simon the high priest.

24 After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, to confirm the league with them.

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18. *They wrote unto him in tables of brass.*] Compare ch. viii. 22, and comment *ad loc.*

the . . . league . . . made with Judas.] See ch. viii. 22–30.

and Jonathan.] The Senate had perhaps received Jonathan's ambassadors (ch. xii. 16) before his death, and consented to a renewal of the treaty of alliance with him.

20. *this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent.*] Rather, "of the **letter**." (See comment on ch. xii. 5.) Here again we have not a copy of the actual Greek original, but a Greek translation of the Hebrew version of that original. With this qualification, the document would seem to be an authentic one. It may, perhaps, be abbreviated.

The rulers of the Lacedemonians.] In the time of Onias the Spartans had still their two kings of the two ancient royal houses, Areus (ch. xii. 20) belonging to the house of the Agidæ. After the old hereditary monarchy came to an end (B.C. 220), the state was ruled for a time by "tyrants"—*e.g.* Lycurgus, Machanides, Nabis. After the death of Nabis in B.C. 192, the "rulers" of the state were the Ephors.

with the city.] *I.e.* "the people." Excepting when she was under tyrants, Sparta had always an assembly of the people, which exercised a large, though undefined, authority. (Compare *v.* 23.)

unto Simon the high priest, and the elders.] The "elders" of this passage correspond to the "senate of the people" mentioned in ch. xii. 6.

our brethren.] This is emphatic. (Compare ch. xii. 7, 21.) The Spartans continue to claim a close kinship with the Jews, notwithstanding the entire absence of any foundation for the claim. (See the comment on ch. xii. 21.)

21. *The ambassadors that were sent.*] *I.e.* Numenius and Antipater, who were sent to Sparta and Rome by Jonathan in B.C. 144 (ch. xii. 16, 17).

certified us of your glory and honour.] *I.e.* told of the flourishing condition of Judæa under Jonathan at the time when he sent the embassy. (See ch. xi. 60–74; ch. xii. 1, 2.)

22. *And did register the things that they spake in the council of the people.*] Rather, "And registered **among the decrees** of the people the things that they spake." For βουλή in the sense of "decree," see Andoc. p. 9. l. 4; p. 23, l. 15, &c. The sense of "council" is not suitable here, more especially as the word is in the plural.

Numenius, &c.] See ch. xii. 16, and the comment *ad loc.*

23. *the copy of their ambassage.*] Literally, "the copy of their **words**."

in publick records.] Rather, "in **the** public records" (literally, "in the appointed books of the people").

24. *with a great shield of gold.*] The practice of courting the favour of the Roman state by rich gifts was very common at the time whereof our author treats. The usual form which the gifts took was that of a crown of gold, as mentioned in the comment on ch. viii. 14; but occasionally this form was varied, and a golden shield, or some other article of value, substituted. The golden shields, often presented to the Roman emperors as gifts of honour, formed a sort of continuance of the ancient practice (Suet. 'Vit. Calig.' § 16;

B. C. 140. 25 Whereof when the people heard, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?

26 For he and his brethren and the house of his father have established Israel, and chased away in fight their enemies from them, and confirmed their liberty.

27 So then they wrote *it* in tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in mount Sion: and this is the copy of the writing; The eighteenth day of *the month* Elul, in the hundred threescore and twelfth year, being the third year of Simon the high priest,

28 At ‖Saramel in the great con- B. C. 140.

‖ Or, *Jerusalem*, peradventure by corruption and transposition of letters; *or*, as some think, *the common hall where they met to consult of matters of estate*

Jul. Capit. 'Vit. Anton. Pii,' § 5; Trebell. Poll. 'Vit. Claud.' § 3, &c.).

of a thousand pound weight.] If the Attic mina is intended, our "pound" may be regarded as fairly representing it; but if the Hebrew gold *maneh* is meant, the weight would be nearly double. Josephus, in a passage ('A. J.' xiv. 8, § 5) which probably treats of the present embassy of Numenius, though by some blunder he has referred it to a later date, gives the value of the shield as fifty thousand *aurei*, or nearly 53,000*l.*

§ 4. THE JEWS SET UP A MEMORIAL OF SIMON'S ACTS AND HONOURS IN THE TEMPLE.

25–49. The culminating honour paid to Simon proceeded from his own nation. Roused to an unwonted enthusiasm by his important successes (ch. xiii. 43–50; ch. xiv. 33) and by the acknowledgments of his power and greatness which they saw made by foreign countries (ch. xiv. 16–23; 38–40), they gathered themselves together, and held a great assembly (*v.* 28), in which it was resolved that there should be set up within the precincts of the sanctuary a document, engraved on a brazen tablet, containing a record of his glorious deeds and honours, recognising him as their prince and leader, conferring on him absolute power (*vv.* 42–45), and making the high priesthood hereditary in his family (*vv.* 25, 41, 49). So far as we know, such an honour had never been paid by the Jews to any of their rulers before: it was in its conception rather Greek than Hebrew, and shewed how Hellenic civilisation affected even those most opposed to it; but it fitly crowned the edifice of Simon's fame, indicating to after generations the exalted, and indeed unique, position which this particular Maccabee prince held in the estimation of his countrymen.

25. *What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?*] The important fact, that now for the second time only in the life of the nation a hereditary monarchy was set up, is just hinted at in these first words—by the mention of Simon's "sons"—as it is again in the closing words of the narrative (*v.* 49). See Ewald's 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [6].

26. *he and his brethren and the house of his father.*] Compare ch. xiii. 3; xvi. 2.

27. *they wrote it in tables of brass.*] The Romans had familiarised the Jews with inscriptions on bronze tablets (ch. viii. 22; xiv. 18), and they now set up such an inscription themselves. In Assyria the material had been used, both for sculptures and for inscriptions, at a much earlier date ('Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology,' vol. vii. pp. 84–88). The Greeks employed it for inscriptions, at any rate from the time of the Persian War (Herod. ix. 81; Pausan. v. 23, § 1). The Romans inscribed their treaties upon bronze tablets from the first year of the Republic (Polyb. iii. 22, § 1; 26, § 1).

upon pillars.] The στήλαι of the original are scarcely "pillars." They represent rather those upright flat stones which the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to erect, either as funeral monuments, or as memorials of various other kinds.

in mount Sion.] *I.e.* the Temple hill, as constantly in this Book (ch. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vii. 33). Compare *v.* 48.

The eighteenth day of . . . Elul.] Elul, the sixth month of the Jewish sacred year, corresponded with the latter part of August and the earlier portion of September. It was the last month of the Jewish civil year. The Elul of Ær. Seleuc. 172 would fall in the autumn of B.C. 140.

the third year of Simon.] Compare ch. xiii. 42.

28. *At Saramel.*] The word "Saramel" occurs here only. It is supposed by some to be the name of a place in Jerusalem where popular assemblies were held; but it scarcely seems possible that, if this were the case, we should find no other notice of it, either in the Bible, or in Josephus, or in the Talmud. Most commentators suppose a corruption, or rather a failure to understand the original Hebrew text on the part of the Greek translator. The original words are generally thought to have been either *ba-hatsar 'am*

B. C. 140. gregation of the priests, and people, and rulers of the nation, and elders of the country, were these things notified unto us.

29 Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, wherein for the maintenance of their sanctuary, and the law, Simon the son of Mattathias, of the posterity of Jarib, together with his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and resisting the enemies of their nation did their nation great honour:

30 (For after that Jonathan, having gathered his nation together, and been their high priest, was added to his people,

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31 Their enemies purposed to invade their country, that they might destroy it, and lay hands on the sanctuary:

32 At which time Simon rose up, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own substance, and armed ‖the valiant men of his nation, and gave them wages,

‖ Or, *the men of war.*

33 And fortified the cities of Judea, together with Bethsura, that lieth upon the borders of Judea, where the ‖armour of the enemies

‖ Or, *weapons.*

El, "in the court of the people of God," or *bash-sha'ar 'am 'El*, "at the gate of the people of God"—*i. e.* "in the great court of the temple," or "at the great gate of the temple." Grimm, however, proposes a different explanation. The word belongs, he thinks, to the preceding verse, and represents the Hebrew *hash-shar 'am 'El*, "the prince of the people of God," which is no doubt a possible title of Simon. The preposition ἐν he supposes to have been inserted by a transcriber who thought *hash-shar 'am 'El* was the name of a place. On the whole, the explanation of Saramel (Asaramel in some MSS.) as *hatsar 'am El*, which is Ewald's ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [5]), seems to be the best.

in the great congregation.] Rather, "in a **great assembly**." There is no article; and a political, rather than a religious, gathering is intended.

of the priests, and people, &c.] "Priests," "people," "rulers," "elders," do not form a very correct logical division; but it is easy to see that an enumeration which shall comprise the whole nation is meant. Had the order been, "the priests, the rulers, the elders, and the people"—*i.e.* the rest of the people—the laws of logic would have been fairly satisfied.

were these things notified unto us.] This meaning cannot be got out of the existing text; but it is likely to have been that of the original Hebrew, which the Greek translator misunderstood. (See Grimm's note on the passage.)

29. *of the posterity of Jarib.*] "Jarib" is a contracted form of "Joarib" (ch. ii. 1) which is itself a contraction of "Jehoiarib" (1 Chr. ix. 10). Jehoiarib was the head of the first out of the twenty-four "courses" of priests according to the arrangement of the priests made by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). The return of some priests of this "course" from the Babylonian captivity is attested, both by the author of Chronicles (1 Chr. ix. 10) and by Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 10; xii. 6, 19).

30. *Jonathan . . . gathered his nation together.*] The "gathering" is said to have been voluntary on the part of Jonathan's friends in ch. ix. 28. But he was no doubt cognizant of it and gave it his sanction.

and been their high priest.] Rather, "and been **made** their high priest."

was added to his people.] *I.e.* "died." Compare the expression in ch. ii. 69—"So he (Mattathias) died, and was gathered to his fathers." The verb is the same in both places.

31. *Their enemies purposed to invade their country.*] Compare ch. xiii. 1–20.

32. *Simon . . . spent much of his own substance.*] This had not been stated previously; but it is quite in accordance with the general spirit of liberality which pervades Simon's acts. (See ch. xiii. 17, 27–29; xiv. 7, &c.) We are not to suppose that he raised armies, like Crassus, from his private means, but that he used them to supplement the public funds which were at his disposal; supplying his troops with better arms, and higher pay, than would otherwise have been possible.

33. *fortified the cities of Judea.*] Compare ch. xiii. 33.

together with Bethsura.] See ch. xi. 65, 66; where Simon's capture of Bethsura, during his brother Jonathan's lifetime, is related.

that lieth upon the borders of Judea.] On the position of Bethsura (Beth-zur) in the border country of Judah and Edom, see the comment on ch. iv. 29. It would seem to have been recently made into an arsenal by the Syrians. Simon took it, garrisoned it with Jews, and strengthened its defences.

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34 Moreover he fortified Joppe, which lieth upon the sea, and ‖ Gazara, that bordereth upon Azotus, where the enemies had dwelt before: but he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for the reparation thereof.)

‖ Or, *Gaza.*

35 The people therefore, seeing the acts of Simon, and unto what glory he thought to bring his nation, made him their governor and chief priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people.

36 For in his time things prospered in his hands, so that the heathen were taken out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt ‖ in the holy place:

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‖ Or, *unto religion.*

37 But he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and the city, and raised up the walls of Jerusalem.

38 King Demetrius also [d] confirmed him in the high priesthood according to those things,

[d] ch. 10. 20. & 11. 57.

39 And made him one of his

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34. *Moreover he fortified Joppe.*] Joppa had been taken by Jonathan in his war with Apollonius, the general of Demetrius II. (ch. x. 76). Simon had afterwards, in the lifetime of Jonathan, occupied the city, and placed a Jewish garrison in it (ch. xii. 33, 34). After his accession to the high priesthood and leadership of the nation, he had made Joppa an open port (ch. xiv. 5), and, probably at the same time, had fortified it.

and Gazara, that bordereth upon Azotus.] For the situation of Gazara, see the comment on ch. iv. 15. Its "bordering on Azotus" must be understood somewhat vaguely. Azotus was distant from it at least seventeen miles in a south-westerly direction. But it is possible that the territory of Azotus extended to a considerable distance inland, and that the land dependent on Azotus and that which belonged to Gazara were contiguous. Simon's conquest of Gazara is related in ch. xiii. 43–47. His fortification of it in ch. xiii. 48.

where the enemies had dwelt before.] Gazara appears in ch. iv. 15 (B.C. 165) as a place in the possession of the Syrians. It was fortified by Bacchides at the time (B.C. 169) when he was at war with Jonathan (ch. ix. 52). The Jews do not seem to have made any serious attempt to wrest it out of the hands of the Syrians until the siege by Simon in B.C. 142. It had then been in the hands of the Syrians for at least twenty-three years.

he placed Jews there.] Compare ch. xiii. 48—"He placed there such men as would keep the law."

35. *The people . . . made him their governor and chief priest.*] See ch. xiii. 8. Simon is first *called* "high priest" in the letter of Demetrius to him (ch. xiii. 36), but he seems to have been "appointed" by the people, and only "confirmed" in office by the Syrian monarch (see below, *v.* 38).

the . . . faith which he kept to his nation.] Fidelity to the promises which he made on the capture of Jonathan (ch. xiii. 5, 6).

36. *the heathen were taken out of their country.*] *I.e.* out of the Jews' country. (See ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 33.) The Syrian garrisons were entirely cleared out from the whole of Judæa.

they also that were in the city of David.] See ch. xiii. 48–51.

who . . . did much hurt in the holy place.] Rather, "did much hurt **to its purity**." The vicinity of idols and idol-altars, the sights and sounds connected with the idol-worship, such as music, dancing, and the smoke of idol-sacrifices, were felt to be a pollution to the purity of the Temple itself, from which it was impossible to shut them out.

37. *he placed Jews therein and fortified it.*] If Josephus is correct in his statement, that Simon destroyed the Acra and cut down the hill on which it stood (see the comment on ch. xiii. 52), we must regard that proceeding as an afterthought. It is evident that his first intention was to maintain the Acra for the better defence of the city.

38. *Demetrius . . . confirmed him in the high priesthood.*] Perhaps by the simple act of acknowledging him as High Priest in the formal letter which he addressed to him in B.C. 142 (ch. xiii. 36); perhaps in some more ceremonious way.

according to those things.] Or, "in conformity with those things." The rank and place of High Priest were suitable to one who had so greatly distinguished himself.

B. C. cir. 140. friends, and honoured him with great honour.

[e] ch. 8. 20. & 12. 3. 40 For he had heard say, that [e] the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren; and that they had entertained the ambassadors of Simon honourably;

41 Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest [f] ch. 4. 46. for ever, [f] until there should arise a faithful prophet;

42 Moreover that he should be their captain, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the armour, and over the fortresses, that, I say, he should take charge of the sanctuary;

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43 Beside this, that he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the writings in the country should be made in his name, and that [g] he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold:

[g] ch. 10. 20, 89. & 11. 58.

44 Also that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to

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39. *And made him one of his friends.*] Compare ch. xiii. 36.

40. *For he had heard say, &c.*] Though Rome as yet possessed not a rood of ground in Asia, her influence was enormous. Continual embassies were passing between the Senate and the kings and potentates of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, through which Rome, to a great extent, directed the course of events in the East as she thought best for her own interests. None of the states could afford to quarrel with the great power of the West, and the moment any community obtained her protection, or any prince her alliance, the respect of all the neighbouring states and princes was at once secured. We may gather from the present passage that Demetrius did not send his letter to Simon (ch. xiii. 36–40) until he knew that Numenius and Antipater had obtained favour at Rome.

the Romans had called the Jews their friends and confederates and brethren.] It is not likely that the Romans really called the Jews "their brethren," or that the ground of kinship was put forward in the negotiations with Rome, as it was in those with Sparta (ch. xii. 6, 7, 17, 21). The writer has carelessly used an unfit expression.

41. *Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased.*] The word "that" (ὅτι) is superfluous, and has probably crept in by the carelessness of a scribe, who had καὶ ὅτι before him in the preceding line. The verse is to be connected with *v.* 35. "The people made Simon their governor and chief priest" (*v.* 35)—not only so, but they made him "their governor and high priest *for ever*;" *i.e.* they established the governorship and high-priesthood in the family of Simon, to be his and his sons' *in perpetuum*.

until there should arise a faithful prophet.] During the entire period between Malachi and John the Baptist, it was recognised by the Jews themselves that they had no prophet. Arrangements for the civil government had to be made in the interval, and to be varied from time to time; but they were regarded as provisional, to be confirmed or altered by the next prophet, when he should arise. That a prophet would arise—a true prophet (πιστός)—was regarded as certain on account of Mal. iv. 5.

42. *Moreover that he should be their captain.*] Literally, "their general"—the commander of their armies. They placed the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the military authority in the same hands. Simon afterwards transferred the military authority to his sons (ch. xvi. 2, 3).

to set them over their works.] *I.e.* to assign their respective duties to all those employed in the Temple service.

and over the country, &c.] *I.e.* to assign offices generally, as those of district governors, judges, &c., those of keepers of arsenals, and those of commandants of fortresses. A universal power of appointment seems to be intended.

43. *that all the writings in the country should be made in his name.*] Rather, "all the **contracts**," or "all the legal instruments" (see ch. xiii. 42). It appears by the Babylonian contract tablets, that agreements, in order to be valid, had to be dated, and the only known mode of dating was by the regnal years of the kings. In Judæa the practice had been to date by the Seleucid era (as in 1 Macc. i. 10, 54, ii. 70, &c.; 2 Macc. i. 7, xi. 33, &c.); but, from the first year of Simon, that system of a double date was introduced, of which we have a specimen in this chapter (*v.* 27). Henceforth all Jewish contracts mentioned both the Seleucid year and also the year of the High Priest. The regulation was a mark of sovereignty.

that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold.] Compare ch. viii. 14; x. 20, 62; xi. 58

B. C. cir. 140. break any of these things, or to gainsay his words, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold:

45 And whosoever should do otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished.

46 Thus it liked all the people to deal with Simon, and to do as hath been said.

47 Then Simon accepted hereof, and was well pleased to be high priest, and captain and governor of the Jews and priests, and to defend them all.

48 So they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass, and that they should be set up within the compass of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place;

B. C. cir. 140

49 Also that the copies thereof should be laid up in the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

CHAPTER XV.

4 *Antiochus desireth leave to pass through Judea, and granteth great honours to Simon and the Jews.* 16 *The Romans write to divers kings and nations to favour the Jews.* 27 *Antiochus quarrelleth with Simon,* 38 *and sendeth some to annoy Judea.*

MOREOVER Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent cir. 139.

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44. *wear a buckle of gold.*] See the comment on ch. x. 89.

45. *he should be punished.*] Literally, "he should be liable to punishment."

47. *Simon . . . was well pleased to be high priest, and captain and governor of the Jews.*] Literally, "high priest, and **general**, and **ethnarch** of the Jews." The word "ethnarch" is unusual. Etymologically it means the "ruler of a nation." Practically, it was applied only to *petty* sovereigns, as to Simon on this occasion (comp. Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 6, § 6), to Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great (*ib.* xvii. 13, § 4), to Aretas (2 Cor. xii. 32), and a few others. Though not necessarily implying independent sovereignty, it was an advance beyond the ἄρχων, which had been the title of the earlier Maccabee princes (ch. ii. 66; ix. 30). The head of the Jews in Alexandria had long borne the title (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiv. 7, § 2; xix. 5, § 2, &c.).

and to defend them all.] Rather, "and to **be over** them all."

48. *they commanded that this writing should be put in tables of brass.*] Compare *v.* 27, and comment *ad loc.*

within the compass of the sanctuary.] *I.e.* within the wall that enclosed the sanctuary. Compare ch. iv. 60; vi. 62, x. 11; 2 Macc. vi. 4, &c.

in a conspicuous place.] It is impossible to say what this place was; but clearly one is intended which every priest might have examined at the time when our author wrote. This is a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the document. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 336, note [6].)

49. *Also that the copies . . . should be laid up in the treasury.*] Rather, "**a copy.**" The plural is used on account of the antecedent ("tables") being in the plural. Τὰ ἀντίγραφα is literally "their counterparts."

to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.] See the comment on *v.* 25. Simon's sons were as much interested as himself in a decree which made the monarchy, and the high priesthood, hereditary (*v.* 41).

CHAPTER XV.

§ 1. Antiochus Sidetes claims the Syrian Crown, and seeks the support of Simon.

1-9. During the absence of Demetrius in the eastern provinces the civil war in Syria had slumbered. Tryphon held Antioch and most of Syria proper; but Cleopatra maintained her husband's cause from Seleucia, and was still unsubdued. She felt herself, however, insecure; and after a time invited her husband's brother, Antiochus of Sida (Sidetes), to her aid. Antiochus readily embraced her overtures, and Tryphon having become unpopular through his luxury and tyranny, he was able to take the offensive, and drive Tryphon out of Syria (*v.* 11). First, however, he sent an embassy to Simon with the proposals contained in *vv.* 2-9.

1. *Antiochus son of Demetrius the king.*] It is not quite clear whether the author rightly comprehended the relationship of this new Antiochus to his predecessors. He was not the son of Demetrius II., as we should naturally have imagined from the present passage, but his brother (App. 'Syriac.' § 68; Justin, xxxvi. 1; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 18, &c.), and the son of the former Demetrius, of whom our author speaks in chs. viii.-x. He is distinguished

B. C. cir. 139. letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and prince of the Jews, and to all the people;

2 The contents whereof were these: King Antiochus to Simon the high priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting:

3 Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers, and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war;

B. C. cir. 139

4 My meaning also being to go through the country, that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate:

5 Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted.

6 I give thee leave also to coin

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from the other Antiochi by the epithet Sidetes, which probably meant "of Sida," a Pamphylian town where he was brought up (Porphyry). On his coins he takes the title of Euergetes, "the Benefactor." He seems to have held the throne from B.C. 139 to B.C. 128, when he was defeated and slain by the Parthians.

sent letters.] Rather, "**a letter.**" See note on ch. xii. 5.

from the isles of the sea.] Antiochus seems to have been at Rhodes when Cleopatra's invitation reached him (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 68). It is probable that among the first steps which he took was the dispatch of an embassy to Simon.

Simon the . . . prince of the Jews.] Literally, "the ethnarch." (See the comment on ch. xiv. 47.)

2. *King Antiochus.*] If we may accept this letter of Sidetes as genuine, it would seem that he took the royal title from the first (cf. *v.* 3), thus setting himself up as a rival, not only to Tryphon, but also to Demetrius, who was not taken captive by the Parthians until at least a year later (see Clinton's 'F. H.' vol. iii. p. 346). Our information is very scanty with respect to the Seleucid monarchs, and to some extent contradictory.

3. *certain pestilent men.*] Compare ch. x. 61. The phrase seems to be used here as a periphrasis for the usurper, Tryphon. Compare the ordinary Greek idiom, *οἱ περὶ Σωκράτους* for *Σωκράτης*.

the kingdom of our fathers.] Sidetes could trace his descent through six ancestors, who had all been kings, up to Seleucus Nicator, the companion of Alexander. He had a clear hereditary right to the throne, in succession to his elder brother, Demetrius. Tryphon had no claim of this kind, being a mere upstart.

I . . . have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together.] Any one with a name and a sufficient supply of the "sinews of war," could at this time easily collect a strong force of mercenaries, chiefly Greeks, prepared to shed their blood in his cause. Sidetes, probably supplied with money by Cleopatra, had succeeded in gathering together, while still at Rhodes, a considerable force of this kind.

and prepared ships of war.] "Ships of war" were a matter of absolute necessity to a pretender who started from Rhodes (see the comment on *v.* 1), and had to convey his troops from that island to the mainland. The first object of Sidetes was to join his forces to those of Cleopatra at Seleucia.

4. *My meaning . . . being to go through the country.*] Rather, "to **disembark in** the country," *i.e.* to invade it from the sea. No other course was open to the young prince. Like Demetrius I., he had to throw himself upon the coast of Syria, with such forces as he could muster, and to risk the result. The port of Seleucia was open to him; and it is probable that he made his landing there.

5. *I confirm unto thee all the oblations.*] The reading is doubtful. The Alexandrian Codex has *ἀφέματα* for *ἀφαιρέματα*; and *ἀφέματα* is the word used in the previous passages to which this verse seems to refer (ch. x. 28; xiii. 37). If we adopt this reading, we must translate, "all the *exemptions*" or "*immunities.*" *Ἀφαιρέματα* may, however, be correct; but it can scarcely mean "oblations" in this connection. Translate rather "**deductions.**"

they granted.] Rather, "they **remitted.**" Former kings had "remitted," or excused, the payment of certain fixed charges which were of the nature of a tribute, and also certain customary "gifts." Antiochus confirms both remissions.

6. *I give thee leave also to coin money.*] Critics are divided on the question, whether Simon was the first of the Maccabee princes who struck coins, some extant specimens being referred by some to Judas Maccabeus, and others to Jonathan. But, on the whole,

B. C. cir. 139. money for thy country with thine own stamp.

7 And as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee.

8 And if any thing be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore.

9 Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation, and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world.

B. C. cir. 139.

10 In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year went Antiochus into the land of his fathers: at which time all the forces came together unto him, so that few were left with Tryphon.

11 Wherefore being pursued by king Antiochus, he fled unto Dora, which lieth by the sea side:

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it appears most probable that the archaic types, with which the entire series of Jewish coins confessedly commences, belong to the time of Simon, and were issued by him. These consist of shekels and half-shekels in silver, and of corresponding copper coins, bearing upon them such emblems as a pot or vase, a lily, a wheat-sheaf, a palm-tree, a fruit or fruits, with short legends in the archaic Hebrew character, which in the case of the silver coins read "shekel of Israel," or "half-shekel," and "Jerusalem the Holy"—in the case of the copper ones, "Year 4 of the redemption of Israel." The silver coins belong to three distinct years, and are marked as those of "Year 1," "Year 2," and "Year 3;" after which they cease and the copper begin, all of these belonging to "Year 4." It is remarkable that Simon did not put his name upon his coins, as did the later princes of the family, and it is to be noticed that his emblems were all of one class—"indications of the peace and plenty which he had ushered in" (Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 363). The right of striking coins was regarded in the ancient world as essentially attaching to independent sovereignty.

7. *the armour . . . and fortresses.*] Compare ch. xiv. 10, 42.

8. *if any thing be . . . owing.*] If there be any outstanding claim for arrears due to the Syrian crown before the immunity of the land from taxation and tribute was formally granted.

§ 2. WAR OF ANTIOCHUS WITH TRYPHON.

10–14. The struggle between Antiochus Sidetes and Tryphon was but brief. Tryphon had alienated his subjects, and even his troops, by his excessive luxury and his caprices. Antiochus was no sooner landed on the Syrian coast than deserters from his rival's army flocked to his standard (*v.* 10). He was able at once to assume the offensive, and to challenge Tryphon to a trial of strength. According to Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2), the two armies met in a pitched battle, and Sidetes was victorious. Tryphon fled to Dor, or Dora, a maritime town situated south of Carmel, where he was besieged by Sidetes, who blockaded the place both by land and sea (*v.* 14). The end was not long in arriving. Tryphon broke the blockade and escaped to Orthosias (*v.* 37), whence he made his way to Apameia (Joseph. 'A. J.' *l. s. c.*), where he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2) or was put to death (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 68).

10. *In the hundred threescore and fourteenth year.*] The 174th Seleucid year commenced in October B.C. 139, and terminated in October B.C. 138. Tryphon's death is placed by Clinton in November B.C. 139.

11. *Dora, which lieth by the sea side.*] Dora, "which lieth by the sea side," is almost certainly Dor, an old Phœnician settlement (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 17; Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*), on the coast of Palestine, between Cæsarea and the foot of Carmel. Dor had its own king in the time of Joshua (Josh. xii. 23), who was one of those "smitten" by him. In the partition of the territory it was assigned to Manasseh (*ib.* xvii. 11), but remained in the possession of the old inhabitants, paying a tribute (Judg. i. 27, 28). Solomon placed one of his "purveyors" in the "region of Dor" (1 Kings iv. 11). Tiglath-Pileser conquered the city about B.C. 730 ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 398). Dora is reasonably identified with the modern Tantura, a village of about thirty houses, wholly constructed of ancient materials, and occupying the position indicated, about nine miles north of Cæsarea, and fifteen from the southern foot of Carmel. In the latter part of the modern name we have probably a corruption of Dora. Frontinus says ('Stratagem.' ii. 13) that Tryphon, as he fled from Antiochus, scattered money along his line of route, and thus succeeded in delaying the horsemen who had been sent to pursue and capture him.

B. C. cir. 139.

12 For he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him.

13 Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen.

14 And when he had compassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in.

15 In the mean season came Numenius and his company from Rome, having letters to the kings and countries; wherein were written these things: B. C. cir. 139.

16 Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemee, greeting:

17 The Jews' ambassadors, our friends and confederates, came unto us to renew the old friendship and league, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from the people of the Jews:

18 [a]And they brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound. [a] ch. 14. 24.

19 We thought it good therefore to write unto the kings and countries, that they should do them no harm, nor fight against them, their

12. *his forces had forsaken him.*] Justin says that the favour which had greeted him when his power was new, soon passed away (xxxvi. 1).

13. *an hundred and twenty thousand . . . eight thousand.*] These numbers are probably exaggerated. They exceed all that have occurred previously, and are far greater than would have been needed for the blockade of a small town like Dor.

14. *and joined ships close to the town on the sea side.*] Rather, "and **his ships had completed the circuit** on the sea side." The object was to invest the place completely.

§ 3. RETURN OF NUMENIUS FROM ROME, AND RESULT OF HIS EMBASSY.

15–24. The valuable gift which Numenius took to Rome not only obtained him an early audience, but secured the complete success of his mission. The Jews were distinctly acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans; and at the same time a circular letter was written and sent to all the states and monarchs regarded as friendly to Rome in Greece, Western Asia, and East Africa, requiring them to abstain from all acts of hostility towards Simon, and further, to surrender to him all Jewish refugees whom he might require to be given up. A copy of the letter was entrusted to Numenius, to be placed in Simon's hands, that he might take action accordingly.

15. *came Numenius . . . from Rome.*] Compare ch. xiv. 24, where the embassy of Numenius is mentioned.

having letters to the kings.] The writer probably does not mean that the Romans entrusted the twenty-four copies of their circular letter to Numenius, to be delivered by him, or dispatched by Simon to their various destinations, but only that they sent by him "a letter" (*ἐπιστολάς*), which was addressed to numerous kings and countries. The "kings and countries" are enumerable in verses 22, 23.

16. *Lucius, consul of the Romans.*] The "Lucius" intended is probably L. Calpurnius Piso, who was consul, together with M. Popillius Lænas, in B.C. 139. The ordinary lists, it is true, give his prænomen as "Cneius," but incorrectly, as has been shewn by Dr. Westcott ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 148). It is curious, however, to find a Roman consul designated by his prænomen only, as also to find a document running in the name of one consul alone; and the conclusion is forced upon us that we have not an exact transcript of the circular letter sent, or even a correct translation of it. Still, there is no reason to doubt that the matter of the letter is correctly given.

unto king Ptolemee.] The letter addressed to the King of Egypt is taken as a specimen, sufficiently representing the remainder. The Ptolemy of the time was Ptolemy VIII.—known as Ptolemy Physcon, and also as Ptolemy Euergetes II.—who had been joint-king with his brother, Philometor, from B.C. 169 to 165, and reigned as sole king from B.C. 146 to B.C. 117.

17. *to renew the old friendship and league.*] *I.e.* the friendship and league made with Judas Maccabeus in B.C. 161–0. (See ch. viii. 17–30.)

18. *they brought a shield of gold.*] See ch. xiv. 24.

19. *that they should do them no harm.*] Literally, "that they should not seek their hurt."

their cities or countries.] Rather, "their cities or **country**."

B. C. cir. 139.

cities, or countries, nor yet aid their enemies against them.

20 It seemed also good to us to receive the shield of them.

21 If therefore there be any pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high priest, that he may punish them according to their own law.

B. C. cir. 139.

22 The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius the king, and Attalus, to ‖Ariarathes, and Arsaces,

‖ Or, *Arathes.*

23 And to all the countries, and to ‖Sampsames, and the Lacedemonians, and to Delus, and Myndus, and Sicyon,

‖ Or, *Sampsaces.* Lat. *Lampsacus.*

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nor yet aid their enemies against them.] Literally, "nor yet aid those who make war upon them."

20. *It seemed . . . good to us to receive the shield.*] Reception of the present brought by envoys was considered to bind the recipient to give a favourable answer to their requests. Rome, in the great majority of cases, kept to this understanding, but with an occasional departure from it. Very recently she had accepted a golden figure of Victory from Tryphon, and had melted it into a figure of the murdered Antiochus, placing his name upon it as though he had been the giver, and declining to acknowledge any obligation to Tryphon (Diod. Sic. vol. x. p. 88; Ed. Bipont.).

21. *pestilent fellows, that have fled from their country unto you.*] The severe measures of Simon against the Hellenizing faction (ch. xiv. 14) had evidently caused many Jews to betake themselves to voluntary exile. Numenius must have requested an exertion of the influence of Rome to force these exiles back upon their own country. Such an extradition of political offenders, though not unprecedented, was very unusual. It may be doubted whether many of the "kings and countries" addressed by the Romans acted upon the instructions here given to them.

22. *The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius.*] One of the circular letters was addressed to Demetrius II., who was regarded as the legitimate king of Syria, and whose capture by the Parthians had either not taken place, or at any rate was not known at Rome, when the circular letters were written. According to Clinton ('F. H.' vol. iii. p. 346) Demetrius was not made prisoner till Nov. B.C. 138. The letters were written in B.C. 139. (See comment on *v.* 16.)

and Attalus.] Attalus II. is no doubt intended. He was still king of Pergamus when the letters were written, not having been succeeded by his nephew, Attalus III., till B.C. 138. The Pergamene dynasty was connected with Rome by peculiarly close terms of alliance.

to Ariarathes.] Ariarathes V. (Philopator) was king of Cappadocia from B.C. 162 to B.C. 131. He "maintained the alliance between Cappadocia and Rome with great fidelity" ('Manual of Ancient History,' p. 300), and was a man of pure and blameless character. The Romans could count with a near approach to certainty on his compliance with their wishes.

and Arsaces.] It is surprising to find it stated that a letter was addressed at this time to Arsaces, the Parthian monarch, who was absolutely and entirely independent of the Romans, and was scarcely likely to pay the very slightest attention to their requests. As Grimm observes, the letter, if really written, must have been wholly different in tone from those addressed to the other monarchs. But our author's testimony, entirely unsupported as it is, can scarcely be regarded as sufficient to establish the fact—antecedently most improbable—that Arsaces was addressed upon the subject. The Arsaces intended would be Mithridates I., the opponent of Demetrius. (Cf. ch. xiv. 2, 3.)

23. *to Sampsames.*] It is quite uncertain what country is intended here. The Vulgate gives "Lampsacus;" but Lampsacus was not at this time an independent state, much less one that would be likely to be given the foremost place in such a list as the present. Grimm's conjecture of "Samsoun"—a name which first appears in the geography of Abulfeda (A.D. 1330)—is in the highest degree improbable.

Delus, and Myndus.] Delus, or rather Delos, the smallest of the Cyclades, had been given to Athens by the Romans in B.C. 167 (Polyb. xxx. 18, § 7). After the fall of Corinth, in B.C. 146, it became the centre of an extensive commerce, and (seemingly) regained its independence. Myndus was a small town in Caria, not far from Halicarnassus.

Sicyon.] Sicyon was one of the most important towns of the Peloponnese. It had been the place of meeting for the Council of the Achæan League (Polyb. v. 1, § 7; xxv. 1, § 5, &c.), and was a town of great strength (*ib.* xxx. 15, § 1). After the dissolution of the League, Sicyon, though really subject to Rome, was allowed the shadow of independence. (See Mommsen, 'Hist. of Rome,' vol. iii. p. 50, E. T.)

B. C. cir. 139. and Caria, and Samos, and Pamphylia, and Lycia, and Halicarnassus, and Rhodus, and ‖Phaselis, and Cos, and Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene.

‖ Or, *Basilis.*

24 And the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest.

25 So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second *day*, ‖assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in.

‖ Gr. *bringing his forces to it.*

26 At that time Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to aid him; silver also, and gold, and much armour.

27 Nevertheless he would not re-

Caria, . . . and Pamphylia, and Lycia.] After a period of subjection to Rhodes, Caria and Lycia had regained their freedom by a decree of the Senate in B.C. 168 (Polyb. xxx. 5, § 12). Pamphylia, after its conquest by Achæus in B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 77, § 1), was recovered to the Seleucid kingdom, but in the recent troubles may have become free.

Phaselis.] Phaselis was a city on the coast of Lycia, with an excellent port and a considerable trade, more especially in the early times (Herod. ii. 178). It was independent until B.C. 75, when the Romans deprived it of freedom as a punishment for the share which it had taken in the organised piracy of the time.

Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna.] Side, the city in which Antiochus Sidetes was brought up (see note on *v.* 1), was a Greek town belonging to Pamphylia, situated upon the coast between the Eurymedon and the Melas rivers. Like so many of the Hellenic maritime towns, it seems to have enjoyed a practical independence (Polyb. v. 73, § 4). Aradus was a Phœnician town, situated on the island now called Ruad, which lies off the Syrian coast, in lat. 34° 51′. It appears as independent in the war between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Philopator, B.C. 219 (Polyb. v. 68, § 7). Gortyna was one of the chief cities of Crete. Cnidus, Cyprus, and Cyrene are too well known to need identification or description.

24. *the copy hereof.*] The exact counterpart of the circular letter addressed to the Roman allies was sent to Simon, that he might know what injunctions had been laid upon them.

§ 4. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES CONTINUES HIS WAR WITH TRYPHON—HE PICKS A QUARREL WITH SIMON.

25-37. The siege of Dor continued, and Simon (according to Josephus) was of great service to Antiochus, by supplying him with money and provisions during the earlier part of the siege ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2). During this period he was in high favour with the Syrian king. But later on, in what seems to be called "the second siege" (*v.* 25), when success appeared to be certain, Sidetes changed his tone. The supplies of men and money which Simon sent him were rudely rejected (*v.* 27), and a demand was made on him for the payment of a thousand talents (more than 240,000*l.*), under the threat of immediate hostilities. The only alternative suggested was the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra of Jerusalem, which Antiochus declared to be "cities of his realm" (*v.* 28). Simon was probably quite unable to pay the sum demanded, and he was quite determined not to surrender the fortresses, but, with the moderation which characterised him, he proposed a middle course—he would give a hundred talents (24,000*l.*) for the two conquered cities, albeit they belonged of right to Judæa, but he would give no more. The reply infuriated Sidetes, from whom Tryphon had recently escaped, having fled from Dor to Orthosias, a Phœnician city further to the north.

25. *Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day.*] Rather, "**for the second time**," or "in the second siege"—ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ [πολιορκίᾳ]. Ewald has shewn that an interval of time is required between the events related in *vv.* 13, 14, and those now spoken of ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 338, note [4]).

assaulting it continually, and making engines.] The original intention was to reduce the place by blockade (*v.* 14); but this plan seems to have been found too tedious. In the "second siege" continual attacks were made upon the walls by military engines, which were supported by troops.

26. *Simon sent him two thousand chosen men.*] A small contingent, but nearly as many as had enabled Demetrius to quell the great insurrection in Antioch (ch. xi. 44–51), and exactly the number that had defied the entire "host" of Tryphon in Galilee (ch. xii. 47–51).

much armour.] Literally, "many vessels." The original no doubt had *keli*, which is a word of very wide significance.

27. *Nevertheless he would not receive them.*] There is not necessarily any contradiction between this statement and that of Josephus,

B. C. cir. 139. ceive them, but brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore, and became strange unto him.

28 Furthermore he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his friends, to commune with him, and say, Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm.

29 The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places within my kingdom.

30 Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places, whereof ye have gotten dominion ‖ without the borders of Judea:

‖ Or, *except the borders, &c.*

31 Or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: if not, we will come and ‖ fight against you.

B. C. cir. 139.

‖ Or, *subdue you in fight.*

32 So Athenobius the king's friend came to Jerusalem: and when he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver plate, and his great attendance, he was astonished, and told him the king's message.

33 Then answered Simon, and said unto him, We have neither taken other men's land, nor holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time.

34 Wherefore we, having oppor-

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that Simon supplied the troops of Antiochus with provisions and pay ('A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2), if we regard Josephus as speaking of the earlier, and our author of the later siege.

brake all the covenants which he had made with him afore.] Compare *vv.* 2–9. It is impossible to assign any other ground for Sidetes' change of policy, except his conviction that he was strong enough to hold his own without the help of the Jews, and his determination to bring Judæa back to the position of weakness and dependence which she had occupied in the more flourishing times of the Seleucid monarchy. This policy he pursued steadily during the remainder of his reign (ch. xv. 38–41, xvi. 5–10; Joseph., 'A. J.' xiii. 8).

became strange unto him.] Compare ch. xi. 53, where the same expression is used with respect to Demetrius II. and Jonathan.

28. *Ye withhold Joppe.*] Rather, "Ye **hold**." On the occupation of Joppa by Simon, see ch. xii. 33; xiv. 5, 34.

and Gazara.] Compare ch. xiii. 43–48; xiv. 34.

with the tower that is in Jerusalem.] *I.e.* the Acra, which Simon had taken after it had been held by the Syrians for twenty-six years. (See ch. xiii. 49–51.) Antiochus calls it a "*city* of his realm," since, though originally a mere fort, it had in course of time collected a cluster of houses around it.

29. *The borders thereof ye have wasted.*] Rather, "ye have **made solitary**." The expulsion of the Syrian garrisons, with their sympathizers, from Joppa (ch. xii. 34) and Gazara (ch. xiii. 47; xiv. 34), seems to be intended.

got the dominion of many places.] This is rhetorical amplification. The only other place that can be named is Ekron, which had been voluntarily ceded by Balas (ch. x. 89).

30. *the tributes of the places.*] *I.e.* the sums that would have been paid to the royal treasury as tribute by the cities occupied, if they had remained in the possession of the Syrians. The amount due is estimated later on (*v.* 31) at 500 talents!

32. *the cupboard of gold and silver plate.*] A "beaufet," or "sideboard," on which the gold and silver plate was displayed, is meant. An ostentatious display of magnificent drinking-vessels had been common in the East from Persian times (Xen. 'Cyrop.' viii. 8, § 18; Herod. ix. 80; Strab. xv. 3, § 19, &c.), and probably even from an earlier date. The practice spread from the Persians to the Greco-Macedonians, and seems to have passed from them to the Jews.

his great attendance.] Compare 2 Chr. ix. 4. Simon had evidently adopted a pomp and magnificence unknown to previous Maccabean princes, and unusual in a mere vassal king.

33. *We have neither taken other men's land, &c.*] Simon means to say that Joppa and Gazara, and still more the Acra, were ancient possessions of the Jewish nation, withheld from them for a time by force, but always really theirs. Consequently, they had but taken that which was their own. (See Josh. xvi. 3, xix. 46; 2 Chr. ii. 16, &c.)

B. C. cir. 139. tunity, hold the inheritance of our fathers.

35 And whereas thou demandest Joppe and Gazara, albeit they did great harm unto the people in our country, yet will we give an hundred talents for them. Hereunto Athenobius answered him not a word;

36 But returned in a rage to the king, and made report unto him of these speeches, and of the glory of Simon, and of all that he had seen: whereupon the king was exceeding wroth.

37 In the mean time fled Tryphon by ship unto Orthosias. B. C. cir. 139

38 Then the king made Cendebeus captain of the sea coast, and gave him an host of footmen and horsemen,

39 And commanded him to remove his host toward Judea: also he commanded him to build up ‖ Cedron, and to fortify the gates, and to war against the people; but as for the king *himself*, he pursued Tryphon. ‖ Or, *Gedor.*

40 So Cendebeus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people, and to invade Judea, and to take the people prisoners, and slay them.

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35. *will we give an hundred talents for them.*] Simon was always ready to avert war by a moderate pecuniary sacrifice (ch. xiii. 19); but the demand for 1000 talents was preposterous. It is doubtful whether by any exertions he could have raised such a sum.

36. *the king was exceeding wroth.*] He had probably expected a submissive answer—the arrival of ambassadors with presents to deprecate his displeasure—the surrender, perhaps, of Joppa or Gazara, or both. He could certainly not have expected the restoration of the Acra. The boldness, however, and uncompromising plainness of Simon's reply offended him, and roused a feeling of anger, which led him to declare war at once against his recent ally.

37. *Tryphon fled by ship unto Orthosias.*] It is extremely difficult to keep up a blockade by sea. Rough weather deranges it, causing the blockading vessels to put to sea, or else to seek shelter in harbours. Again, a small boat easily slips past the vessels under cover of darkness. Thus Tryphon was able to elude his enemy, and remove from Dor to Orthosias. This latter city lay about 140 miles north of Dor, on the coast of Phœnicia, between Tripolis and the river Eleutherus (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 17). The exact position is uncertain. Tryphon, on making his escape from Dor, appears to have fled first to Ptolemaïs (Charax, Fr. 14), whence he proceeded to Orthosias, and thence to Apamea in the valley of the Orontes. At Apamea, he either committed suicide (Strab. xiv. 5, § 2), or was put to death (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 7, § 2).

§ 5. WAR OF ANTIOCHUS SIDETES WITH SIMON—JUDÆA INVADED BY CENDEBÆUS.

38–41. On the escape of Tryphon, Antiochus resolved to divide his forces, and, while pursuing Tryphon with a portion, to send the remainder, under a general named Cendebæus, to invade Judæa. He was sagacious enough to perceive that Tryphon had ceased to be formidable, and must soon be taken or surrender himself, while Simon was far more to be dreaded. Cendebæus had orders to move southwards towards Judæa, and occupy a strong post, known as Cedron, in the vicinity of Jamnia, whence he would be able to make inroads into the Jewish territory. The present passage describes his execution of these orders, and establishment at Jamnia and Cedron, to the great detriment of Simon's subjects in that quarter.

38. *captain of the sea coast.*] The tract from Carmel to Gaza is probably intended. It was a long tract of lowland, known as Sharon in the more northern, and as Philistia in the more southern portion. The chief maritime towns, besides Dor and Gaza, were Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon.

39. *commanded him to remove his host toward Judea.*] Literally, "to encamp over against Judæa," *i.e.* to take up a position outside the Jewish territory, but near it, and opposite to it, so to speak.

to build up Cedron.] Literally, "to build Cedron." Cedron has not been previously mentioned. It must have been within a short distance of Jamnia (*Jabneh*) and Azotus (*Esdud*), and must have had a watercourse eastward of it. These conditions are fulfilled by the modern Katra or Kutrah, which lies in the flat country a little below the river Rubin and three miles S.W. of Akir or Ekron, and which is therefore thought to be "Cedron."

40. *Cendebeus came to Jamnia.*] Jamnia, when last mentioned (ch. x. 69), was in the possession of Demetrius II. It now readily acknowledged the authority of Sidetes.

began to provoke the people.] *I.e.* the Jews.

B. C. cir. 139. 41 And when he had built up Cedron, he set horsemen there, and an host of *footmen*, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea, as the king had commanded him.

CHAPTER XVI.

3 *Judas and John prevail against the forces sent by Antiochus.* 11 *The captain of Jericho inviteth Simon and two of his sons into his castle, and there treacherously murdereth them.* 19 *John is sought for,* 22 *and escapeth, and killeth those that sought for him.*

[a] ch. 13. 53. THEN came up John [a]from Gazara, and told Simon his father what Cendebeus had done.

B. C. cir. 138. 2 Wherefore Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, [b]I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have ever from our youth unto this day fought against the enemies of Israel; and [c]things have prospered so well in our hands, that we have delivered Israel oftentimes.

[b] ch. 14. 26.

[c] ch. 3. 6. & 14. 36.

3 But now I am old, and ye, by *God's* mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go and fight for our nation, and the help from heaven be with you.

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41. *they might make outroads upon the ways of Judea.*] The word "outroad," which does not occur elsewhere in the A. V., is scarcely English. Translate—"they might make **expeditions along the roads** of Judæa." It is clear that the position of Cedron commanded several lines of route from the low country into Judæa, and thus afforded facilities for invasion.

CHAPTER XVI.

§ 1. SEQUEL OF THE WAR OF SIDETES AGAINST SIMON—CENDEBÆUS DEFEATED BY JOHN HYRCANUS.

1–10. The war of petty inroad, now on one line of route, now on another, which Cendebæus was carrying on by the directions of Sidetes (ch. xv. 41), was an annoyance rather than a danger, yet seemed to need to be met by prompt action. John, therefore, the son of Simon, who commanded in these parts, having his head-quarters at Gazara (ch. xiii. 54; xvi. 1), proceeded to Jerusalem to consult his father on the emergency. Hereupon Simon, who had already designated his son John for captain of the host (ch. xiii. 54), formally devolved the command on him and his brother Judas, whom he directed to march against Cendebæus at the head of an army of 20,000 men, composed both of horse and foot. His commands were executed, and in a pitched battle, fought with Cendebæus near Cedron, the two brothers gained a great victory, completely routing the Syrian host, which fled from the field to Cedron, and from Cedron to the watch-towers of Ashdod. Judas being wounded, John conducted the pursuit, and pressed it to Ashdod itself, which he took and burnt. He then returned to Judæa in peace.

1. *Then came up John from Gazara.*] Compare ch. xiii. 54, where we are told that John's residence was fixed at Gazara, which lay but a short distance from Cedron.

and told Simon . . . what Cendebeus had done.] Rather, what "Cendebeus **was accomplishing**." He was continually making inroads, ravaging the territory, killing such as resisted, and carrying off numerous prisoners (ch. xv. 40). These were no doubt sold to the slave-merchants. (Compare ch. iii. 41.)

2. *his two eldest sons.*] Literally, "his two **elder** sons." He seems to have had, in all, three sons: Judas, the eldest; Johanan or John, the second; and a third, whose name was Mattathias. The eldest and youngest sons were involved in the fate of their father, being murdered by Ptolemy the son of Abubus at a banquet (*infra*, *v.* 16). John alone escaped, and thus, though only the second son, succeeded his father (*vv.* 22, 23).

I, and my brethren, and my father's house.] See note on ch. xiii. 3.

have delivered Israel oftentimes.] *I.e.* "have repulsed and defeated an invader." Compare ch. iii. 11; 23; iv. 14, 34; vii. 43; ix. 66–68; x. 82.

3. *now I am old.*] On the probable age of Simon, see the comment on ch. xiii. 53.

by God's mercy.] Literally, "through mercy." With his usual extreme reverence and reticence, the author abstains from introducing the name of God. Compare ch. iii. 18, 22, 33; iv. 10, 55; vii. 37, 41, &c.

be ye instead of me and my brother.] Simon is thinking of the time, when, all the brothers being dead but himself and Jonathan, the cause of national independence and religious purity was upheld by the two conjointly, both being at the head of armies, and lending valuable aid the one to the other. (See ch. ix. 62–67; x. 74–84; xi. 60–74; xii. 24–38.) He intends Judas and John to act similarly, and anticipates a long and prosperous career for both.

the help from heaven.] *I.e.* God's help; but again the Holy Name is suppressed.

B. C. cir. 138.

4 So he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war with horsemen, who went out against Cendebeus, and rested that night at Modin.

5 And when as they rose in the morning, and went into the plain, behold, a mighty great host both of footmen and horsemen came against them: howbeit there was a water brook betwixt them.

6 So he and his people pitched over against them: and when he saw that the people were afraid to go over the water brook, he went first over himself, and then the men seeing him passed through after him.

7 *That done*, he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: for the enemies' horsemen were very many.

B. C. cir. 138.

8 Then sounded they with the holy trumpets: whereupon Cendebeus and his host were put to flight, so that many of them were slain, and the remnant gat them to the strong hold.

9 At that time was Judas John's brother wounded; but John still followed after them, until he came to Cedron, which *Cendebeus* had built.

10 ‖So they fled even unto the towers in the fields of Azotus; wherefore he burned it with fire: so

‖ Or, *Which when he had set on fire, they fled unto the towers in the fields of Azotus; and there were slain, &c.*

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4. *he chose out . . twenty thousand men.*] He could now bring into the field 40,000 men, if necessary (ch. xii. 41); but the occasion did not seem to require so many. He preferred a smaller *picked* army.

with horsemen.] Cavalry are here for the first time mentioned as employed by the Maccabee princes. The force was probably a small one (see *v.* 7).

at Modin.] Modin, or Modeïn, was not very far from Cedron, and lay on the direct route between that place and Jerusalem. (See the comment on ch. ii. 1, and ch. xiii. 25–30.) It commanded the view over the maritime plain far and wide. Posted at Modeïn, Judas and John would be able to see the entire disposition of the enemy's forces.

5. *there was a water brook betwixt them.*] Rather, "a **water-course**"—*i.e.* the dry stream of a winter torrent. This is supposed to have been the modern Wady Rubin, which runs a little to the east of Kutrah, the supposed site of Cedron. (See the comment on ch. xv. 39.)

6. *he and his people.*] It is questioned, which of the brothers is intended, Judas or John. As Judas has certainly been assigned the most prominent place in *v.* 2, it might so far be supposed that the reference was to him. But on the other hand, we have to remember (1) That John was designated as "captain of all the hosts" in B.C. 141, without any mention of Judas (ch. xiii. 53); (2) That it was John who took the important step of consulting Simon on the emergency; and (3) That John is so much the foremost figure on the Jewish side in the eye of the writer, that, to identify Judas, he speaks of him as "John's brother" (*v.* 9). These facts give a prominence to John, which makes it almost certain that the actions recorded in *vv.* 6 and 7 are his.

the people were afraid to go over the water brook.] They would be at a disadvantage if attacked while they were crossing; and they would fight at a disadvantage with such an obstacle in their rear.

7. *he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen.*] The meaning seems to be, that, instead of placing the cavalry on the wings, according to ordinary practice, or drawing them up in a body, to watch events and make a charge when necessary, John intermixed the two arms of the service, blending cavalry and infantry together into a mixed mass. The arrangement is not one likely to commend itself to modern tacticians. It was, however, adopted upon occasions by the Romans (Val. Max. i. 3, § 3; Denison's 'History of Cavalry,' p. 73). John had recourse to it, because his cavalry was scanty, and, if it had acted alone, might easily have been annihilated by the numerous cavalry of the enemy.

8. *Then sounded they with the holy trumpets.*] Compare ch. iv. 13; v. 33; ix. 12, &c. The epithet "holy" is omitted in several MSS.

many of them were slain.] Literally, "many of them fell wounded." (Compare ch. iii. 11.)

the remnant gat them to the strong hold.] *I.e.* to Cedron (ch. xv. 39, 41).

10. *the towers in the fields of Azotus.*] Watch-towers were common, both in Palestine, and in the adjacent countries, which were liable to sudden incursions of the wandering tribes, Arabs, Edomites, Amalekites, &c. Hence the expression "from the tower of the watchman unto the fenced city" (2 Kings xvii. 9, xviii. 8).

he burned it with fire.] The Vulgate has

B. C. cir. 138. that there were slain of them about two thousand men. Afterward he returned into the land of Judea in peace.

cir. 135. 11 Moreover in the plain of Jericho was Ptolemæus the son of Abubus made captain, and he had abundance of silver and gold:

12 For he was the high priest's son in law.

13 Wherefore his heart being lifted up, he thought to get the country to himself, and thereupon consulted deceitfully against Simon and his sons to destroy them. B. C. cir. 135.

14 Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; at which time he came down himself to Jericho with his sons, Mattathias and Judas, in the hun-

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"them" for "it," as though there had been a reading of *αὐτοὺς* for *αὐτήν*, but this reading is not found in the MSS. If *αὐτὴν* be preferred, we must regard the antecedent as Azotus, which was probably at this time not a place of much strength. (Compare ch. x. 84; xi. 4.)

two thousand men.] The MSS. vary between 1000, 2000, and 3000. The Syrian Version has 3000. We should have expected a greater destruction from the terms in which the host of Cendebæus is described in *v.* 5.

§ 2. MURDER OF SIMON, AND TWO OF HIS SONS, BY PTOLEMY THE SON OF ABUBUS.

11–17. If the war with Cendebæus was in B.C. 138, as seems probable, there must have been an interval of about three years between its termination and the death of Simon. It was probably now that Simon found time for the accomplishment of his works of peace (ch. xiii. 27–30; xiv. 5–15). After the failure of the expedition of Cendebæus, Sidetes left Simon to himself, waiting for a favourable opportunity to renew his attack. Simon's administration of the government continued to be active and energetic, the old man personally visiting the various cities of his kingdom, and inquiring into their condition. It was while he was engaged in one of these tours of inspection that he laid himself open to a treacherous onslaught. He had married a daughter to a certain "Ptolemy, son of Abubus," and had intrusted to his government the rich district about Jericho. Ptolemy had grown wealthy in this office, and aspired to the supreme power. If he could remove Simon and his sons, he thought Sidetes might be prevailed on to accept him as vassal monarch. Accordingly he arranged matters so that when it was his turn to be visited, Simon should fall into a trap and lose his life. Had all Simon's sons accompanied him, the plot might have had a complete success. As it was, Mattathias and Judas shared the fate of their father; but John, who was at Gazara, escaped.

11. *in the plain of Jericho.*] The "Arboth-Jericho," or "plain of Jericho," was the rich tract towards the mouth of the Jordan described by Josephus ('B. J.' iv. 8, § 3) as seventy stades (eight miles) long by twenty stades (2½ miles) broad. It was well watered by a "most exuberant fountain." The "fertility of the soil was unexampled. Palms of various names and properties—some that produced honey scarcely inferior to that of the neighbourhood; opobalsamum, the choicest of indigenous fruits; cyprus and myrobalsamum, throve there beautifully, and were thickly dotted about in pleasure grounds" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 769).

was Ptolemeus . . . made captain.] The office assigned him was, probably, at once civil and military. Jericho had to be held as an outpost against the Trans-Jordanic nomades. At the same time its governor was expected to remit to the treasury a considerable revenue.

he had abundance of silver and gold.] His wealth, as Grimm thinks, may have been derived, in part at least, from the dowry which he had received with his wife, Simon's daughter (see the next verse); but it is likely to have resulted as much from the opulence and fertility of the province which he administered. (Compare Joseph. *l. s. c.*)

13. *he thought to get the country to himself.*] The success of such upstarts as Balas and Tryphon, who, born in a private station, nevertheless placed the Syrian crown on their heads, must have been exceedingly demoralising at this period, and have lit up the flame of ambition in many a heart. The relation of Judæa to Syria still further favoured illegitimate attempts, since the Syrian monarchs were at once open to bribes and to cajolery.

against Simon and his sons.] Ptolemy seems to have been quite aware that his work would be but half done, if he allowed any son of Simon to escape. It was a part of his scheme to remove John (*v.* 19) no less than Judas and Mattathias.

14. *Mattathias and Judas.*] The order of the names is curious, since Judas was certainly the elder brother (see *v.* 2). We cannot conclude from it, however, that the

B.C. cir. 135. dred threescore and seventeenth year, in the eleventh month, called Sabat:

15 Where the *son* of Abubus receiving them deceitfully into a little hold, called Docus, which he had built, made them a great banquet: howbeit he had hid men there.

16 So when Simon and his sons had drunk largely, Ptolemee and his men rose up, and took their weapons, and came upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his servants. B.C. cir. 135.

17 In which doing he committed a great treachery, and recompensed evil for good.

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author does not, as a *general* rule, mention brothers in the order of their seniority.

in the hundred threescore and seventeenth year.] The 177th Seleucid year began in Oct. B.C. 136 and ended in Oct. B.C. 135. As the month Sabat corresponded nearly to February, we may place the death of Simon in Feb. B.C. 135.

the eleventh month, called Sabat.] Compare Zech. i. 7.

15. *a little hold, called Docus.*] Rather, "called Dok." The Syriac version has "Doak," the Greek Δώκ. Josephus gives the name as "Dagon," which is not likely to have been the name of a place. The word Dôk seems to remain in the modern *Ain-Duk*, a set of "copious and excellent springs which burst forth in the Wady Nawâ'imeh at the foot of the mountain of Quarantania, about four miles north-west of Jericho" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. i. p. 446). Above the springs are traces of ancient foundations, which may be the remains of Ptolemy's "little hold."

16. *had drunk largely.*] The original goes further than this. It says that they "were drunken." Intemperance, though not a characteristic national vice, was far from being unknown among the Jews. (See Deut. xxi. 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. xi. 13; 1 Kings xvi. 9, &c.) It may lower our estimate of this Maccabean hero, to find that, when tempted, he gave way to this vice; but there is really no ground for surprise, that, in a rough age, even Jewish princes indulged in the habits common to royal personages of the period. The Maccabee princes were not saints.

Ptolemee and his men rose up.] The expression used seems to imply that Ptolemy took an active part in the murders. Royal murderers usually depute the actual execution of their schemes to others; but Ptolemy was not averse from sharing in the scene of blood himself.

his two sons.] *I.e.* the two who had accompanied him to Jericho, Judas and Mattathias. (See *v.* 14.) The account in Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 8, § 1), that these princes were made prisoners, and only put to death after a long delay, is contradictory to the narrative of our author, and deserves no credit. The pathetic history of their mother is, to some extent, discredited by its connection with false statements; but it may nevertheless be true, since it is compatible with all that related by our author. (Cf. Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 365.)

17. *he committed a great treachery.*] Ἀθεσία is from ἀθετεῖν, and properly means a rightful or wrongful repudiation of engagements. But in the later Greek, it is always employed in a bad sense, of engagements that have been perfidiously broken. (Polyb. ii. 32, § 8; iii. 49, § 2; 70, § 4; 78, § 2, &c.)

§ 3. SEQUEL TO THE BOLD ATTEMPT OF PTOLEMY. HE DESIGNS TO KILL JOHN HYRCANUS, BUT FAILS.

18–22. It must be supposed that Ptolemy had belonged to the patriotic party; otherwise he would certainly not have been accepted as a son-in-law by the High Priest (*v.* 12). Still, under the existing circumstances, he had to throw himself on the support of the opposite side. Accordingly, he at once sent off envoys to Sidetes, offering to restore the whole country to its former condition of subjection to Syria, on condition of receiving the support of a Syrian army. At the same time he dispatched emissaries to Gazara, with orders to kill John (*v.* 19). Nor did he neglect the capital, but sent such a force as he could spare, to seize both the city of Jerusalem and the Temple hill (*v.* 20). His plans were exceedingly well laid, if only he had had sufficient force to carry them out. But John received timely warning of what was intended, and frustrated all Ptolemy's projects. He seized and executed the emissaries who had accepted the mission to put him to death (*v.* 22), and, as we learn from Josephus ('A. J.' xiii. 8, § 1), at once took the offensive against his adversary, shut him up in Dôk, and after a little time drove him to seek a refuge in the Trans-Jordanic territory, after which nothing more is heard of him. John succeeded to his father's double office of civil governor and High Priest of the nation.

B. C. cir. 135. 18 Then Ptolemee wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him an host to aid him, and he would deliver him the country and cities.

19 He sent others also to Gazara to kill John: and unto the [1] tribunes he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give them silver, and gold, and rewards.

[1] Gr. *captains of thousands.*

20 And others he sent to take Jerusalem, and the mountain of the temple.

21 Now one had run afore to Gazara, and told John that his father and brethren were slain, and, *quoth he, Ptolemee* hath sent to slay thee also. B. C. cir. 135

22 Hereof when he heard, he was sore astonished: so he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them; for he knew that they sought to make him away.

23 As concerning the rest of the acts of John, and his wars, and worthy deeds which he did, and the building of the walls which he made, and his doings,

24 Behold, these are written in the chronicles of his priesthood, from the time he was made high priest after his father.

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18. *Ptolemee wrote these things.*] Ptolemy made a merit of his atrocious action in his application to the Syrian king, and attempted no concealment of it. He had removed one of Antiochus's most dangerous enemies, thereby entitling himself to that monarch's gratitude. He asked for aid in return. Aware, however, that gratitude does not always determine the policy of kings, he sought to enlist the king's self-interest on his side.

he would deliver him the country and cities.] Antiochus had offered to remain at peace with Simon on the restoration of Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra. Ptolemy is willing to concede not only these, but the entire "country."

19. *He sent others also to Gazara.*] Where John resided (ch. xiii. 53; xvi. 1).

unto the tribunes he sent letters.] Literally, to the "chiliarchs" or "captains of thousands." The appointment of such officers by Judas Maccabeus had been previously mentioned (ch. iii. 55).

21. *his father and brethren were slain.*] Compare *v.* 16, and comment *ad loc.*

22. *he laid hands on them that were come to destroy him, and slew them.*] Self-defence would have justified the act, had he been a mere private person. But the terms of the decree recorded in ch. xiv. 27–45 had invested him with the office of hereditary ruler, and from the moment of his father's death he was chief of the state, and bound to crush an attempt at revolution.

§ 4. THE READER REFERRED TO THE CHRONICLES OF JOHN'S HIGH-PRIESTHOOD FOR THE REST OF HIS ACTIONS.

23–24. The writer—for what reason is uncertain—does not design to carry on his history beyond the death of Simon. Though acquainted with the "wars" of John, and his "worthy deeds," he abstains from recording them. He tells us they are to be found in the "Chronicles of his Priesthood." And with these words he terminates his history. The "Chronicles of the High Priests" have perished; and for a knowledge of the actions of John historians have to depend wholly and solely upon Josephus. Josephus is far from deserving of implicit credence; but his history of John, running counter, as much of it does, to his national vanity, seems to be, in its general outline, trustworthy. The reader desirous of pursuing the subject may be referred to Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 8–10; to Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 342–384; and to Dean Stanley's 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 366–368.

23. *the rest of the acts.*] The Greek has "of the *words*;" but the Hebrew *dibrey*, which has both meanings, here, no doubt, signified "acts."

his wars.] See Josephus, 'A. J.' *l. s. c.*

the building of the walls which he made.] Antiochus Sidetes, after his successful siege of Jerusalem, in B.C. 133, required the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 8, § 3; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' i. 40, § 18). It cannot be doubted, that when, about B.C. 125, the civil war in Syria enabled John to resume a position of independence, one of his first acts would have been the restoration of the defences of the capital. This is probably the "building of the walls" of the present passage.

24. *Behold, these are written in the Chronicles of his Priesthood.*] Literally, "in the book of the days of his priesthood." It may perhaps account for the author concluding his history at this point, that, from the time of John Hyrcanus, a public record of all important facts, intermitted for so many years, began once more to be kept, so that the labours of a mere private writer ceased to be necessary.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ I. *Plan of the Work, and its Divisions.*

THE object of the writer was to give an account of the circumstances under which Judas Maccabeus raised the standard of revolt against the Syrian power, and succeeded after many desperate battles in establishing Jewish independence. His main narrative commences in chap. iii., and is divided into five portions: 1. An account of the troubles in Judæa from the coming of Heliodorus to Jerusalem until the pollution of the Temple and suspension of the Jewish worship (chaps. iii.–v.); 2. An account of the profanation of the Temple, the suspension of the Jewish worship, and the cruel persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. vi., vii.); 3. A history of the insurrection under Judas, and his struggles to establish Jewish freedom up to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. viii.–x. 9); 4. An account of the continuation of the struggle up to the death of Antiochus Eupator (chaps. x. 10–xiii.); and 5. An account of the war with Demetrius I. up to the defeat and death of Nicanor (chaps. xiv., xv.). The history covers a space of about twenty years, commencing about B.C. 180, in the reign of Seleucus Philopator over Syria and the high priesthood of Onias III., and terminating in the second year of Demetrius Soter, B.C. 161. It is the writer's special desire to glorify Judas Maccabeus, whom he views as the founder of the independence of Judæa, and he therefore abruptly terminates his history with the defeat of Nicanor at Adasa, choosing to consider that by that defeat the independence was won.

To his main narrative the writer prefixes an introduction, which divides itself into two parts. The former part consists of two detached documents, purporting to be letters that had been addressed by the Jews of Jerusalem to their brethren in Egypt, on the subject of keeping the Dedication festival instituted by Judas Maccabeus on his recovery of the Temple. The first of these letters occupies nine verses at the beginning of the first chapter of the work; the second extends from chap. i. 10 to chap. ii. 18. The letters are curious, but of scarcely any historical value, being the production of some forger or forgers, who imposed upon the simplicity of our author. They have scarcely any connection with the historical narrative to which they are prefixed; and the supposed facts related in the second are wholly unworthy of credit. The second portion of the introd uction extends from chap. ii. 19 to 32, and is of

the nature of a modern "preface," containing a brief summary of contents, a statement of the source from which the writer derived his materials, and an explanation of the mode in which he proposed to deal with them. Thus the scheme of the work may be exhibited as follows:—

Introduction (chaps. i., ii.).
- Detached documents (chaps. i.–ii. 18).
  - First Letter (chap. i. 1–9).
  - Second Letter (chap. i. 10 to chap. ii. 18).
- Preface (chap. ii. 19–32).

Main narrative (ch. iii.–xv.).
- The troubles anterior to the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (chaps. iii.–v.).
- The pollution and the persecution which followed it (chaps. vi., vii.).
- The insurrection of the Jews and the war of Judas with Epiphanes (chaps. viii.–x. 9).
- The war of Judas with Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 10 to chap. xiii. 26).
- The war of Judas with Demetrius I. up to the death of Nicanor (chaps. xiv., xv.).

§ II. Style and Diction.

The diction of the Second Book of Maccabees offers a remarkable contrast to that of the First Book. Whereas in the First Book Hebraisms are almost continual, in the Second they are of exceedingly rare occurrence. Only two or three have been pointed out;[1] and they are not of a very marked character. On the other hand, the use of idiomatic Greek phrases is constant; and the Greek generally is almost as good as that of Polybius or Appian. Novel words are, however, frequent,[2] and many words are used in strange and unusual senses.[3] Still, the meaning is, for the most part, sufficiently clear, the novel words being mostly derivatives from well-known roots.

There is a great variety in the style of writing. Sometimes, though not often, it is simple and natural; but more commonly it is stilted and artificial, deformed by a straining after rhetorical effect, by the affectation of unnecessarily long words and ponderous sentences, by an excessive use of ornament, and the employment of far-fetched images and false antithesis. Occasionally it falls into the very opposite faults, is rude and broken, awkward from its brevity, more resembling the first rough notes of a tyro from which he intends to work out his narrative, than the completed composition of a literary adept. Altogether the style is unpleasant and unsatisfactory, giving the idea of effort and display, of affectation and bad taste, of over-elaboration and over-colouring, and producing a certain distrust of the writer's strict adherence to truth.

§ III. Historical Value of the Book.

In estimating the value of the Second Book of Maccabees as an historical authority, we must begin with drawing a

[1] See chap. viii. 15; ix. 5; xiv. 24.

[2] The following have been noticed by Prof. Westcott:—*ἐμφανισμός* (chap. iii. 9); *ἀλλοφυλισμός* (iv. 13; vi. 24); *διεμπίμπλημι* (iv. 20); *θωρακισμός* (v. 3); *δυσπέτημα* (v. 20); *συνεκκεντεῖν* (v. 26); *ἑλληνισμός* (vi. 13); *σπλαγχνισμός* (vi. 7, 21; vii. 42); *ἀπευθανατίζειν* (vi. 28); *ἐτασμός* (vii. 37); *προσαναλέγεσθαι* (viii. 19); *ὁπλολογεῖν* (viii. 27, 31); *δοξικός*, viii. 35); *πολεμοτροφεῖν* (x. 14, 15); *ἀνδρολογία* (xii. 43); *διάσταλσις* (xiii. 25); *προσπυροῦν* (xiv. 11); *ἐπευλαβεῖσθαι* (xiv. 18); *κατευθικτεῖν* (xiv. 43); and *προσυπομιμνήσκειν* (xv. 9). To these may be added *θαυμασμός* (chap. vii. 18); *πρωτοκλισία* (iv. 21); *δεξιάζεσθαι* (iv. 34); *προπτύειν* (vi. 20); *ἀποδιαστέλλεσθαι* (vi. 5); *ὑπεραγόντως* (vii. 20); *εὐγενίζειν* (x. 13); *λεοντηδόν* (xi. 11); *εὐαπάντητος* (xiv. 9); *ἀπορῥωγάς* (xiv. 46); and *αὐλαῖος* (xiv. 41).

[3] As the following:—*εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι* (chap. ii. 24), "to engage oneself in a subject," usually "to be rolled in" or "brought in;" *διάληψιν ἔχειν* (iii. 32); "to conceive"—generally "to have a discussion" or "to be reputed;" *ψυχικῶς* (iv. 37; xiv. 24); "heartily, *ex animo*"—in ordinary Greek, "spiritually;" *φρυάσσομαι* (vii. 34), "to be elated," commonly "to fret, rage, be insolent;" *ἀναζυγή* (ix. 2), "return, retreat," ordinarily "journey, moving of a camp;" *ἐναπερείδομαι* (ix. 4), "to avenge, retaliate," properly "to strike a blow on," or "to drive a sting in;" *πεφρενωμένος* (xi. 4), "puffed up," properly "gifted with intellect;" *ἐκλύειν* (xii. 18), "to depart" instead of "to faint;" *δευτερολογεῖν* (xiii. 22), "to address a second time," generally "to make the second speech, some one else having made the first;" *ἀκληρεῖν* (xiv. 8), "to be wretched," properly "to be without a share;" *φυγαδεύειν* (xiv. 14), "to fly from," properly "to put to flight;" *διεξάγειν* (xiv. 30), "to behave," commonly "to pass (one's life)," or "to take care of," and *ἀποκαθιστάναι* (xv. 20), "to arrange, station," commonly "to restore."

marked line between the "Introductory Documents" and the "Main Narrative." The introductory documents are almost certainly forgeries. It is highly improbable that the Jews of Jerusalem should, amid the troubles of the year B.C. 144–3, have addressed a letter to their brethren at Alexandria desiring them to keep the festival of the Dedication. It is quite impossible that, either in B.C. 165 or B.C. 125,[1] they should have written the farrago of false history and trashy legend which constitutes the second letter, and is said to have been sent by Judas Maccabeus to Aristobulus, Ptolemy Philometor's teacher (chap. i. 10). The author of the Book is, however, not necessarily to be charged with the fabrication of the two documents which he prefixes to his narrative, and with one of which his narrative is in direct contradiction.[2] It is far more probable that he found the documents already in existence at the time when he wrote, but had not the critical acumen to discover their worthlessness. Alexandria was, in the second century B.C., a workshop where letters, decrees, and public communications of all kinds from one government to another were freely produced by the facile pens of literary adventurers.[3] Historical criticism was ill developed at the time when our author wrote, and he was certainly not a person of sound judgment. It is easy to understand his being imposed upon by works the tone of which was agreeable to him, though no great ingenuity had been shewn in their concoction.

The main narrative is not to be condemned unheard on account of its poor and somewhat tawdry frontispiece. It proceeds, as will appear hereafter,[4] from an entirely different source. It breathes a tone that is, on the whole, not untruthful or extravagant. It admits faults and sins on the part of the writer's countrymen,[5] which a dishonest man would have concealed. Though in general excessive in its numerical statements, it is occasionally more moderate than even the First Book,[1] and it is confirmed in some important particulars by classical writers and classical remains.[2]

On the other hand, it must be admitted, first, that the work contains numerous historical mistakes; and, secondly, that the writer has certain prejudices and prepossessions which render him in some matters untrustworthy as an historian. Among historical errors of an obvious character may be mentioned the following:—1. The presence of Antiochus Epiphanes in Jerusalem at the time of the great persecution, and his actual superintendence of the tortures inflicted on the martyrs (chap. vii. 3–39); 2. The circumstances of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. ix. 4–28); 3. The time of the first expedition of Lysias into Judæa (chap. xi. 1–15); 4. The relations between Lysias and Antiochus Eupator (chap. x. 11); 5. The period of time during which the Temple lay waste before its purification and re-dedication by Judas (chap. x. 3); 6. The date of the recovery of the Acra (chap. xv. 31, 35); 7. The landing of Demetrius I. on the coast of Syria "with a great power and navy" (chap. xiv. 1). Among the writer's prejudices and prepossessions two are especially noticeable:—1. His bitter hatred of the Syrians, which is manifested at every turn (chap. v. 11–24; vii. 3, 4, 9, 27, 34; viii. 32, 34; ix. 7, 13, 28; xii. 23; xiii. 9; xiv. 27, 39; xv. 3, 6, 32, 33), and which cannot but make him an unfair judge of their conduct and intentions; and 2. His predilection for the marvellous, which causes him to accept as true, and put forward with the

[1] The MSS. vary between these two dates in chap. i. 10.

[2] Compare chap. i. 13–16 with chap. ix. 1–4.

[3] See Ewald, 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 467, E. T.

[4] See § 4, on the Sources of the Book.

[5] See chap. iv. 3, 7–17, 32; v. 15, 23; vi. 12–17; viii. 13; x. 20; xii. 40; xiii. 21; xiv. 3.

[1] The highest estimate of the Syrian forces made by the author of the Second Book is 115,300 (chap. xiii. 2), whereas the author of the First Book gives the number on one occasion as 128,000 (chap. xv. 13), and on another (chap. vi. 30) as 120,000. Nicanor's force in B.C. 166–5 is reckoned at 54,000 men in 1 Macc. iii. 39, at no more than 20,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 9.

[2] The position of Heliodorus in the court of Seleucus (chap. iii. 7, 37, is confirmed by Appian, ('Syriaca,' § 45); the conferring of an Antiochian citizenship on inhabitants of other towns (chap. iv. 9, 19) by coins of Ptolemaïs (Mionnet, 'Description de Médailles,' vol. v. Nos. 333, 472, 522–534; vol. viii. No. 159).

utmost force of which he is capable,[1] the "manifestations" of Divine Power (ἐπιφανείας) which were said to have occurred in the course of the struggle between the Jews and their oppressors, and by means of which, principally, the Jews achieved their independence. Considering the fact that the author of the First Book, certainly a writer nearer to the events, knows of no such "manifestations," we may assume that the period was not one in which miracles were really wrought. The ἐπιφάνειαι of 2 Maccabees are thus later additions to the real history, either invented by literary men as embellishments, or beliefs that gradually grew up among a credulous and marvel-loving people. Our present author may not have been the first to introduce them into a written history, but his full acceptance of them cannot but detract from our estimate of his critical judgment.

Yet the value of the Book is considerable. For a certain period of Jewish history—the four or five years preceding the accession of Epiphanes (chap. iii.–iv. 6)—it is our sole authority. For the succeeding period—from B.C. 176 to B.C. 166—it runs parallel with 1 Macc. i. 10–64, but is much more full and exact in details (chap. iv. 7 to end of chap. vii.), and therefore very serviceable. For the closing period of which it treats—from B.C. 166 to B.C. 161—it is of greatly inferior value, being on about the same scale as the First Book, and of much weaker authority. Still, even in this last portion (chaps. viii.–xv.), its historical value is not absolutely *nil*, since it occasionally furnishes trustworthy details on points on which the writer of the First Book has omitted to touch. Instances of this are the account of Ptolemy Macron in chap. x. 12, 13; the story of the covetousness of Simon (chap. x. 19–22); the wicked deed of the men of Joppa (chap. xii. 3–5); Judas's victory over a body of Arabs (chap. xii. 10–12); the fate of Menelaus (chap. xiii. 3–8); the treachery of Rhodocus (chap. xiii. 21); the landing of Demetrius I. *at Tripolis* (chap. xiv. 1); the negotiations between Judas and Nicanor (chap. xiv. 19–26); and the suicide of Razis (chap. xiv. 37–46). Where the writer of the Second Book is at variance with the author of the First, his authority must be set aside as worthless; but where his narrative is additional, compatible, and not in itself improbable, it may be fairly used to eke out the somewhat meagre sketch which the writer of the First Book has thought sufficient for his purposes. A delicate discrimination is no doubt needed for the separation of the false from the true in the writer's statements, the genuine from the fabricated; but the truly critical historian will, we believe, find it feasible to obtain from the Second Book of the Maccabees a not inconsiderable amount of valuable historical material.[1]

[1] See chap. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30; xi. 8; xii. 22; xv. 23–27.

§ IV. Sources of the Book.

According to the express statement of the writer (chap. ii. 19–23), his main narrative is drawn entirely from a single source, being simply an epitome of a work written by a certain "Jason of Cyrene," of whom we have no other notice. Jason's work, he says, was one in five "Books," which he proposed to concentrate into a single treatise. It comprised an account of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers, of the purification of the Temple, the dedication of the altar, the wars of the Jews with Antiochus Epiphanes and his son Eupator, and the manifestations of Divine power (ἐπιφανείας) which had enabled the Jews to overcome their enemies, and bring the struggle to a successful issue. It was a laborious history, teeming with facts, and bristling with numerical statements (chap. ii. 24), afford-

[1] Ewald says: "A closer acquaintance with the style and method of the Book, and the discernment of those portions in which the mere form of the historical elements predominates, enable us, in the deficiency of other and older sources, to derive from it much genuine historical material, especially for the earlier part of the history" ('History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 467, E. T.). Professor Westcott considers the work "not a connected and complete history, but a series of special incidents from the life of Judas, illustrating the providential interference of God in behalf of His people, *true in substance*, but embellished in form" ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 177).

ing interesting but somewhat dry reading to students, but not calculated to attract the regard or attention of those who read books, not to increase their stock of knowledge, but as an agreeable occupation. The object of our author was to popularise this work, which he proposed to do by condensing its facts and abridging its narratives, at the same time adorning them with elegant phrases and other graces of composition (chap. ii. 26–31).

Nothing is known of "Jason of Cyrene," or his work, beyond what may be gathered from these statements of our author. A native of Cyrene, though a Jew, would almost certainly write in Greek; and it may perhaps be assumed from the general character of the style and diction of the work, as we have it, that he wrote in good Greek. How he obtained his knowledge of the Maccabean struggle we have no means of determining, nor is it altogether clear to what public he addressed himself. Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that, though born at Cyrene, he yet, like Callimachus, and other Cyrenæans, resided at Alexandria, and composed his treatise for the benefit of the Jewish community in that city. It is plain from chap. ii. 22, that the marvellous portions of the history, as we have it, are due to him, and not to the Epitomator, and we may therefore presume that to him too is owing the didactic and admonitory character of the entire treatise (chaps. iii. 28, 29; iv. 16, 17, 38; v. 9, 10, 19, 20; vi. 12–17, 31; viii. 35, 36; ix. 5–10, 28; xii. 41–45; xiii. 7, 8, &c.). The date at which Jason lived and wrote is even more uncertain than most other points respecting him. It is conceivable that his book may have been composed within a few years of the latest event that he notices, which is the embassy of Eupolemus to Rome (ch. iv. 11) in B.C. 161; it is, on the other hand, *possible* that he may not have written till shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Conjecture has placed the composition about the year B.C. 100.[1]

The work of Jason is to be viewed as the sole historical source of the Book from chap. iii. 1 to chap. xv. 37. Two short passages—chap. ii. 19–32 and chap. xv. 38, 39—are the mere expression of the thoughts of the writer. The remaining passage (chap. i. together with chap. ii. 1–18) is a transcript of documents which had fallen into the writer's hands, and which he appears to have set forth *verbatim*. The source of these documents would seem to have been the prolific imagination of certain Alexandrian *littérateurs* of little ability and less judgment.

[1] Westcott, *l. s. c.*; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 370.

§ V. Treatment of his main Source by the Writer.

It has been observed in the preceding section, that the object of the author of the present work was to popularise the History of Jason of Cyrene, partly by abridging it, and partly by decking it out with supposed graces of composition. To what extent the abridgment proceeded, not having Jason's work, we cannot tell. Jason's work was "in five books" (chap. ii. 23), our author's is in one; but this does not prove that he has compressed Jason's narrative into one-fifth of the original space. There is only one place in the entire treatise (chap. xiii. 22–26) where the style of an abbreviator is very evident. There a narrative which may have occupied several pages is compressed into a dozen lines; but elsewhere there is no appearance of brevity having been especially studied. If it be allowable to make a conjecture, we should say that the "abridgment" (chap. ii. 26–31) was probably effected, rather by omission of considerable portions of the narrative, than by condensation of the parts selected for republication.

Less obscurity rests upon the Epitomator's method of adorning the work of his predecessor. His own proper style is sufficiently revealed by the two passages which are wholly from his pen—the "prologue" (as he calls it) in chap. ii. (verses 19–32), and the epilogue in chap. xv. (verses 38, 39). The style of these passages is of a very marked character. It is involved, highly rhetorical, full of long grand-sounding compound words, with an affected balance in the clauses, a labouring after antithesis, and

an unnecessary introduction of similes. It would seem to be almost certain that where these characteristics, or a considerable number of them, are found in the main narrative, there the Epitomator has re-written, instead of merely abbreviating, the history as given by Jason. Such passages as chap. iii. 14–30; iv. 13–17; v. 13–21; vi. 18–31; vii. 1–41; ix. 4–17; xiv. 41–46; xv. 7–16 betray the hand of the rhetorician, and are dressed out in a garb which only an accomplished *littérateur* could have furnished. The letters also which are assigned to Epiphanes, Lysias, and Eupator (chap. ix. 19–27; xi. 16–33) bear traces of having been worked up, and have probably received their present shape rather from the Epitomator than from Jason. On the other hand, we may conclude that we have Jason's writing nearly untouched in the places from which the Epitomator's peculiarities are absent, as is the case in ch. iii. 4, 5, 7–11, 35–40; ch. iv. 3–10, 18, 19, 21–24, 27–36, &c.

§ VI. Date of Composition, and Author.

It would follow from the dates contained in the first chapter (verses 7 and 10), if they have not suffered corruption, that the author composed his work subsequently to the accession of Demetrius II. (Nicator), and even (if the second date be allowed) subsequently to that of Alexander II. (Zabinas), who succeeded Demetrius in B.C. 126. If, however, with Ewald[1] and two MSS., we substitute τεσσαρακοστοῦ for ὀγδηκοστοῦ in chap. i. 10, then the latest date mentioned by the author will be B.C. 144–3, or the third year of Nicator in Syria, and the first of Simon in Judæa; and his work, so far, may have been composed as early as B.C. 142–140. Supposing Jason of Cyrene to have written his history about B.C. 160, which we have shewn to be possible,[2] the Epitomator may well have thought that the time was come for an adaptation of Jason's work to the taste of the general reader about twenty years later. If, however, for any reason, we lower the date of Jason, we must correspondingly lower that of the epitome. Those who assign the composition of Jason's history to about B.C. 100 suggest B.C. 50 for the present work;[1] but this is to allow an unnecessarily long interval between the two writers. B.C. 80 is quite as late a date as it is at all reasonable to assign to the Book, as we have it, even if Jason wrote about B.C. 100.

The author is probably an Alexandrian Jew. His Greek is too good for a native of Palestine at the period (B.C. 140–80). And his rhetoric is exactly what was in vogue at Alexandria under the later Ptolemies. He belongs to the most orthodox school of religious thought among the Jews; and though there is no reason for supposing that he was an actual Pharisee,[2] yet he would doubtless have sympathised with the Pharisees in their contentions with the Sadducean faction. He desires a more strict observance of the Palestinian festivals by his countrymen in Egypt (chap. i. 9, 18) than they were inclined to render; and perhaps designs to lessen their reverence for the Temple at Leontopolis, and induce them to carry their offerings to Jerusalem instead, and to deposit them in that most holy sanctuary "renowned all the world over" (chaps. ii. 22; iii. 12), which even kings themselves had delighted to "honour and magnify with their best gifts" (chap. iii. 2).

§ VII. Religious Tone of the Book.

In respect of its religious tone the Book stands in a most remarkable contrast with the First Book of Maccabees. Both writers are indeed pious and God-fearing men; both belong to the strictly orthodox party among their countrymen; both desire to keep to the old ways and avoid all Hellenistic innovations; and both, moreover, have the strongest pos-

[1] 'History of Israel,' vol. v. p. 259, note [1]. The date ΡΜΗ would readily pass into ΡΠΗ.

[2] See § IV. p. 171.

[1] Westcott, 'Dictionary of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 175; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 370.

[2] Pharisaic teaching has been discovered in the entire concluding section of the work (chaps. xii.–xv.), and especially in chap. xii. 43–45, which is said to have been "plainly levelled against the Sadducees" (Bertholdt, quoted in Grimm's 'Introduction,' p. xv.).

sible conviction that God governs the world, and directs the course of mundane affairs by His over-ruling providence. But, in all other respects, their ideas and habits of thought on religious subjects are diametrically opposite. The writer of the First Book is reticent to excess on matters of religion, and especially chary of mentioning the Divine Name, if he can anyhow avoid it. The writer of the Second Book is wholly devoid of any such scruple; he openly declares his religious views and feelings on all suitable occasions, and freely uses the words "God" and "Lord" whenever his subject-matter leads him to refer to the Supreme Being. Again, the writer of the First Book abstains from introducing into his narrative any account of recent miraculous occurrences—he is either not aware that miracles were believed to have been wrought during the course of the Syro-Macedonian struggle, or, if he knows the stories, he disbelieves them. In the Second Book, on the contrary, the miraculous element is a main feature; and though no doubt the writer was following his authority, Jason, when he gave it a place in his narrative (chap. ii. 21), yet his elaboration of the stories, and the length at which he dwells on them, are a sufficient indication that he accepted their truth, and regarded them as among the most important events of his history. Further, the writer of the First Book is careful not to assume the *rôle* of a religious teacher; he withholds all observations on the history which he relates, and leaves the events themselves to make their own impression. The writer of the Second Book acts in an exactly opposite manner. He is pointedly didactic and admonitory. Sometimes he formally addresses religious exhortations to his readers (*e.g.* vi. 12–17; xii. 43–45); more usually, he appends his observations on the events as if they were forced from him by the strength of his own feelings and were not intended as admonitions (chap. iv. 16, 17, 38 *ad fin.*; v. 9, 10, 17–20; vi. 31; ix. 8–10, 28; xi. 10; xiii. 7, 8, 17; xv. 27, 35). The result is that the religious aspect of the history is kept continually before the reader's mind, who is taught on every page that impiety and blasphemy receive signal punishment at God's hands; that prayer is heard; that God fights openly on the side of His saints and delivers them; that, if He suffers them to be afflicted, it is for the purpose of chastening and purifying them; and that, even if they suffer the worst that can happen to man in this life, they will be rewarded in the Resurrection.

There is a certain amount of difference also between the tone of the two Books in respect of the stress laid on what is external in religion. The writer of the First Book has the Temple in high regard, but the writer of the Second is never wearied of extolling it. He calls it "the great temple" (chap. ii. 19), "the holy temple" (chap. xv. 18), "the great and holy temple" (chap. xiv. 31), "the temple renowned all the world over" (chap. ii. 22), "the temple honoured over all the world" (chap. iii. 12), and "the most holy temple of all the world" (chap. v. 15). He places the pollution of the Temple in the forefront of his history (chap. i. 8); relates at length the various attempts made, successful and unsuccessful, to plunder its treasures (chap. iii. 6–35; iv. 32, 39; v. 15–21); triumphantly sets forth its recovery (chap. x. 1–8), and winds up with an elaborate account of its deliverance when it was threatened with destruction by Nicanor (chap. xiv. 31–36; xv. 17–36). With the Temple he constantly couples the altar (chaps. ii. 19; iv. 14; vi. 4, 5; x. 1–3; xiv. 33), where he represents the priests as serving (chaps. iv. 14; xv. 31) in their "holy vestments" (chap. iii. 15) with a continual "service of sacrifices" (chap. iii. 3). The incense, lights, and shewbread of the sanctuary obtain honourable mention from him (chaps. i. 8; x. 3); as do the sabbath (chaps. vi. 11; viii. 26; xii. 38) and the festivals of Pentecost (chap. xii. 32), Tabernacles (chap. x. 6), Purim (chap. xv. 36), and Dedication (chaps. i. 9, 18; ii. 16; x. 5–8). His anxiety that the Feast of the Dedication should be kept by his countrymen in Egypt seems to be the only reason that can be assigned for his prefixing the two letters (chaps. i. 1—ii. 18) to his narrative. He is further especially regardful of the "holy vessels," the conversion of which to profane uses

he regards as "sacrilege" (chap. iv. 39), and as bringing a terrible judgment on those who are guilty of it (chaps. iv. 42; v. 16; ix. 16).

CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF THE HISTORY CONTAINED IN THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF MACCABEES.

B.C.		1 Macc.	2 Macc.
336—323	Reign of Alexander the Great	ch. i. 1-7	
323—187	Reigns of Alexander's successors down to Seleucus IV.	ch. i. 8, 9	
187—176	Reign of Seleucus IV. Attempt of Heliodorus	..	ch. iii. 1 to iv. 6
176	Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes	ch. i. 10	ch. iv. 7
176—171	Reign of Antiochus until his first expedition into Egypt	ch. i. 10-17	ch. iv. 7-50
171—170	First expedition of Antiochus into Egypt	ch. i. 17-20	ch. v. 1-11
170	Plundering of the Temple by Antiochus	ch. i. 20-24	ch. v. 11-21
170—168	Oppressive rule of Philip	ch. i. 24-28	ch. v. 22, 23
168	Massacre of Apollonius and desecration of the Temple.	ch. i. 29-59	ch. v. 24 to vi. 9
168—167	Cruel persecution under Philip	ch. i. 60-64	ch. vi. 10 to vii. 42
167	Revolt and war under Mattathias	ch. ii. 1-70	
166—165	War continued under Judas Maccabeus	ch. iii. 1-26	ch. viii. 1-8
166—165	Expedition under Nicanor and Gorgias	ch. iii. 27 to iv. 27	ch. viii. 9-36
165—164	First expedition under Lysias	ch. iv. 26-35.	(ch. xi. 1-38?)
165—164	Recovery and purification of Temple by Judas	ch. iv. 36-59.	ch. x. 1-8
165—164	Fortification of Jerusalem and Bethsura	ch. iv. 60, 61	
164—163	War of Judas in Idumæa and Gilead	ch. v. 1-68	ch. x. 14-38; xii. 10-45
164—163	Death of Epiphanes and accession of Eupator	ch. vi. 1-16	ch. ix. 1-29
163—162	Second expedition under Lysias	ch. vi. 17-63.	ch. xiii. 1-26
162	Death of Eupator and accession of Demetrius I.	ch. vii. 1-3	ch. xiv. 1, 2
162	Establishment of Alcimus as High Priest	ch. vii. 4-25	ch. xiv. 3-14
162—161	Expedition of Nicanor	ch. vii. 26-50	ch. xiv. 15 to xv. 37
161	Embassy sent by Judas to the Romans	ch. viii. 1-32	ch. iv. 11
161—160	Expedition of Bacchides and death of Judas	ch. ix. 1-22	
160—159	War of Bacchides with Jonathan	ch. ix. 23-57	
158—157	Second expedition of Bacchides against Jonathan	ch. ix. 58-72	
157—152	Jonathan rules in peace at Michmash	ch. ix. 73	
152	Invasion of Syria by Alexander Balas	ch. x. 1	
152—151	Civil war between Alexander and Demetrius	ch. x. 2-49	
151	Death of Demetrius	ch. x. 50	
151—150	Meeting of Jonathan with Demetrius and Ptolemy	ch. x. 51-66	
148—147	Invasion of Syria by Demetrius II.	ch. x. 67	
148—147	War of Jonathan with Apollonius	ch. x. 68-89	
147—146	Civil war between Balas and Demetrius II.	ch. xi. 1-18	
146—145	Death of Balas and accession of Demetrius II.	ch. xi. 19	
146—145	Civil war between Demetrius II. and Tryphon	ch. xi. 39-56	
145	Victory of Jonathan near Hazor	ch. xi. 63-74	
145—144	Embassies sent by Jonathan to Rome and Sparta	ch. xii. 1-23	
144	War of Jonathan with Tryphon	ch. xii. 39-53	
144—143	Death of Jonathan and accession of Simon	ch. xiii. 1-23	
142	Judæan independence acknowledged	ch. xiii. 34-42	
141	Simon takes Gazara and the Acra	ch. xiii. 43-53	
141—140	Demetrius II. makes war on Arsaces.	ch. xiv. 1, 2	
139—138	Demetrius taken prisoner.	ch. xiv. 3	
139—138	Antiochus Sidetes invades Syria	ch. xv. 1-14	
138—137	Sidetes breaks faith with Simon	ch. xv. 25-36	
138—137	Expedition of Cendebæus against Simon	ch. xv. 38 to xvi. 10	
136—135	Murder of Simon by Ptolemy, son of Abubus	ch. xvi. 11-17	

THE SECOND BOOK

OF THE

MACCABEES.

CHAPTER I.

1 *A letter of the Jews from Jerusalem to them of Egypt, to thank God for the death of Antiochus.* 19 *Of the fire that was hid in the pit.* 24 *The prayer of Neemias.*

cir. 144. THE brethren, the Jews that be at Jerusalem and in the land of Judea, wish unto the brethren, the Jews that are throughout Egypt, health and peace:

2 God be gracious unto you, and remember his covenant that he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants;

3 And give you all an heart to serve him, and to do his will,

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CHAPTER I.

§ 1. FIRST LETTER OF THE PALESTINIAN JEWS TO THE BRETHREN IN EGYPT.

1–9. The main narrative, contained in chs. iii.–xv., is preceded by a sort of "preface" or "introduction," consisting of two parts. First come two letters supposed to have been written by the Jews of Palestine to their brethren in Egypt—one in the reign of Demetrius Nicator, about B.C. 144, and the other under Judas Maccabæus (*v.* 10), probably about B.C. 165. These letters occupy ch. i. and ch. ii. as far as *v.* 18. The writer then (in ch. ii. 19–32) explains the circumstances under which the remainder of the work was composed. There is great reason to doubt the genuineness of both the letters, which, however, the author probably found among the Jewish archives in Egypt, and which his simplicity prevented him from suspecting. The relation of the letters to the remainder of the work, and the author's object in inserting them, are somewhat obscure.

1. *The brethren.*] Moses had enjoined on the Israelites, even in Egypt, to regard each other as "brethren" (Acts vii. 26). The term is used in the Old Testament of Israelites generally (Ex. ii. 11; Ps. cxxxiii. 1: Tobit i. 10, 16; iv. 13; xiv. 4, 7, &c.); but not with the same frequency with which it is applied to Christians in the New Testament.

the Jews that are throughout Egypt.] After Alexandria, Leontopolis was probably the place where there were most Jews in Egypt (Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xiii. 3, § 1–3). There were colonies of them also in other cities (Is. xix. 18; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 1).

health and peace.] A combination of the Greek with the Hebrew idiom. In the letter of Jonathan (1 Macc. xii. 6) the Greek idiom only is used; in the second letter of the Palestinian Jews (*v.* 10) the Greek and Roman idioms are combined.

2. *God be gracious unto you.*] Compare Gen. xliii. 29; Num. vi. 25; Ps. lxvii. 1; Mal. i. 9.

and remember his covenant.] The covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was threefold:—1. To multiply their seed as the stars of heaven; 2. To give their seed Canaan as their inheritance; 3. To bring it to pass, that in their seed all the families of the earth should be blessed. (See Gen. xii. 3; xv. 13–21; xvii. 2–8; xviii. 18, &c.) When the Israelites angered God and He punished them, He was said to "forget His covenant;" when they humbled themselves, and returned to Him, He was said to "remember" it (Lev. xxvi. 42–45; Ps. cvi. 45; Ezek. xvi. 60; Luke i. 72).

his faithful servants.] It is the chief praise of a "servant" to be "found faithful" (1 Cor. iv. 2). The faithfulness of Abraham is declared in 1 Macc. ii. 52 and Heb. xi. 8–19; that of Isaac in Heb. xi. 20; that of Jacob in Heb. xi. 21. Though not without faults, they clung to God till their life's end.

3. *to do his will.*] Literally, "His wills" or "wishes" (*τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ*). Compare Ps. ciii. 7 in the Sept. Version.

with a good courage and a willing mind;

4 And open your hearts in his law and commandments, and send you peace,

5 And hear your prayers, and be at one with you, and never forsake you in time of trouble.

6 And now we be here praying for you.

7 What time as Demetrius reigned, cir. 144. in the hundred threescore and ninth year, we the Jews wrote unto you in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years, from the time that [a]Jason and his company revolted from the holy land and kingdom,

[a] ch. 4. 7.

8 And burned the porch, and shed innocent blood: then we prayed unto the Lord, and were heard; we offered also sacrifices and fine flour, and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.

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with a good courage.] Literally, "with a large heart"—*i.e.* "earnestly, heartily, with might and main."

a willing mind.] Rather, "a willing **soul.**"

4. *And open your hearts in his law.*] This is an unusual phrase. It is best explained as a prayer, that God would open their hearts *to attend to* His law and commandments. Cf. Acts xvi. 14.

5. *and be at one with you.*] Rather, "and be **reconciled to** you." The doctrine of "reconciliation" is one on which the author pointedly and frequently insists. (See ch. v. 20; vii. 33; viii. 39, &c.) According to his view, God, the offended party, requires to be "reconciled" to man, the offender; in the New Testament, it is rather man, the offender, who has to be "reconciled" to the God whom he has offended (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18–20; Col. i. 20, 21, &c.).

and never forsake you.] Compare Ps. xxxviii. 21; lxxi. 9. Sometimes God forsakes His own "for a small moment" (Is. liv. 7), but only to return and have mercy upon them, and "gather them with great mercies" (ibid.).

6. *we be here praying for you.*] *I.e.* "Be assured that we, here in Jerusalem, continue always to pray (ἐσμεν προσευχόμενοι) for you."

7. *What time as Demetrius reigned, in the hundred threescore and ninth year.*] Demetrius II. (Nicator) was king of Syria from the 167th Seleucid year (1 Macc. xi. 19) to the 175th, and again from the 186th to the 189th. He would seem to be the king intended. The 169th Seleucid year began in Oct. B.C. 144, and terminated in Oct. B.C. 143. It was the year in which Jonathan was taken prisoner by Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 48) and murdered (ib. xiii. 23).

we the Jews wrote unto you.] Rather, "**have written.**" The use of the perfect tense shews that we have here the professed date of the epistle (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 468, note 3); not, as Grimm supposes, a reference to an earlier communication. In that case the aorist must have been employed.

in the extremity of trouble that came upon us in those years.] Rather, "in **these** years."

from the time that Jason and his company revolted.] On Jason and his doings, see ch. iv. 7–26. Josephus says that his real name was Joshua (Ἰησοῦς), and that he himself changed his name into Jason ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 5, § 1).

from the holy land and kingdom.] Rather, "from the holy land, and **from the** kingdom." The "holy land" is undoubtedly Palestine—the "land of promise"—the ἱερὰ χώρα of Philo ('Leg. ad Cai.' § 42). "*The* kingdom," κατ' ἐξοχήν, is probably "the kingdom of God upon earth," or the Jewish Church, which had become an actual earthly kingdom, before our author wrote.

8. *And burned the porch.*] The principal porch of the Temple building (1 Kings vi. 3) seems to be intended; but we have not elsewhere any special mention of injury done to this particular part of the edifice. *All* the outer gates were burnt (1 Macc. iv. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 32), and the main building was made a desolation (1 Macc. i. 39; ii. 8; iii. 45, 51; iv. 38): but it may be doubted if any wanton injury was done to the Great Porch. The Temple, it must be remembered, was, in the designs of Epiphanes, to have become a heathen sanctuary (2 Macc. vi. 2).

and shed innocent blood.] See ch. iv. 34–36; v. 6; vi. 10, 18–31; vii. 1–42, &c.

we offered also sacrifices and fine flour.] The reference is probably to the recovery of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, and the restoration of sacrifices made by him in the year B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iv. 36–53)—the occasion ever after celebrated by the "Feast of the Dedication" (ἐγκαίνια).

and lighted the lamps, and set forth the loaves.] See 1 Macc. 50, 51. The "lamps" were those of the candelabrum which supplied

9 And now see that ye keep the feast
b Lev. 23. 34. of [b]tabernacles in the month Casleu.
10 In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judea, and the council, and Judas, sent greeting and health unto Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master, who was of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews that were in Egypt:
11 Insomuch as God hath delivered us from great perils, we thank him highly, as having been in battle against a king.
12 For he cast them out that fought within the holy city.

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the place of the original golden candlestick (Ex. xxv. 31–37); the "loaves," those of the table of shewbread (ib. 23–30).

9. *the feast of tabernacles.*] The writer tells us further on (ch. x. 6) that the Feast of Dedication was kept on the first occasion "after the manner of the Feast of Tabernacles," with "branches, and fair boughs, and palms also" (ib. *v.* 7). From this circumstance it seems to have been sometimes called "the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Chisleu," while the true Tabernacles' Feast was known as "the Feast of Tabernacles in the month Tisri" (Grimm).

the month Casleu.] This month corresponded, in part, to our December; in part, to January. It was the ninth month of the Jewish year (1 Macc. iv. 52). In the Hebrew it was called Chisleu (Neh. i. 1; Zech. vii. 1). The celebration of the Feast of Dedication by the Egyptian Jews, enjoined both here and in *v.* 18, would have been an acknowledgment on their part of a higher sanctity belonging to the Temple at Jerusalem than to that at Leontopolis.

§ 2. ANOTHER (EARLIER) LETTER OF THE PALESTINIAN JEWS TO THEIR BRETHREN IN EGYPT.

FIRST PORTION OF THE LETTER (*vv.* 10–17). The death of Antiochus is the first subject treated of in the second letter. This event, which happened in B.C. 164, is related with details, which are irreconcilable with the narrative of the same event in ch. ix. 1–28, and also with that in 1 Macc. vi. 1–16.

10. *In the hundred fourscore and eighth year.*] This would be B.C. 125–4, thirty-six years after the death of Judas Maccabeus, by whom the letter is said to have been sent, and nearly forty years after the death of Epiphanes, which is represented as the occasion of its having been written. As so large a chronological error is scarcely possible, we may perhaps accept the reading of two MSS., viz. 148 for 188. The professed date of the letter will then be B.C. 165–4.

the people . . . the council, and Judas.] The order is unusual, and tends to throw doubt on the genuineness of the letter. The natural order would be "Judas, and the council, and the people." Compare 1 Macc. xii. 6. The existence of a Jewish council, or "senate," at this time has been questioned (Grimm), but without reason. A senate is mentioned in 1 Macc. *l. s. c.*; 2 Macc. iv. 44, xi. 27.

Aristobulus, king Ptolemeus' master.] Rather, "**teacher.**" Aristobulus, the Peripatetic philosopher, is undoubtedly meant. He held a high position at the court of Ptolemy Philometor during the first half of the second century B.C., being at once tutor to the king and the chief of the Jewish community at Alexandria. His work, 'Explanations of the Mosaic Law,' was addressed to Ptolemy himself, and is quoted by Clement of Alexandria ('Strom.' i. p. 342) and Eusebius ('Præp. Ev.' vii. 13, viii. 8–10, ix. 6, xiii. 11; 'Eccles. Hist.' vii. 33), and referred to by Origen ('Contr. Celsum,' iv. 6, § 4). He endeavoured to reconcile the Hebrew Scriptures with the philosophy of Aristotle. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 259; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 277–280.)

11. *God hath delivered us from great perils.*] See 1 Macc. iii. 10–60; iv. 1–35; v. 1–61.

as having been in battle against a king.] Rather, "as **fighting frequently** against **the** king." The *present* participle gives the sense of repetition: the word βασιλεύς, without the article, designates the Seleucid monarch here, as it does the Persian monarch in the classical writers. The Jews had not been actually engaged in battle with Antiochus; but they had had at least five engagements with his generals. And the war was still continuing.

12. *he cast them out that fought within the holy city.*] Rather, "He **Himself**"—*i.e.* God—"cast them out," &c. Compare ch. x. 1. According to the author of this Book, Judas recovered both the Temple *and the city*, in which case of course the Syrian garrison must have been "cast out" of the latter. But the circumstantial narrative of the First Book shews that the "city of David," with its fortress, the Acra, did not really fall into the hands of the Jews until the principate of Simon (1 Macc. iv. 37–60; xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36, 37; Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 311–12, and p. 335).

13 For when the leader was come into Persia, and the army with him that seemed invincible, they were slain in the temple of Nanea by the deceit of Nanea's priests.

14 For Antiochus, as though he would marry her, came into the place, and his friends that were with him, to receive money in name of a dowry.

15 Which when the priests of Nanea had set forth, and he was entered with a small company into the compass of the temple, they shut the temple as soon as Antiochus was come in:

16 And opening a privy door of the roof, they threw stones like thunderbolts, and struck down the captain, hewed them in pieces, smote off their heads, and cast them to those that were without.

17 Blessed be our God in all things, who hath delivered up the ungodly.

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13. *the leader.*] This can only be Antiochus; but it is a curious term to be used of the Great King.

into Persia.] Elymaïs, the country in which the temple of Nanæa was situated, appears to have been reckoned at this period a part of Persia. (See 1 Macc. vi. 1.)

the army . . . that seemed invincible.] Half the forces of Syria, according to the author of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 37)—probably from 60,000 to 70,000 men. (See 1 Macc. iv. 28.)

they were slain.] Literally, "cut to pieces." This is an over-statement. Antiochus himself was certainly not killed in the Temple, or anywhere near it (1 Macc. vi. 4–16; Polyb. xxxi. 2), nor does it seem that he lost many of his troops. Lysias brought back with him the bulk of the force when he returned to Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 56).

in the temple of Nanea.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 2; Polyb. *l. s. c.*; App. 'Syriac.' § 66. The Syrian goddess, Nanea, or Nanæa, was identical with the Nana of the Babylonians, who was called Ishtar in Assyria and Ashtoreth (or Astarte) in Phœnicia. She is commonly identified with the Aphrodité of the Greeks and the Venus of the Romans, but is sometimes compared with Artemis and Diana. Variant forms of the name are Nanæa, Anæa, Anaïtis, Tanata, Tanath, Tanaïs. The Egyptians, on adopting her into their system, called her Anta. In Phœnician inscriptions Tanath is found, as well as Ashtoreth.

14. *Antiochus, as though he would marry her.*] The employment of this pretext by the needy monarch when he was plundering temples is confirmed by the recently discovered fragments of Granius Licinianus (p. 9; ed. of 1858); and receives illustration from Antony's conduct at Athens, as related by Seneca: "Quum Antonius vellet se Liberum patrem dici, et hoc nomen statuis suis subscribi juberet, habitu quoque et comitatu Liberum imitaretur, occurrerunt venienti ei Athenienses et Διόνυσον salutaverunt. . . . Dixerunt, despondere ipsos in *matrimonium* Minervam suam, et *rogaverunt ut duceret.* Ac Antonius *ait ducturum*, sed dotis nomine imperare se illis mille talenta" ('Suasor.' § 1).

15. *when . . . he was entered . . . into the compass of the temple.*] Rather, "When he was entered **within the circuit of the precinct.**" Ὁ περίβολος τοῦ τεμένους is the wall that surrounded the enclosure within which the Temple stood.

16. *opening a privy door of the roof.*] In the original it is "**the** privy door," as if every temple had one.

they threw stones . . . and struck down.] Compare the proceedings of the Corcyræan democrats when they mounted on the roof of the building within which they had confined the chief aristocrats, and, after breaking a hole in the roof, destroyed them by hurling down on them darts, javelins, and pieces of the tiling wherewith the roof was covered (Thucyd. iv. 48).

the captain.] Or "the leader"—the same word as in *v.* 13. Antiochus is no doubt meant.

hewed them in pieces.] As there is no antecedent to "them," it has been suggested that some such words as καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ —"and those with him"—have fallen out after "captain."

17. *who hath deliverea up the ungodly.*] Rather, "who delivered up those that had committed impiety,"—*i.e.* Antiochus and his soldiers. That the entire narrative is a fiction, so far as Antiochus Epiphanes is concerned, cannot be questioned; but it is quite possible, as Scholz has suggested, that it describes the fate of Antiochus the Great, who was killed while plundering a temple of Belus in this same region (Diod. Sic. p. 573; Justin. xxxii. 2; Strab. xvi. 1, § 18).

SECOND PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 18–36). From their account of the death of Antiochus, the writers of the letter are represented as proceeding to enjoin upon their Egyptian brethren the celebration of two

18 Therefore whereas we are now purposed [c] to keep the purification of the temple upon the five and twentieth day of *the month* [d] Casleu, we thought it necessary to certify you thereof, that ye also might keep *it*, *as the feast* of the tabernacles, and of the fire, *which was given us* when Neemias offered sacrifice, after that he had builded the temple and the altar.

19 For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept *it* sure, so that the place was unknown to all men.

20 Now after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire: but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water;

21 Then commanded he them to draw it up, and to bring it; and when the sacrifices were laid on,

[c] 1 Mac. 4. 59. ch. 2. 16.
[d] Lev. 23. 24, 27, 34. Numb. 29. 1.

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days—1. That of the Dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus after his purification of it; and 2. That of Nehemiah's recovery of the sacred fire. The legend of the recovery is then given at length.

18. *whereas we are now purposed to keep, &c.*] The *second* celebration of the festival at Jerusalem is probably intended, since the first preceded the death of Epiphanes, as appears from 1 Macc. iv. 52 compared with 1 Macc. vi. 16.

we thought it necessary.] Rather, "we thought it **fitting**."

that ye also might keep it as the feast of the tabernacles.] Rather, "that ye might keep the day of the Tabernacles' feast." The writers call the Feast of the Dedication itself σκηνοπηγία, as did those of the previous letter (*v.* 9). For the reason of the name see the comment on that place.

the fire which was given us.] Our translators have supplied the clause, "which was given us," from the Vulgate. Something must certainly have fallen out after "fire"—perhaps τοῦ εὑρεθέντος or τοῦ φανέντος.

after that he had builded the temple and the altar.] This is a curious perversion of history, and indicates a great ignorance of Holy Scripture on the part of the writer of the letter. The altar was set up, and the Temple built by Zerubbabel, nearly a century before the time of Nehemiah (Ezra iii. 3, vi. 15; Zech. iv. 9). Nehemiah's work was the restoration of the gates and walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1–32, vi. 1, vii. 1; Ecclus. xlix. 13). A further exaggeration of Nehemiah's greatness appears in ch. ii. 13.

19. *when our fathers were led into Persia.*] *I.e.* into Babylonia, which was afterwards swallowed up in Persia.

the priests . . . took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it.] There is no reason to suppose any truth at all in this narrative, which is entirely unsupported by anything contained in the canonical Books. Had the fire been preserved, it is almost certain that either Jeremiah, or Ezra, or the writer of Kings, or the writer of Chronicles, would have recorded it.

in an hollow place of a pit without water.] A tradition which can be traced back to the tenth century gives to the well at the conjunction of the Kedron with the Hinnom valley—the En-rogel of holy Scripture—the name of "the well of Nehemiah," with allusion to this story. Such traditions are however worthless, unless they have a very much greater antiquity than can be claimed for this.

where they kept it sure.] Rather, "where they **made** it sure,"—*i.e.* concealed it safely.

20. *Neemias, being sent from the king of Persia.*] The king who "sent" Nehemiah, or rather allowed him to go, to Jerusalem (Neh. ii. 4–6) was Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes and grandson of Darius Hystaspis, who was known to the Greeks as Macrocheir and to the Romans as Longimanus.

when they told us.] The pronoun of the first person seems very much out of place, the professed date of the letter being nearly three centuries after Nehemiah's time. Gaab explains it as equivalent to "our countrymen." Grimm supposes the authors of the letter to quote from a document purporting to have been written by eye-witnesses of the events narrated. But in that case the first person would probably have occurred oftener. I should suspect that the ησαν of διεσάφησαν was first repeated by a clumsy scribe, and then turned by a corrector into ἡμῖν. I should omit the ἡμῖν, as is done by two MSS. and the Syriac Version.

21. *to draw it up and to bring it.*] Rather, "to draw **of** it (ἀποβάψαντας) and bring it."

when the sacrifices were laid on.] *I.e.* "placed on the altar."

Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water.

22 When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled.

23 And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, *I say*, both the priests, and all *the rest*, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did.

24 And the prayer was after this manner; O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful, and the only and gracious King,

25 The only giver of all things, the only just, almighty, and everlasting, thou that deliverest Israel from all trouble, and didst choose the fathers, and sanctify them:

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22. *there was a great fire kindled.*] The acceptance of the entire story of the recovery of the holy fire by Joseph Ben-Gorion ('Hist. Jud.' i. 16, 17) does not add anything to its credibility. Ben-Gorion is aware that the altar was set up, and sacrifice renewed by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and assigns them a place in the transactions; but he spoils his story by introducing into it also the names of Ezra and Nehemiah, who lived nearly a century later. The Rabbinical writers generally ignore the story; and indeed contradict it by their almost unanimous declaration that "the holy fire" was one of the five things possessed by the first Temple which were wanting in the second. (See Buxtorf's treatise 'De igne sacro' in Ugolino's 'Thesaurus,' vol. x. p. 426.)

23. *Jonathan beginning.*] The "Jonathan" intended is probably the high-priest of that name mentioned in Neh. xii. 11, and called by Josephus "John" ('A. J.' xi. 7, § 1), who was the grandson of Eliashib and the father of Jaddua. The writer of the letter may have supposed that he was contemporary with Nehemiah, whereas his high-priesthood must really have fallen about half a century later. By "beginning" is meant pronouncing each clause of the prayer first, so that the people might hear it and repeat it after him.

24. *the prayer was after this manner.*] The accumulation of epithets in the address to God (*vv.* 24, 25) is the most remarkable feature of this prayer. The simplicity of early times was content to address God by one or two titles (Ex. v. 22, xv. 11, xxxii. 11; Num. xvi. 22; 2 Chron. vi. 14, 16, &c.). From the time of Daniel (Dan. ix. 4), three or four are common (Neh. i. 5; Judith ix. 12; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; Ecclus. li. 1). The prayer ascribed to Manasseh has eleven, and the address of Jonathan in the present passage fifteen. The particular epithets are, for the most part, such as occur separately elsewhere.

O Lord, Lord God.] This is not a mere repetition, such as we find in Ps. xxii. 1; Add. Esth. xiii. 9; 3 Macc. ii. 2; Matt. vii. 21, &c., but a strengthened form of address, like "O Lord, O Lord my God," in the Psalms (xxv. 1, 2; xxxv. 22, 24; lxxi. 1, 4, &c.).

Creator of all things.] Compare 3 Macc. ii. 2, and Prayer of Manasses, *v.* 2.

who art fearful and strong, and righteous, and merciful.] Literally, "the fearful, and strong, and righteous, and merciful one"—*i.e.* the only Being really possessed of those qualities. God is addressed as "fearful" (or "terrible") by Daniel (ch. ix. 4), and Nehemiah (ch. i. 5); as "righteous" by David (Ps. cxix. 137) and Ezra (ch. ix. 15); as "strong" by Job (ix. 19) and again by David (Ps. lxxxix. 8), and as "very merciful" by Manasseh (Prayer, *v.* 5). The order of the epithets is that of moral climax.

the only and gracious King.] Rather, "who alone art King and gracious."

25. *The only giver of all things.*] Or, "the only supplier of things needed." The word used (χορηγὸς) designates the person who supplied whatever was necessary to put an author's play upon the stage.

the only just, almighty, and everlasting.] Omnipotence and eternal existence (*i.e.* existence without either beginning or end) are by common consent attributes which belong to God alone. Justice or righteousness is, in a certain qualified sense, predicable of man (Job i. 1, 8; Ps. vii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 9; Matt. i. 19); but in the truest and highest sense of God only. (See Matt. xix. 17: "There is none good but one, that is, God.")

that deliverest Israel from all trouble.] Compare Ps. xxxiv. 17.

and didst choose the fathers.] Literally, "and didst make the fathers [Thy] chosen ones." The true Israelites are called God's "elect" in Is. lxv. 9, 15, 22, in a spiritual, and not merely in a temporal, sense; but here the election intended is probably the choice of Israel out of all the nations of the earth to

26 Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people Israel, and preserve thine own portion, and sanctify it.

27 Gather those together that are scattered from us, deliver them that serve among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God.

28 Punish them that oppress us, and with pride do us wrong.

[e] Deut. 30. 5. [d] ch. 2. 18.

29 Plant thy people again in thy holy place, [d] as Moses hath spoken.

30 And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.

31 Now when the sacrifice was consumed, Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.

32 When this was done, there was kindled a flame: but it was consumed by the light that shined from the altar.

33 So when this matter was known, it was told the king of Persia, that in the place, where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared water, and that [f] Neemias had purified the sacrifices therewith.

[f] Or, *Neemias his company*

34 Then the king, inclosing the place, made it holy, after he had tried the matter.

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be God's "peculiar people" (Deut. xiv. 2). The aorist marks a single act of choice.

26. *Receive the sacrifice for thy whole people.*] Compare Lev. ix. 15–18; Ezra vi. 17; Neh. x. 33, &c.

preserve thine own portion.] "The Lord's portion is His people" (Deut. xxxii. 9)—that "portion" of the world's inhabitants which He chose and set apart for Himself. (Compare Add. Esth. xiii. 16; Ecclus. xvii. 17, xxiv. 12; 3 Macc. vi. 3.)

27. *those . . . that are scattered from us.*] Literally, "our dispersion" (*τὴν διασποράν ἡμῶν*)—the abstract for the concrete. Compare the Sept. translation of Ps. cxlvi. 2, and see also John vii. 35; Jas. i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1. The word came gradually to be used in a technical sense of the Jews dispersed throughout the world. Jonathan's prayer, so far, is not inappropriate to the supposed time and circumstances, since, though many had returned with Zerubbabel, a still greater number had remained behind (Joseph. 'A. J.' xi. 1, § 3), and continued scattered among the nations.

deliver them that serve.] The prayer now becomes inappropriate. Cyrus had given a general permission to leave their homes to all Israelites in any part of his dominions and return to Palestine (Ezra i. 2–4). Artaxerxes, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, renewed the permission (ib. vii. 13). No Israelites could, under these circumstances, be detained in slavery against their will in any part of the Persian Empire, and there is no reason to suppose that any had been carried beyond it. The remainder of the prayer is also pitched in too low a key to suit the time of the Return from the Captivity.

29. *Plant thy people again.*] Compare Ex. xv. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 10; Ps. xliv. 2, lxxx. 8, &c.

as Moses hath spoken.] See Deut. xxx. 1–5, and compare Neh. i. 8, 9; Baruch ii. 28–34.

30. *And the priests sung psalms of thanksgiving.*] Rather, "And the priests **proceeded to sing the psalms.**" When the prayer was ended, the priests followed on with the chanting of the usual psalms. Compare Ezra iii. 11; 1 Macc. iv. 24; and see the comment on the latter passage. Of course the psalms would be "psalms *of thanksgiving;*" but our author does not say so.

31. *Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones.*] The existing Greek text will in no way bear this meaning, since it has *κατασχεῖν*, and not *καταχεῖν*. If we retain the reading of the MSS., we must translate—"Nehemiah commanded the water that was left to be confined by means of great stones;" literally, "that great stones should confine it." Our translation follows the Vulgate, which has—"Ex residua aqua jussit Neemias lapides majores *profundi.*" This involves the reading *καταχεῖν*, and requires further the insertion of *ἐπὶ* before *λίθους*.

33. *there appeared water.*] Rather, "there **had** appeared."

Neemias.] Rather, "Neemias and those who were with him." The idiom employed, which belongs to the best Greek, is a favourite one with the author. (See ch. x. 16, 25, 33; xi. 6; xii. 11, 14, 15, 36; xiii. 1, 23; xiv. 18; xv. 1, 6, 25, 26, &c.)

34. *the king, inclosing the place, made it holy.*] This is another indication that the whole story is a fable. A Persian king would have been very unlikely to have taken any notice of what would have seemed to him so small a matter as that related in the text.

35 And the king took many gifts, and bestowed thereof on those whom he would gratify.

36 And Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing: but many men call it Nephi.

CHAPTER II.

1 What Jeremy the prophet did. 5 How he hid the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar. 13 What Neemias and Judas wrote. 20 What Jason wrote in five books: 25 and how those were abridged by the author of this book.

IT is also found in the records, that Jeremy the prophet commanded them that were carried away to take of the fire, [a] as it hath been signified: [a] ch. 1. 19.

2 And how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them not to forget the commandments of the Lord, and that they should not err in their minds, [b] when they see images of silver and gold, with their ornaments. [b] Baruch 6. 4.

3 And with other such speeches exhorted he them, that the law should not depart from their hearts.

4 It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet being

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36. *Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing.*] The MSS. vary between "Nephthar," "Nephthai," and "Nephtha." No word at all near to any of these forms has the meaning of "a cleansing" in Hebrew. It has been conjectured that the original word used was *nithhâr*, which might perhaps have this meaning; but more probably the etymology of the forger of the letter was at fault, and he gave a fanciful explanation of a word whose true meaning was unknown to him. "Naphtha" was the name given by the Greeks to a form of mineral oil produced in many parts of Persia, which was highly inflammable; and it is this Greek term which the author of the letter intended to use. Perhaps he mis-spelt it; or perhaps it was corrupted by the copyists, first into "Nephtha," and then further into "Nephthar."

many men.] Rather, "most men."

CHAPTER II.

THIRD PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 1–8). As a sequel to the story of the Holy Fire, the pretended writers of the letter give, professedly from certain records (*ἀπογραφαί*) which they have consulted, an account of the doings of Jeremiah at the time of the Captivity: how he gave orders for the preservation of the fire (*v.* 1), warned the captives against idolatry (*v.* 2), and concealed in a cave on the top of Mount Pisgah the Tabernacle (!), the Ark of the Covenant, and the Altar of incense (*vv.* 3–5), where he declared that they would remain until the final restoration of Israel (*vv.* 6–8).

1. *It is also found in the records.*] It is impossible to say what "records" are referred to, or whether the writer of the letter had really any documents in his possession which contained the legends here set forth. Certainly the later Maccabean time was one in which "the unhistorical spirit grew rapidly and dangerously" (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 460); and, among the many apocryphal writings of the period, there may have been some which pretended to be "records" kept during the Captivity; but the unlikelihood of such records having been kept in such a time of trouble is patent, and their presumed contents do not lend them any credit.

Jeremy the prophet commanded.] Jeremiah at the time of the Captivity was in no position to "command" anyone. He was shut up in the court of the prison (Jer. xxxviii. 28), and was not released until after the Temple had been destroyed and the prisoners carried off (ib. xxxix. 8–14).

as it hath been signified.] In ch. i. 19.

2. *how that the prophet, having given them the law, charged them, &c.*] Some formal delivery of a copy of the law by Jeremiah to the captives, and some set address, seem to be intended. But the prophet himself tells us nothing of either. Nebuzaradan, he says, took him in chains with the other prisoners to Ramah, and there struck off his chains; after which he sent him to Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer. xl. 1–6), while the remainder of the captives proceeded on their way to Babylon.

when they see.] Rather, "when they **should** see."

images of silver and gold.] Literally, "of gold and silver." The Babylonian images were mainly of the former material. (See Dan. iii. 1, v. 4; Herod. i. 183; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5, &c.)

with their ornaments.] The Babylonian idols had in some instances gold crowns on their heads (Baruch vi. 9). They were also clothed in rich garments (ibid. 11, 33, 58).

4. *It was also contained in the same writing.*] The past tense—"it was"—is to be explained as a reference to the time when

warned of God, commanded the tabernacle and the ark to go with
[c] Deut. 32. 49. him, as he went forth into [c] the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God.

5 And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and so stopped the door.

6 And some of those that followed him came to mark the way, but they could not find it.

7 Which when Jeremy perceived, he blamed them, saying, As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy.

8 Then shall the Lord shew them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also, [d] as it was shewed under Moses, and [e] as when Solomon desired that the place might be honourably sanctified.

[d] Exod. 34. 5.
[e] 1 Kings 8. 10.

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the pretended writers of the letter consulted the supposed writing.

being warned of God.] Compare Matt. ii. 12. The actual word used for "warning" (χρηματισμός) occurs in the Greek Scriptures only here and in Rom. xi. 4. It is, however, common in classical Greek. (See Polyb. xxviii. 14, § 10; 16, § 4; Lucian, "Gall." 25; Diod. Sic. i. 70, 78, &c.)

the tabernacle.] The "tabernacle" made by Moses, or its representative at the time, was removed from Gibeon to Jerusalem by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 4; 2 Chr. v. 5) on the occasion of his dedicating the Temple; but what was then done with it is not mentioned in Scripture. The forger of the letter evidently imagines that it was placed inside the Temple, and remained there until the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar. But the silence of Scripture makes this very improbable.

to go with him.] Literally, "to follow him"—*i.e.* "to be carried after him." So Ælian says that the Choaspes water "followed" Xerxes ('Var. Hist.' xii. 40). By what right or power Jeremiah gave these orders, and got them executed, the author does not explain.

the mountain where Moses climbed up.] See Deut. xxxiv. 1. This mount was probably made the hiding-place with some reference to the hidden sepulchre of Moses, which was in the vicinity (ib. *v.* 6).

the heritage of God.] *I.e.* the land of Canaan, which God had given to Israel for its inheritance (Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 7, &c.).

5. *an hollow cave.*] Literally, "a cave-like dwelling." The place is so much a "dwelling" that it has a "door."

the altar of incense.] See Ex. xxx. 1–10. It seems strange that this had not been mentioned as carried forth from Jerusalem in *v.* 4. Probably the legend grew gradually. First, the tabernacle and the ark only were supposed to have been hidden; then, the golden altar, the most sacred thing in the Temple next to the ark, was added; finally, the list was increased by the addition of the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick, and the sacred utensils generally, as we find it in Syncellus ('Chronograph.' p. 409).

stopped the door.] *I.e.* "blocked it up," so that it was no longer visible.

6. *to mark the way.*] *I.e.* to set up some permanent marks by which it might be possible to find the cavern again and recover the treasures.

7. *perceived.*] Rather, "learnt."

he blamed them.] Not, as Scholz supposes, for carelessness in neglecting to put up the marks earlier, but for over-care in supposing them needed. God would bring the deposit to light without human aid, when the fitting time came.

until the time that God gather his people again together.] After the return from the Captivity, the Israelites still looked forward to a further gathering in of their brethren from distant countries, and to a great increase in the population of Judæa and Jerusalem. (See Zech. viii. 7, 8, x. 10; and compare the comment on ch. i. 27.)

8. *the glory of the Lord shall appear, and the cloud also.*] The expectation was of some such visible manifestation of the Divine Presence as is recorded in Ex. xl. 34, 35, and 2 Chr. v. 13, 14; 1 Kings viii. 10, 11, when a luminous cloud, dazzling to beholders, filled the Holy Place, and "the glory of the Lord" was, in a certain sense, revealed to the eyes of men. The expectation rested on passages in the prophets where "the glory of God" was promised to the second Temple in a spiritual sense (Is. lx. 1, 19; Hag. ii. 9; Zech. ii. 5).

FOURTH PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 9–12). The records said to have been consulted by the pretended writers of the letter are now declared to have contained

9 It was also declared, that he being wise [f] offered the sacrifice of dedication, and of the finishing of the temple.

10 And [g] as when Moses prayed unto the Lord, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the sacrifices: even [h] so prayed Solomon also, and the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offerings.

11 And [i] Moses said, Because the sin offering was not to be eaten, it was consumed.

12 So Solomon kept those eight days.

13 The same things were also reported in the writings and commentaries of Neemias; and how he founding a library gathered together the

[f] 1 Kings 8. 62, &c.
[g] Lev. 9. 23, 24.
[h] 2 Chron. 7. 1.
[i] Lev. 10. 16, &c.

allusion to the two previous occasions on which fire had come down from heaven and consumed the sacrifices laid upon the altar of burnt offering—namely, that in the time of Moses, mentioned in Lev. ix. 24, and that in the time of Solomon, mentioned in 2 Chron. vii. 1, whereby an indication is given of the purpose for which the holy fire was supposed to have been reserved by Jeremiah, as stated in *v.* 1.

9. *It was also declared.*] In the records, supposed to have been consulted by the writers of the letter. (See *vv.* 1 and 4.)

that he being wise.] "He" is undoubtedly Solomon, the Hebrew ideal of human wisdom (1 Kings iii. 12; iv. 29–34).

offered the sacrifice of dedication.] See 1 Kings viii. 62; 2 Chr. vii. 1. The fact of the miraculous descent of fire from heaven on this occasion has been denied, on account of the silence concerning it maintained by the author of the First Book of Kings; but the denial involves the rejection of the authority of the Books of Chronicles, which are as integral a part of the sacred Volume as any other.

10. *as when Moses prayed . . . fire came down from heaven.*] See Lev. ix. 24. Moses, however, is not said in Leviticus to have "prayed" for the descent of the fire. The fire fell as he was blessing the people.

11. *And Moses said, &c.*] No words resembling these are ascribed to Moses in the Old Testament; nor, if they had been, is the appositeness of their quotation in the present connection very apparent. Perhaps some allusion to Lev. x. 16–20 is intended.

12. *So Solomon kept those eight days.*] That Solomon "kept eight days" was concluded from the mention of "the eighth day" in 1 Kings viii. 66 and 2 Chr. vii. 8; but it is not quite clear that the Festival proper lasted more than seven days. No doubt, however, the ἐγκαίνια of Judas Maccabeus was made an eight days' festival with reference to the supposed duration of the Dedication feast of Solomon.

FIFTH PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 13–16). The object of the pretended writers in this section is directly practical. They make an offer, and they repeat their previous request. Judas Maccabeus, following the example of Nehemiah, has collected a number of the sacred writings of former times which had been lost during the recent troubles; if the Egyptian Jews wish, they can have a portion by sending persons to fetch them. In any case they will do well to keep the Dedication Festival.

13. *The same things were also reported.*] Literally, "They related also the same things." The past tense is used, as in *vv.* 4 and 9, with reference to the time when the writers of the letter were supposed to have consulted the document which they profess to quote.

in the writings.] *I.e.* the "records" of *v.* 1. The word is nearly, though not quite, the same.

and commentaries.] Rather, "and **also in** the commentaries." The intention is to quote two entirely distinct works. The "commentaries of Nehemiah" cannot be the Book which has come down to us under his name, or even the original Book whereof that was a part, which comprised our present Book of Ezra, since no such statements as those of ch. ii. 1–12 are made in either of those works. The allusion is probably to an apocryphal book, which did not long survive its composition.

he founding a library.] This is explained by what follows. Nehemiah, or Ezra and Nehemiah in conjunction, took pains to collect together the various sacred writings of the Jews, additional to the Law, such as the Books of the Kings, those of the Prophets, and the writings ascribed to David; to which they added a collection of the letters of the Persian kings respecting their offerings to the Temple. "This earliest tradition with respect to the agglomeration of the sacred Hebrew literature certainly indicates that it was in Nehemiah's time that the various documents of the past history of his race were united in one collection. . . It is evident from the terms of the description that 'Nehemiah's Library' was not co-extensive with any existing volume. It was not a formation of Divine oracles so much as a repository of

acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.

14 In like manner also Judas gathered together all those things that [h]were lost by reason of the war we had, and they remain with us.

15 Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them unto you.

16 Whereas we then [k]are about to celebrate the purification, we have written unto you, and ye shall do well, if ye keep the same days.

17 [l]We hope also, that the God, that delivered all his people, and gave them all an heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary,

18 [m]As he promised in the law,

[h] Or, *fell out during the war.*

[k] ch. i. 18.

[l] Gr. *Now God it is that saved all his people, and rendered the heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the sanctuary, as*

[m] ch. i. —

he promised in the law: for we hope in God that he will shortly, &c.

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whatever materials from whatever source might be useful for the future history of his people." (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 139, 140.)

the acts of the kings.] Under this designation would be included the Books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles, if already written; perhaps even the Books of Joshua and Judges.

and of David.] Rather, "and **the writings** of David," or "the writings ascribed to David," by which the Psalms generally, so far as they extended at the time, but not the entire 'Hagiographa,' would be meant.

the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts.] The "epistles" intended are probably those of the Persian kings Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, who are known to have made gifts to the Temple (Ezra i. 7–11; vi. 8, 9; vii. 15, 19–22). We have a specimen of the kind of document in the "copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest, the scribe" (ibid. vii. 11–26). The "letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest" (Neh. ii. 8), may have been included in the collection.

14. *In like manner also Judas.*] "As Nehemiah," says Dean Stanley, "had agglomerated round the Law the works which had gradually taken form by his time, so Judas Maccabæus and his companions eagerly gathered round Nehemiah's group of sacred literature the scattered remains which had escaped, like fragments of a wreck or survivors of a battle, or 'brands plucked from the fire,' out of the ruin of the Syrian war." ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. pp. 338, 339.)

that were lost.] This expression is somewhat too strong. If they had been "lost," Judas could not have collected them. The word used, διαπεπτωκότα, means "that had fallen through" or "fallen out of knowledge." It is no doubt sometimes used of absolutely "lost" books (Phot. 'Bibliothec.' p. 120, ed. Bekker), but cannot have that sense here.

by reason of the war.] Or, "in the course of the war."

15. *Wherefore if ye have need thereof, send, &c.*] This offer, even if a fact, and not a fiction, does not shew that the Palestinian Jews possessed a much larger number of sacred writings than the Egyptian ones (Grimm), but only that they regarded it as possible that they might possess some of which the Egyptian Jews had no copies.

16. *Whereas we then, &c.*] Compare ch. i. 18. To impress upon the Egyptian Jews the importance of keeping the Dedication Feast must be regarded as the principal object of this epistle, whether genuine or not.

SIXTH AND LAST PORTION OF THE SECOND LETTER (*vv.* 17, 18). The supposed writers conclude with the expression of a pious hope, that, as God has already done so much for them in the way of deliverance and restoration, He will shortly complete His work by bringing the whole nation together out of all lands under the sun into His "holy place," which is now cleansed from pollution.

17. *the God that delivered all his people.*] The deliverance is that effected by Judas Maccabeus, when, after defeating the generals of Epiphanes, he "recovered the Temple" (ch. x. 1) and "cleansed" it, and restored the daily sacrifice and the regular course of worship. We need not perhaps be surprised if, in the first burst of exultation, the deliverance was spoken of as more complete than the course of after events shewed it to be.

and gave them all an heritage.] *I.e.* restored the Holy Land to them as their inheritance, after it had been taken from them by the Syrians.

and the kingdom.] Though Judas never assumed the title or state of king, his position was that of an independent ruler, and he might be fairly considered to preside over a "kingdom." He was in fact a king in all but the name.

and the sanctuary.] Rather, "and the **cleansing**," *i.e.* the purifying and sanctifying anew of the Temple. (See ch. x. 3, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 43–51.)

18. *As he promised in the law.*] The

will shortly have mercy upon us, and gather us together out of every land under heaven into the holy place: for he hath delivered us out of great troubles, and hath purified the place.

19 Now as concerning Judas Maccabeus, and his brethren, and the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar,

20 And the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son,

21 And [m] the manifest signs that came from heaven unto those that behaved themselves manfully to their honour for Judaism: so that, being but a few, they overcame the whole country, and chased barbarous multitudes,

22 And recovered again the temple renowned all the world over, and

[m] ch. 3. 24 & 5. 2. & 10. 29. & 11. 8. & 15. 12.

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reference is probably to such passages as Deut. iv. 29–31, xxx. 3–10, where full restoration to God's favour is promised upon a national repentance.

into the holy place.] Compare ch. i. 29. The "holy place" is Judæa, which Judas is viewed as having cleansed and purified at the same time with the Temple.

§ 3. The Author's Account of the Source, and Plan, of the Remainder of the Work.

19–32. This "prologue" or "preface," as it is generally called by commentators, comprises: 1. An enumeration of the main contents (*vv.* 19–22); 2. A statement of the source from which they are taken (*v.* 23); and 3. A declaration of the objects had in view by the writer, and the plan pursued by him in the arrangement of his work (*vv.* 24–32). By the way, he notes that his task has been no easy one, but has involved much labour and trouble (*vv.* 26, 27).

19. *as concerning Judas Maccabeus.*] In the preceding letter, the Jewish leader has been "Judas" simply; now he is "Judas Maccabeus," or more literally "Judas the Maccabean." So also in ch. v. 27, and viii. 1. In the remainder of the Book he is "the Maccabean" or "Judas" indifferently. On the origin of the name, see the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 4.

and his brethren.] Unlike the author of the First Book, the writer assumes a general knowledge of the history on the part of his readers. He gives no formal list of the brothers, corresponding to that in 1 Macc. ii. 2–5, but introduces them casually, when they have to play a part in the history, as well-known personages (ch. x. 22, 23).

the purification of the great temple.] See ch. x. 5–7. The epithet "great" is omitted by most of the MSS., and is scarcely appropriate to the Temple, which was a small building. Elsewhere the writer calls the Temple "renowned" (*v.* 22), "holy" or "hallowed" (ch. xv. 18), and "most holy" (ch. v. 15), but not "great." Μεγίστου (ch. xiv. 13 and 31) means "most noble," not "greatest."

the dedication of the altar.] See ch. x. 3, and compare 1 Macc. iv. 47, 53.

20. *the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Eupator.*] The former are contained in chs. viii. and ix.; the latter in chs. x.–xiii. Chs. xiv. and xv. treat of the war between Judas and Demetrius Soter.

21. *the manifest signs that came from heaven.*] These "manifest signs" (ἐπιφάνειαι) are a marked characteristic of 2 Macc., and have been said to "form the staple of the Book." (Westcott in Smith's 'Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 178.) The most remarkable will be found in ch. iii. 24–29, 33, 34; v. 2–4; x. 29, 30; xi. 6–11; xii. 22.

for Judaism.] "Judaism" means here, and in ch. viii. 1, the Jewish religion. It is antithetical to Ἑλληνισμός ("the Greek religion") and ἀλλοφυλισμός ("the Gentile religion"). The word occurs in the same sense in Gal. i. 13; Ignat. 'Ep. ad Magnes.' § 10; Justin. Mart. 'Resp. ad Orthodox.' p. 2, and elsewhere. It belongs in this sense only to the later Hellenistic Greek.

they overcame the whole country.] Rather, "they **plundered** the whole country." The writer refers in part to those expeditions which Judas made from time to time against the Hellenising Jews, to punish them for their ungodly conduct (1 Macc. iii. 5, 8; vii. 24), in part to those which he conducted against the heathen who possessed much of the land (1 Macc. v. 21–51).

and chased barbarous multitudes.] See below, ch. viii. 6, 24; x. 32; xi. 11; xii. 22, &c. The author retorts on the Greeks the epithet of "barbarous," habitually applied by them to all nations but their own.

22. *the temple renowned all the world over.*] Compare ch. iii. 12. Philo calls it τὸν περισημότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον νεών ('Leg. ad Cai.' § 29). It does not appear to have really attracted very much attention on the

freed the city, and upheld the laws which were going down, the Lord being gracious unto them with all favour:

23 *All these things*, I say, being declared by Jason of Cyrene in five books, we will assay to abridge in one volume.

24 For considering the infinite number, and the difficulty which they find that desire to look into the narrations of the story, for the variety of the matter,

25 We have been careful, that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit.

26 Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching;

27 Even as it is no ease unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others: yet ‖for the pleasuring of many we will undertake gladly this great pains;

‖ Or, *to deserve well of many.*

28 Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgement.

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part of the heathen nations, at any rate until its rebuilding by Herod the Great. The dimensions were small (Ezra vi. 3), and the ornamentation not very rich (Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 113).

freed the city.] Compare ch. x. 1. Some portion of the city was no doubt situated on the Temple hill, and passed into the hands of Judas with the Temple itself. But the "city of David," as it was called (1 Macc. i. 33) on the western hill, being commanded by the Acra, remained in the possession of the Syrians until it was taken by Simon (ib. xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36).

the laws which were going down.] Rather, "which were **about to be abolished**" (1 Macc. i. 42–52; 2 Macc. vi. 1–9). If Epiphanes had been allowed to have his way, the observance of the Mosaic Law would have wholly ceased.

23. *these things . . . being declared by Jason of Cyrene.*] Jason of Cyrene is not otherwise known to us. He has been thought to be the same with the "Jason, son of Eleazar," mentioned in 1 Macc. viii. 17; but it is not at all probable that *that* Jason was a Cyrenæan. Cyrene under the Ptolemies belonged to Egypt, and the Cyrenæan Jews were a sort of offset from those of Alexandria, with whom they had constant intercourse. Professor Westcott regards the work of Jason as written at Alexandria ('Dict. of the Bible,' vol. ii. p. 175).

in five books.] The "five books" of Jason's work are thought to have corresponded to five marked divisions in the epitomator's narrative —the first at the end of ch. iii., the next at the close of ch. vii., the third between *vv.* 9 and 10 of ch. x., the fourth at the close of ch. xiii., and the fifth at the end of the first clause of *v.* 37 in ch. xv.

24. *considering the infinite number.*] Rather, "considering the **multiplicity of the numbers.**" The writer alludes to the numerous dates, estimates of the numbers of armies, of the slain, and of prisoners taken, which are to be found in ordinary histories. These he regards as dull and uninteresting, and considers it to be the epitomator's duty to eliminate.

that desire to look into the narrations of the story.] Rather, "that desire to **employ themselves in historical narratives.**"

for the variety of the matter.] Rather, "the **superabundance** of the matter."

25. *We have been careful.*] Or, "it has been our aim." Three things have been specially considered—1. The gratification of the ordinary reader; 2. The ease and convenience of those who might wish not merely to read, but to commit to memory; and 3. The general benefit of all into whose hands the book might come. The rarity and high price of manuscripts caused the practice of committing whole treatises to memory to be common in the ancient world.

26. *Therefore.*] Rather, "**And truly**" (καὶ μέν).

a matter of . . . watching.] Literally, "of sleeplessness"—*i.e.* of sitting up at night.

27. *him that prepareth a banquet.*] The ἀρχιτρίκλινος or "governor of a feast," who had the preparation and direction of it, but was not the giver. (See John ii. 10; Ecclus. xxxii. 1, 2.)

28. *Leaving to the author.*] Rather, "to the **historian.**" It is the part of a historian to give all the facts (ἕκαστα), and to set them forth with completeness and accuracy. An abbreviator must leave out many particulars, and be content, even with respect to such as he selects, to set them forth less fully and exactly.

29 For as the master builder of a new house must care for the whole building: but he that undertaketh to set it out, and paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning thereof: even so I think it is with us.

30 To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story:

31 But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgement.

32 Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself.

CHAPTER III.

1 *Of the honour done to the temple by the kings of the Gentiles.* 4 *Simon uttereth what treasures are in the temple.* 7 *Heliodorus is sent to take them away.* 24 *He is stricken of God, and healed at the prayer of Onias.*

NOW when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and cir. 187

29. *the whole building.*] Literally, "the whole ground-plan;" but the writer probably intended to use the word in a wide sense.

he that undertaketh to set it out.] Rather, "**to adorn it by means of encaustic.**" The writer seems here to claim, as within his province, the right of working up the materials which he takes from Jason, of beautifying and adorning them. Encaustic was used by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans in the ornamentation of their houses. The exposed surface of bricks or tiles was covered with a glaze, on which patterns or figures were painted, and the painting was then fixed by being subjected to the heat of a furnace. The colours were thus "burnt in."

so I think it is with us.] This combination of the first person singular with the first person plural is curious. It looks like an accident. Elsewhere, through the whole of the preface, the first person plural only is used. At the close of the work, however (ch. xv. 37, 38), the first person singular recurs.

30. *To stand upon every point.*] Rather, "**to go into matters,**" or "insist upon them."

and go over things at large.] Or "treat of all points."

and to be curious.] Or "elaborate."

31. *to use brevity.*] Literally, "to aim at brevity of expression." Our author sometimes, though but seldom, does this. (See ch. xiii. 18–26.) For the most part, he is wordy and elaborate, as in this quite unnecessarily long preface. He evidently wishes to be regarded as "a fine writer."

and avoid.] Literally, "beg off" or "excuse oneself from."

much labouring of the work.] Rather, "much **elaboration of the history.**" The author seems to regard it as the epitomator's task to take his facts from his author and add nothing to them, but to set them forth with all the rhetorical artifices of which he is master. (See *v.* 29.)

32. *will we begin.*] Literally, "let us begin."

only adding.] Rather, "**having** only **added.**"

thus much.] Verses 19–31.

that it is.] Rather, "**for** it is." This is not the "addition" spoken of, but the reason for not adding anything more.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM B.C. 180 TO B.C. 161.

PART I.

§ 1. THE ATTEMPT OF HELIODORUS TO PLUNDER THE TEMPLE TREASURY, AND ITS FRUSTRATION.

1–3. To increase the horror of his narrative by the force of contrast, the writer opens this section of his work with a brief but graphic picture of the deep peace which the proceedings of Heliodorus, and of those who incited him, disturbed. A good and pious king, Seleucus IV., held the Syrian crown, and shewed favour to the Jews, even going so far as to furnish from his own revenue the entire cost of the Temple sacrifices (*v.* 3). An excellent High Priest, Onias III., presided over the Temple services (*v.* 1). The people generally were zealous observers of the Law; and if any had the desire to cast aside its shackles, they were restrained by their fear of Onias, who was a stern repressor of all attempts to escape from legal obligations (ibid.).

1. *the holy city.*] *I.e.* Jerusalem. (See ch. i. 12; and compare Is. xlviii. 2, lxiv. 9; Dan. ix. 24; Neh. xi. 1, 18.)

with all peace.] Neither danger nor disturbance threatening, either from without or

B. C. cir. 187. the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness,

2 It came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnify the temple with their best gifts;

3 Insomuch that Seleucus king of Asia of his own revenues bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. B. C. cir. 187.

4 But one Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple, fell out with the high priest about disorder in the city.

5 And when he could not overcome Onias, he gat him to Apollonius *the son* of Thraseas, who then was governor of Celosyria and Phenice,

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from within. *Internal* peace is specially intended.

and the laws were kept very well.] Rather, "while the laws were **still** observed **most excellently.**" There is an allusion to the subsequent coming of a time when the Mosaic law was transgressed and forsaken, and strange laws set up and followed. (See 1 Macc. i. 15, 42–49.)

Onias the high priest.] The "Onias" intended was the third of the name. He was the son and successor of Simon II., and the grandson of Onias II. He held the office of High Priest from B.C. 198 to B.C. 175. On the excellency of his character, see ch. iv. 2 and xv. 12.

2. *the kings themselves.*] *I.e.* the Syrian monarchs, Antiochus the Great, and his son, the Seleucus of *v.* 3.

did . . . magnify the temple with their best gifts.] As the Ptolemies had done before them. (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 2, § 5; 'Contr. Ap.' ii. 5.)

3. *Seleucus king of Asia.*] Seleucus IV. (Philopator) was the son of Antiochus the Great, and succeeded him on the throne in B.C. 187. He was a weak prince, and reigned only eleven years, from B.C. 187 to B.C. 176. It is within this space that the events recorded in the present chapter must be placed. On the title "king of Asia," see the comment upon 1 Macc. viii. 6.

bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices.] This was the customary form which royal bounty took, when it was extended to a temple. Darius Hystaspis assigned revenues for the purpose of furnishing the Jewish sacrifices in B.C. 519 (Ezra vi. 9), and Artaxerxes Mnemon in B.C. 457 (ib. vii. 20–23). Demetrius I. offered to do the same in B.C. 152 (1 Macc. x. 39).

4–7. The circumstances which led to the attempt of Heliodorus are now related with extreme brevity: "One Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin," who held the office of governor of the Temple, quarrelled with Onias, the High Priest, on the subject of certain infractions of the Law which were going on in Jerusalem, which Simon desired to shield and Onias to punish. As Onias would not yield, Simon, in revenge, suggested to Apollonius, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, the advantage that it would be to the king to seize the Temple treasures. Apollonius communicated the suggestion to Seleucus, with the result that Heliodorus was selected to effect the seizure.

4. *governor of the temple.*] The exact nature of this office is uncertain. Ewald says that Simon, "under the honourable designation of overseer, was charged with providing the various supplies for the Temple, and hence had great influence on the prices of corn and other necessaries of life in Jerusalem." ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 292.) Others suppose him to have been the Temple treasurer (γαζοφύλαξ, Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xx. 8, § 11), or the "captain of the Temple" (Acts iv. 1, v. 24); but this last-named office did not exist till Roman times. Possibly, as Calmet thinks, he was the surveyor who had charge of the Temple buildings.

fell out with the high priest about disorder.] Rather, "about **transgressions of the Law**" (παρανομία). The Hellenising spirit was just beginning to shew itself, and the opposition between the Hellenists and the Chasidim or "pious" to break forth. Onias, naturally, was on the side of the latter; Simon undertook the patronage of the former.

5. *Apollonius the son of Thraseas.*] Rather, "the son of **Thrasæus.**" It has been proposed to identify this person either with the Apollonius of 1 Macc. iii. 10–12, Judas Maccabeus' first antagonist, who was commandant of Samaria about nine years later, according to Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 7, § 1), or with the Apollonius of Polybius (xxxi. 21, § 2), who is said to have had great influence with Seleucus IV., and who after the accession of Epiphanes betook himself to Miletus (Grimm). But there are no sufficient grounds for either identification.

governor of Celosyria and Phenice.] "Celosyria" is a wrong form, and should be corrected into "Cœlesyria," wherever it is found. Ἡ κοίλη Συρία was (strictly speaking)

B. C. cir. 187.

6 And told him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches, which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices, was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.

7 Now when Apollonius came to the king, and had shewed him of the money whereof he was told, the king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and sent him with a commandment to bring him the foresaid money.

8 So forthwith Heliodorus took his journey, under a colour of visiting the cities of Celosyria and Phenice, but indeed to fulfil the king's purpose.

B. C. cir. 187.

9 And when he was come to Jerusalem, and had been courteously received of the high priest of the city, he told him what intelligence was given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed.

10 Then the high priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children:

11 And that some of it belonged to Hircanus *son* of Tobias, a man of

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the deep valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, which formed the bulk of the Syrian territory. The term was used, however, more generally, of the whole of Southern Syria.

6. *the treasury in Jerusalem.*] The Temple treasury seems to have grown up out of the "chambers for the treasures" (Neh. xii. 44), in which were stored the tithes and offerings of the faithful (2 Chr. xxxi. 11, 12; Neh. xiii. 5, 12, 13), which were chiefly paid *in kind.* As time went on, the gifts of princes and of private individuals, in gold and silver vessels and in specie, were added to the other deposits; and ultimately private individuals, such as widows and orphans, or even wealthy men, who wanted to put their money in a sure place, were allowed to lay it up in the Temple treasury, as in a bank, from which they could draw it in their need. It was thus especially that the vast quantity of wealth in the treasury of the Temple at Jerusalem had been accumulated, and that it had reached an amount which naturally attracted the cupidity of public personages.

full of infinite sums of money.] Literally, "of **untold** sums."

which did not pertain, &c.] *I.e.* "besides what had reference to the Temple service, the support of the priests, and other similar objects."

was innumerable.] The reading of most MSS. is the opposite of this—"was numerable;" but it is absolutely necessary to make the correction (of ἐναρίθμητον into ἀναρίθμητον) which produces the sense given by our translators. The Alexandrian and nine other MSS. have the true reading.

it was possible to bring all into the king's hand.] Literally, "it was possible that all this should fall into the king's power."

7. *Heliodorus his treasurer.*] Rather, "his **chief minister**" (τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων). Heliodorus is mentioned as one of the courtiers of Seleucus by Appian ('Syriac.' § 45). He ultimately murdered his master, and seized the throne, which he occupied for a short space.

8–22. Heliodorus at first clokes his design, but, in a conference with the High Priest, reveals it and appoints a day for carrying it out. The grief and horror of all classes, and their appeals to God to prevent the sacrilege, are graphically described.

8. *under a colour, &c.*] If Heliodorus had avowed the object of his journey, the news might have preceded his arrival at Jerusalem, and the treasures might have been removed and concealed.

9. *what intelligence was given of the money.*] *I.e.* what information concerning it had been given by Simon to Apollonius (supra, *v.* 6).

10. *Then the high priest told him.*] Rather, "**shewed** him."

that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows, &c.] Literally, "that the money consisted of the deposits of widows and orphans." It had been laid up in the Temple treasury for better security by them or their guardians. In the absence of secular banks of deposit, temples were not unfrequently made a substitute for them in ancient times. Of course, no interest was allowed; but the depositors were entitled to withdraw their deposits at any moment.

11. *Hircanus son of Tobias.*] Rather, "**Hyrcanus.**" Josephus makes Hyrcanus the *grandson* of Tobias, and the son of a certain Joseph, who grew rich by farming the revenues of Palestine under the Egyptian

B. C. cir. 187. great dignity, and not as that wicked Simon had misinformed: the sum whereof in all was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold:

12 And that it was altogether impossible that such wrongs should be done unto them, that had committed it to the holiness of the place, and to the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world.

13 But Heliodorus, because of the king's commandment given him, said, That in any wise it must be brought into the king's treasury. B. C. cir. 187.

14 So at the day which he appointed he entered in to order this matter: wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city.

15 But the priests, prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests' vestments, called unto heaven upon him that [a] made a law concerning things given to be kept, that they should safely be preserved for [a] Exod. 22. 7, &c.

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government. Joseph's mother was a sister of Onias II., the High Priest. Hyrcanus was his father's favourite son, and became his representative at the Egyptian court, where he ingratiated himself with the monarch, and was made, like his father, a collector of the revenue. The jealousy of his brothers, who were at open feud with him, forced him after a time to withdraw himself into the country east of the Jordan, where he built himself a castle near Heshbon, and amassed considerable wealth, partly by collecting the taxes, partly by plundering the wild Arabs of the vicinity. Ultimately, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, fearing that he would be attacked and punished for his irregular proceedings, he committed suicide. (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 4, § 2–11.) His name is thought to remain in the modern *Arak*-el-Emir, the present appellation of the castle where he spent the latter portion of his life. (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 247.)

not as that wicked Simon had misinformed.] Simon had represented the whole as public money, whereas the greater part, or at any rate a great part, was private; belonging either to Hyrcanus, or to the widows and orphans.

the sum . . four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold.] Four hundred silver talents would be equal to about 96,000*l.* of our money. Two hundred gold talents, taking gold at fifteen times the value of silver, would be equal to 720,000*l.* Thus the total value would be about 816,000*l.* When Pompey entered the Temple, the treasury contained no more than 2000 silver talents, worth 480,000*l.* (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xiv. 4, § 4.)

12. *it was altogether impossible.*] *I.e.* it was so monstrous an iniquity as to seem to him morally impossible.

that had committed it.] Rather, "that had **trusted.**"

the temple honoured over all the world.] See the comment on ch. ii. 22.

14. *at the day . . . appointed he entered in.*] Rather, "he **was about to enter** in." The imperfect tense is used here, and again in verse 23, in the sense from which it derives its name, of an act contemplated but not accomplished. (Compare Herod. i. 68: Ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν.)

there was no small agony throughout the whole city.] Dean Stanley calls the description which follows "a *complete* representation of what must have been the general aspect of a panic in Jerusalem" ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 287). "The priests," he continues, "in their official costume are prostrate before the altar. The High Priest is in such 'an inward agony of mind that whoso had looked at his countenance and changing colour, it would have wounded his heart.' The Temple courts are crowded with supplicants; the matrons, with bare bosoms, running franctically through the streets; the maidens, unable to break their seclusion, yet peering over walls, and through windows, and at every door to catch the news; the pitiless officer bent on discharging his mission."

15. *before the altar.*] Probably, the altar of burnt offering in the court directly in front of the Temple, where they would be conspicuous to all.

in their priests' vestments.] See Ex. xxviii. 40. Vestments of fine white linen, with embroidered girdles, and white linen caps or turbans upon their heads.

called unto heaven.] Compare 1 Macc. iii. 50; ix. 46.

that they should be safely preserved.] Rather, "that **he would safely preserve them.**" The clause expresses the matter of the priests' prayer, not the object of the law which God had given.

B. C. cir. 187.

such as had committed them to be kept.

16 Then whoso had looked the high priest in the face, it would have wounded his heart: for his countenance and the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind.

17 For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him, what sorrow he had now in his heart.

18 Others ran flocking out of their houses ‖to the general supplication, because the place was like to come into contempt.

‖ Or, *to make general supplication.*

19 And the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, abounded in the streets, and the virgins that were kept in ran, some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows.

B. C. cir. 187.

20 And all, holding their hands toward heaven, made supplication.

21 Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the ‖fear of the high priest, being in such an agony.

‖ Gr. *expectation.*

22 They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them.

23 Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed.

24 Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the

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18. *Others ran flocking . . . to the general supplication.*] Rather, "to a general supplication." It is not implied that any order had been issued for the people to assemble; rather, there was a general instinctive rush of all classes from their houses to the Temple for the purpose of supplicating God. By the universality of the instinct, the supplication became a "general" one.

the place.] *I.e.* "the temple." Compare *v.* 2.

19. *the women* (*i.e.* the married women) *girt with sackcloth under their breasts.*] *I.e.* with breasts bare, and clad below the breast with a robe or gown of sackcloth. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 14; iii. 47.)

the virgins that were kept in.] Compare 3 Macc. i. 18. The old freedom had been laid aside, and the Jewish maidens, reduced to the general Asiatic level, were kept within doors, and, as much as possible, in the female apartments. (See Philo, 'De spec. Leg.,' § 31.)

to the gates.] *I.e.* the doors of their respective mansions.

the walls.] Scarcely the town walls. Rather, the walls of gardens; or, perhaps, the parapets round the roofs of houses.

the windows.] See Judg. v. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 16; 2 Kings ix. 30. Windows, guarded by a lattice, often gave upon the street, and furnished convenient posts of observation for those who wished to see without being seen.

21. *the falling down of the multitude.*] *I.e.* their prostration in prayer.

the fear of the high priest.] Rather, "the **suspense**," or "strained expectation."

22. *They . . . called upon the Almighty Lord.*] Most of the MSS. and versions have "the Almighty *God*." With the prayer itself, compare *v.* 15.

23–34. The sounds and sights which surrounded him did not deter Heliodorus from his purpose. Epiphanes had laid his commands upon him to bring the money into his treasury (*vv.* 7, 13); and it would have been incurring a great risk to disobey his orders. Heliodorus therefore proceeded to accomplish his task. But, according to our author, at this point opposition manifested itself. A warrior in golden armour, mounted upon a fierce horse, suddenly appeared within the Temple precinct bearing down upon the Syrian minister; the horse struck at him with his fore feet, while two footmen, standing one on either side of him, scourged the rash intruder with many stripes. Heliodorus fell to the ground dazed and powerless, and was borne off in a litter, after the High Priest had offered sacrifice for him, and entreated God to spare his life. The writer regards the whole scene as miraculous; but he admits that there were some who traced in it the contriving hand of Onias, and believed the ghostly warriors to have been ordinary men, who, at the instigation of the High Priest, had terrified and chastised the king's emissary (ch. iv. 1).

23. *Heliodorus executed.*] Rather, "**proceeded to carry out.**" (See the comment on *v.* 14.)

24. *with his guard.*] That he had come with a considerable armed force, in case he should meet with resistance, is apparent also from *vv.* 28 and 35.

B. C. cir. 187.

treasury, the [1]Lord of spirits, and the Prince of all power, caused a great apparition, so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid.

[1] Or, *Lord of our fathers.*

25 For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.

26 Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes.

27 And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter.

B. C. cir. 187.

28 Thus him, that lately came with a great train and with all his guard into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable to help himself with his weapons: and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God:

29 For he by the hand of God was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life.

30 But they praised the Lord, that had miraculously honoured his own place: for the temple, which a little afore was full of fear and trouble, when the Almighty Lord appeared, was filled with joy and gladness.

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about the treasury.] Rather, "at the treasury"—probably at the door, about to enter.

the Lord of spirits.] So the Alexandrian Septuagint, the Syriac, and several MSS.; but the Vatican Codex and the MSS. generally have "the Lord of our fathers." The ordinary expression is "the Lord *God* of our fathers" (Ex. ii. 13, 15, 16; iv. 5;—Deut. i. 11; iv. 1; xii. 1, &c.).

caused a great apparition.] On the fondness of the author for "apparitions" see the comment on ch. ii. 21.

that presumed.] Rather, "that **had** presumed."

25. *he . . . smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet.*] Herodotus tells of a horse which was trained, on approaching an enemy, to rear up and attack him with his fore feet and teeth (v. 111). The owner of the animal was a Persian.

he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold.] So the angelic horseman in ch. xi. 8. Those in ch. x. 29 have "golden bridles." Masistius, the commander of the Persian cavalry at the battle of Platæa, wore a cuirass which was made of golden scales (Herod. ix. 22).

26. *two other young men appeared before him.*] *I.e.* "were seen in front of the rider."

27. *Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground.*] It is not said that he was cast on the ground by the horseman, much less that he was "trampled under foot" (Stanley); but rather that he fell fainting under the blows of the scourgers, and lost consciousness.

put him into a litter.] Litters were used by the Egyptians from a very early date, and are represented in the painted ornamentation of the tombs (Rosellini, 'Mon. Civili,' pl. xciii. 2). They were slung on poles, and carried on the shoulders of slaves. From the Egyptians they passed to their Persian conquerors, who used them even in their warlike expeditions (Herod. vii. 41).

28. *with a great train.*] Rather, "with many **horsemen**."

unable to help himself with his weapons.] There is no mention of "weapons." The statement is that he was "quite unable to help himself,"—"altogether helpless," as we should now say.

manifestly they acknowledged the power of God.] His bearers, some of his own heathen attendants, were so impressed by what they had seen that they openly acknowledged what had been done to have been effected by the power of God.

29. *by the hand of God.*] Rather, "by the **might** of God."

30. *when the Almighty Lord appeared.*] It is not meant to identify the angelic apparition of *v.* 25 with God himself, as some have supposed. Any surprising occurrence was regarded by the later Jews as a Divine manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) or revelation of the presence of God—even a timely and unexpected shower of rain. (See Joseph. 'A. J.' xviii. 8, § 6: Ὁ θεὸς παρουσίαν ἐδείκνυε

B. C. cir. 187.

31 Then straightways certain of Heliodorus' friends prayed Onias, that he would call upon the most High to grant him his life, who lay ready to give up the ghost.

32 So the high priest, suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus by the Jews, offered a sacrifice for the health of the man.

33 Now as the high priest was making an atonement, the same young men in the same clothing appeared and stood beside Heliodorus, saying, Give Onias the high priest great thanks, insomuch as for his sake the Lord hath granted thee life:

34 And seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mighty power of God. And when they had spoken these words, they appeared no more.

35 So Heliodorus, after he had

B. C. cir. 187.

τὴν αὐτοῦ Πετρωνίῳ . . . ὁ Πετρώνιος δὲ κατεπέπληκτο, ὁρῶν ἐναργῶς τὸν θεὸν . . . πολλὴν ἀποσημήναντα τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.)

31. *the most High.*] The heathen could recognise Jehovah as "the most High," either identifying Him with their own *chief* Deity—Bel, or Merodach, or Ormazd, or Zeus, as the case might be—or regarding Him as the "god of the land," and so as "most High" within His own jurisdiction. Nebuchadnezzar had given the title to the god of the Jews more than once (Dan. iii. 26; iv. 2, 34); Darius the Mede had called Him "the living God" (ib. vi. 20, 26); Cyrus, "*the* God" (*ha-elohim*); Darius Hystaspis, "the God of heaven" (Ezra vi. 9, 10); Artaxerxes, the same (ib. vii. 21, 23). Acknowledgments of this kind involved no change of religion, and were readily enough made, when there was anything to gain by making them.

to grant him his life.] Rather, "**and thus give** life to him who," &c. Onias is viewed as giving the life which he prays God to spare.

who lay ready to give up the ghost.] Literally, "who lay *at the last gasp.*"

32. *suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus.*] This is probably the true explanation of the whole occurrence recorded. As it was certainly not in the designs of Providence to preserve the Temple treasures from the cupidity of the Syrian kings (1 Macc. i. 21–23), we cannot, with the author of the Book, suppose a real miracle to have been wrought. Neither can we imagine the story to have taken the full and substantial shape which it wears in this chapter without some solid foundation. Heliodorus must have made the attempt recorded; and Heliodorus must have been baffled. The question is, what baffled him? Probably, arrangements made, with the connivance of the High Priest, to impose upon his credulity by appearances which he might think supernatural, and before which he might therefore yield. Compare the arrangements by which the Delphian priests succeeded in preserving the treasures of their temple from Xerxes in B.C. 480 (Herod. viii. 37–39), and again from the Gauls in B.C. 279 (Pausan. x. 23). Onias might well fear lest the true nature of the obstacles to which Heliodorus yielded should become known.

33. *as the high priest was making an atonement.*] Rather, "**the propitiation**" (*τὸν ἱλασμόν*)—*i.e.* as he was offering the sacrifice which was to expiate Heliodorus's crime.

appeared.] Rather, "appeared **a second time**" (*πάλιν*).

34. *seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven.*] The Vatican and several other MSS. have *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*, "by him," instead of *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*, "from heaven;" while the Syrian and Vulgate versions have "by God." *Ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* is probably the true reading, God being intended, not however as the actual scourger, but as the originator of the punishment, which angel hands carried out. (See the comment on *v.* 30.)

they appeared no more.] Rather, "they disappeared from sight." These later details are most probably embellishments—perhaps "encaustics" of the epitomator (ch. ii. 29).

35–40. Sequel of the story. Heliodorus, having offered sacrifice and given thanks to God, returns to Antioch, and declares to all what has happened to him. On being asked by Seleucus what sort of person he would recommend to be sent to Jerusalem on an errand similar to his own, he advises the king to select an enemy or a traitor (*v.* 38), since whoever goes will be sure to suffer pretty severely, even if he escape with his life.

35. *Heliodorus, after he had offered sacrifice.*] It was open to any one, whether Jew or heathen, to offer sacrifice in the Jewish temple. The offerer brought the sacrifice and laid his hand on its head, thus identifying

B. C. cir. 187. offered sacrifice unto the Lord, and made great vows unto him that had saved his life, and saluted Onias, returned with his host to the king.

36 Then testified he to all men the works of the great God, which he had seen with his eyes.

37 And when the king asked Heliodorus, who might be a fit man to be sent yet once again to Jerusalem, he said,

38 If thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubt, there is an especial power of God.

39 For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it; and he beateth and destroyeth them that come to hurt it. B. C. cir. 187.

40 And the things concerning Heliodorus, and the keeping of the treasury, fell out on this sort.

CHAPTER IV.

1 *Simon slandereth Onias.* 7 *Jason, by corrupting the king, obtaineth the office of the high priest.* 24 *Menelaus getteth the same from Jason by the like corruption.* 34 *Andronicus traitorously murdereth Onias.* 36 *The king being informed thereof, causeth Andronicus to be put to death.* 39 *The wickedness of Lysimachus, by the instigation of Menelaus.*

THIS Simon now, [a]of whom we spake afore, having been a bewrayer of the money, and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils. cir. 187. [a] ch. 3. 4.

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himself with his offering. Originally he slew it (Lev. i. 5, 11; iii. 2, 8, 24, &c.); but ultimately the Levites undertook that office (2 Chr. xxx. 17; xxxv. 6). The blood was then taken by the priests and poured upon the altar. Either the whole victim, or certain parts of it, were also burnt by the priests upon the altar. Thus both the layman and the priest might be said, in different senses, to "offer" the sacrifice.

made great vows.] The words εὔχεσθαι and εὐχαί are used indifferently of prayer, praise, vows proper, and thanksgiving. Here the offering of praise and thanksgiving would seem to be intended.

saluted Onias.] Rather, "**held friendly converse with** Onias." Compare ch. xiii. 24.

with his host.] See the comment on *v.* 24.

36. *the works . . . which he had seen with his eyes.*] Heliodorus did not consider that he had had a vision. The beings whom he regarded as supernatural had yet been seen by his natural eyes.

37. *who might be a fit man.*] Rather, "**what sort of a man** would be a fitting one to send." Seleucus did not ask him to designate the individual.

38. *traitor.*] Literally, "plotter against thy government." This was what Heliodorus himself became soon afterwards (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46).

if he escape.] Rather, "**even** if he escape" (ἐάν περ καί).

40. *the keeping of the treasury.*] *I.e.* the watch and ward kept over the Temple treasury by angelic beings, which the story illustrates.

CHAPTER IV.

PART II.

§ 1. Further Troubles caused by Simon in Jerusalem.

1-6. On the return of Heliodorus to Antioch empty-handed, Simon was not slow to suggest that Onias had been at the bottom of the pretended miracles by which Heliodorus had allowed himself to be terrified. Onias was, he said, a "plotter against the government," and ought to be punished as such. At the same time his faction committed murders in Jerusalem, and he was known to be upheld in his opposition to Onias by the Apollonius to whom he had applied in the first instance (ch. iii. 5), the governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia. Under these circumstances the High Priest felt it incumbent on him to proceed to the Court, to defend his own conduct and induce Seleucus to put a stop to Simon's insolence.

1. *a bewrayer of the money and of his country.*] See ch. iii. 4–7. In betraying the secret of the richness of the Temple treasury, he had been a betrayer of the interests of his country.

slandered Onias.] Literally, "**spake evil** of Onias."

as if he had terrified Heliodorus.] Rather, "**that it was he who** had terrified Heliodorus." (See the comment on ch. iii. 32.)

B. C. cir. 187. 2 Thus was he bold to call him a traitor, that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation, and was so zealous of the laws.

3 But when their hatred went so far, that by one of Simon's faction murders were committed,

4 Onias seeing the danger of this contention, and that Apollonius, as being the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, did rage, and increase Simon's malice,

5 He went to the king, not to be an accuser of his countrymen, but seeking the good of all, both publick and private:

B. C. cir. 187

6 For he saw that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet, and Simon leave his folly, unless the king did look thereunto.

7 But after the death of Seleucus, B. C. 176. when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the bro-

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The accusation, no doubt, was that Onias had contrived the whole business.

2. *Thus was he bold to call him a traitor.*] Literally, "a plotter against the government." The words are the same as those used by Heliodorus in ch. iii. 38.

zealous of the laws.] Compare ch. iii. 4, 5. Onias was the head of the orthodox, Simon of the Hellenizing party. The antagonism which broke out openly soon afterwards (*vv.* 7–17) was already shewing itself. (See the comment on ch. iii. 4.)

3. *their hatred.*] *I.e.* the feud between Onias and Simon.

4. *Apollonius.*] Compare ch. iii. 5.

did rage.] Apollonius was as angry as Simon that the attempt to seize the Temple treasures had failed. He had probably looked to rise high in the favour of the king by being instrumental in obtaining him such a windfall. The failure of Heliodorus had disappointed this hope.

5. *not to be an accuser of his countrymen.*] Compare Acts xxviii. 19: "Not that I had aught to accuse my nation of." No act could be worse in the eyes of Jews than that one of their own number should lay a complaint against his nation before a heathen tribunal. The author, who is very jealous of the honour of Onias (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), wishes to clear him of any such charge. It was not his nation, but a few individuals of his nation, that he accused, and this he did only because it was required for the general good of the whole community.

both publick and private.] Or, "both collectively and individually."

6. *unless the king did look thereunto.*] It does not appear that Seleucus took any active steps in consequence of the visit of Onias. Perhaps he might have done so had it not been for his untimely death. Or perhaps he may have sympathised rather with Simon the Hellenist, than with the strict Jew who wanted Simon to be suppressed.

§ 2. ON THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS AND ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, JASON IS MADE HIGH PRIEST. RAPID ADVANCE OF THE HELLENIZING MOVEMENT.

7–22. The sudden death of Seleucus and accession of his younger brother, Antiochus IV., known as Epiphanes, introduced a new element of discord into Jewish affairs. Jason, or rather Joshua, the brother of Onias, regarded the accession of a new king as favourable to his own ambition, and, having purchased the high-priestly office of Epiphanes, threw himself heart and soul into the Hellenistic movement. He began by erecting a gymnasium after the Grecian fashion in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem (*v.* 12); after which he discontinued the Temple service (*v.* 14), aped in all respects Grecian manners, and sent envoys to Tyre, who were to take part in a sacrifice to Melkarth, the Tyrian Hercules (*v.* 19). He also obtained for the inhabitants of Jerusalem the citizenship of Antioch, and taught them to call themselves Antiochians (*vv.* 9, 19).

7. *after the death of Seleucus.*] Nothing is known of the death of Seleucus beyond the bare fact that he was plotted against and slain by Heliodorus, one of his courtiers (App. 'Syriac.' § 46), who is probably identical with the "treasurer" or "minister" of ch. iii. 7–40. Heliodorus seized the throne, but was in a little time driven from it by Eumenes of Pergamus, who had espoused the cause of Antiochus, Seleucus' brother.

when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom.] On the name "Epiphanes," see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 10. Epiphanes received the kingdom from Eumenes in B.C. 176. He reigned till B.C. 164.

Jason the brother of Onias.] The original name of Jason was Joshua (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 1). In connection with his general Hellenizing policy, he changed his name into Jason, the Greek appellation which most nearly approached to it.

B. C. cir. 175. ther of Onias laboured underhand to be high priest,

8 Promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents:

9 Beside this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he [b] might have licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem *by the name of* Antiochians.

[b] 1 Mac. 1. 14.

10 Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule, he forthwith brought his own nation to the Greekish fashion. B. C. cir. 175.

11 And the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews by the means of [c] John the father of Eupolemus, who went ambassador to Rome for amity and aid, he took away; and putting down the governments which were according to the law, he brought up new customs against the law:

[c] See 1 Mac. 8. 17.

12 For he built gladly a place of exercise under the tower itself, and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat.

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laboured underhand to be high priest.] Josephus knows nothing of Jason having supplanted his brother in the high priesthood, or bought the dignity of Epiphanes. On the contrary, he regards him as having succeeded regularly to the office at his brother's death, the only son left behind him by Onias being still a child, and therefore ineligible ('A. J.' *l. s. c.*).

8. *by intercession.*] Rather, "**at an interview.**" The present equivalent of 440 talents would be above 75,000*l.* sterling. It appears by the later narrative (*v.* 23) that the money was not paid till three years afterwards.

9. *he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more.*] Rather, "he **promised to give a written undertaking** for a hundred and fifty more."

to set him up a place for exercise.] See 1 Macc. i. 14, and the comment *ad loc.*

for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen.] Nothing is said in the original about "the fashions of the heathen," nor was the place intended to be one of general education. A "gymnasium" and "ephebia" was an exercise-ground for the bodily training and recreation of young men, whose mental and moral training was otherwise provided for. Still the institution was so thoroughly Greek, and so much at variance with staid Hebrew habits, that it could not but exert a very great influence over the general tone of morals and manners. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 294; Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291.)

and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians.] Rather, "and to **register as Antiochians** all those who dwelt in Jerusalem." There was, it would seem, a "citizenship of Antioch," as there was a citizenship of Rome, which could be freely imparted to non-residents. There are coins which mention such a class of persons at Ptolemaïs (Mionnet, 'Description des Médailles,' tom. v. pp. 37, 88, 216; tom. viii. p. 30, &c.). Jason obtained this citizenship for the people of Jerusalem. What rights it conferred is uncertain.

10. *when . . . he had gotten into his hand the rule.*] *I.e.* the high-priestly office, with the civil power which at this time belonged to it.

he forthwith brought.] Rather, "proceeded to bring" (the *imperfect* tense).

11. *the royal privileges granted of special favour to the Jews.*] Those given by Antiochus the Great (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 3, § 3) are, it is probable, especially meant. The most important of these was the right of being governed by their own laws (πολιτευέσθωσαν πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρῴους νόμους).

by the means of John the father of Eupolemus.] Compare 1 Macc. viii. 17. We have no further knowledge of this "John," or of the part which he played in obtaining the privileges from Antiochus. He was evidently a less famous man than his son.

who went ambassador to Rome.] In B.C. 162–1. For an account of the embassy, see 1 Macc. viii. 17–32.

putting down the governments.] Rather, "the **modes of government.**"

12. *under the tower itself.*] Rather, "under the **citadel.**" The particular "tower" (ἄκρα), of which we hear so much in the First Book, was not yet built (see 1 Macc. i. 33). What is here intended would seem to be the southern or south-western hill, the loftiest part of the entire site. The writer regards it as aggravation of Jason's offence, that he built the gymnasium so near the city.

made them wear a hat.] To moderns this

B. C. cir. 175.

13 Now such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest;

14 That the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of ‖Discus called them forth;

15 Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all.

16 By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things.

B. C. cir. 175.

17 For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things.

18 Now when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus, the king being present,

19 This ungracious Jason sent ‖special messengers from Jerusalem,

‖ Or, *the Discus*, which was a stone with an hole in the midst.

‖ Gr. *who were religious ambassadors*

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does not appear a great offence. But the particular hat mentioned—the broad-brimmed hat or *petasus*—was discredited in Jewish eyes by its association with figures of Mercury, the presiding god of gymnasia, and so seemed almost an idolatrous emblem.

13. *Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high priest.*] Unworthy, *i.e.*, to be counted among the real High Priests. (Compare St. Paul, of himself, "that am not meet to be called an apostle.")

14. *the priests had no courage.*] Rather, "no **readiness**," or "no **inclination**." As Dean Stanley says, "The priests in the Temple caught the infection, left their sacrificial duties unfinished, and ran down from the Temple court to take part in the spectacle as soon as they heard the signal . . . which was to lead off the games" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 291).

the unlawful allowance.] Rather, "the unlawful **shows**" or "**exhibitions**." A large outlay was made by the authorities to render the gymnasia attractive. They were a kind of "People's parks," which it cost a good deal to keep up. Athletes contended in them; rhetoricians declaimed; jugglers probably exhibited their tricks. The office of γυμνασιαρχής, or provider of the gymnasia with whatever was required to make them attractive, was reckoned a very expensive one.

after the game of Discus called them forth.] Rather, "after the **proclamation of the disk-throwing had been made**." The exercises opened with disk, or quoit, throwing, which was itself preceded by a πρόκλησις—an invitation to all who wished to take part in it.

15. *Not setting by the honours of their fathers &c.*] This is scarcely intelligible. Translate—"not setting store by the honours which their sires esteemed, but deeming those glories the highest which were approved by the Greeks."

16. *By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them.*] The writer views the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus, and the persecution that followed, as a judgment on the nation for the levity with which it had welcomed the first departures from ancient Hebrew practice, and introduction of Hellenic novelties. There was a special Nemesis, he considers, in the instruments of their chastisement being the very people whose manners and customs on some points they had been so eager to make their own.

whose custom.] Rather, "whose **customs**."

17. *the time following shall declare these things.*] *I.e.* "the course of time will always shew that it is no light matter to do wickedly against God's laws."

18. *when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus.*] The "Great Games" of Greece were celebrated either every alternate year, or once in four years. The greatest of all—the Olympian and the Pythian—fell under the latter category. And such was also the case with this festival at Tyre, which was perhaps an imitation of the Olympic one (Grimm).

the king being present.] Epiphanes was a lover of shows and games (Polyb. xxxi. 3, 4), and naturally attended so important a festival as this seems to have been. Jason probably sent his gift on account of Epiphanes being there, to draw the king's attention to his Hellenizing zeal.

19. *This ungracious Jason.*] Rather, "this **wicked** Jason."

sent special messengers.] Rather, "**sacred envoys**." The word (θεωροί) is used only of messengers sent on a sacred errand.

B. C. cir. 174. who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice, because it was not convenient, but to be reserved for other charges.

20 This money then, in regard of the sender, was appointed to Hercules' sacrifice; but because of the bearers thereof, it was employed to the making of gallies.

cir. 173. 21 Now when Apollonius the *son* of Menestheus was sent into Egypt for the ‖coronation of king *Ptolemeus* Philometor, Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs, provided for his own safety: whereupon he came to Joppe, and from thence to Jerusalem:

B. C. cir. 173.

‖ Or, *enthronizing.*

22 Where he was honourably received of Jason, and of the city, and was brought in with torch light, and with great shoutings: and so afterward went with his host unto Phenice.

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who were Antiochians.] See the comment on *v.* 9.

three hundred drachms of silver.] This is so small a sum—less than 10*l.* sterling—that the reading is with reason suspected. Several MSS. and the Syriac Version have 3,300, which is a far more likely amount.

the sacrifice of Hercules.] The Tyrian Melkarth was identified by the Greeks with their own Hercules, though on no very sufficient grounds. He was more properly an aspect of Baal, the Sun-god—Baal viewed as "the king of the city," the special guardian and protector of Tyre. (See 'Ancient Religions,' pp. 161, 162.)

which even the bearers . . . thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice.] The bearers were more scrupulous than their master. They shrank from making an offering to a heathen god, regarding it as "not convenient," or rather as "**unfitting.**" They applied the money therefore to a different purpose. (See *v.* 20.)

20. *This money . . . was appointed.*] Our translators read ἔπεσεν for ἔπεμψεν, with three or four MSS., which certainly gives a better sense.

it was employed to the making of gallies.] The bearers gave it to the Syrian king, as a contribution towards the expenses of his navy.

21. *Apollonius the son of Menestheus.*] "Son of Menestheus" is added, to distinguish him from the "son of Thraseas," of whom we have heard in ch. iii. 5–7; iv. 4. Grimm conjectures that he may be the Apollonius who headed an embassy sent to Rome by Epiphanes, mentioned in Livy (xlii. 6).

for the coronation of king Ptolemeus Philometor.] The meaning of the word πρωτοκλίσια is very obscure; but of all the significations suggested "coronation," or rather "inthronisation," is perhaps the best—the word being equivalent to *prima sessio in solio.* This event took place in B.C. 173, eight years after his accession, on the death of his mother, when he had attained the age of fifteen. Antiochus Epiphanes had then been king three years.

Antiochus, understanding him not to be well affected to his affairs.] The alienation of Philometor from Antiochus was the work of his ministers Eulæus and Lenæus, in whose hands the weak boy was a mere tool. Deeming Epiphanes half a madman, they thought it would be easy to deprive him of Cœlesyria and Palestine, and recover them to the Ptolemæan kingdom. They therefore made demands which could not be acceded to, and plunged Egypt into war.

he came to Joppe.] By sea, probably, from Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

22. *Where he was honourably received.*] Rather, "**magnificently** received."

was brought in with torch light.] Processions where torches were held in the hand are mentioned among the religious ceremonies of the Greeks; but a torch-light reception of a great man by a town seems to have been an illumination of the town by means of torches placed along the roofs of the houses. (See Athen. 'Deipnosoph.' iv. 29.)

§ 3. Menelaus obtains the High Priesthood from Antiochus. Flight of Jason.

23–28. Three years after his purchase of the high-priestly office, Jason sent the sum of money which he had undertaken to pay to Antiochus, by the hands of a certain Menelaus, whom Josephus makes his brother, but whom our author calls the brother of Simon the Benjamite (ch. iii. 4). Arrived at the Court, Menelaus took the opportunity to undermine Jason, and, by the promise of a much larger sum than he had paid, induced Antiochus to depose Jason, and transfer the high priesthood to himself. Jason, upon receiving the intelligence, fled into the country of the Ammonites. Not long afterwards, Menelaus, having failed

B. C. cir. 171.

23 Three years afterward Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to bear the money unto the king, and to put him in mind of certain necessary matters.

24 But he being brought to the presence of the king, when he had magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, got the priesthood to himself, offering more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver.

25 So he came with the king's mandate, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast.

B. C. cir. 171.

26 Then Jason, who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.

27 So Menelaus got the principality: but as for the money that he had promised unto the king, he took no good order for it, albeit Sostratus the ruler of the castle required it:

28 For unto him appertained the gathering of the customs. Wherefore they were both called before the king.

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to pay the sum which he had promised, was summoned to Antioch.

23. *Three years afterward.*] Probably in B.C. 171.

Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother.] According to Josephus, Simon, the son of Onias II., had three sons—Onias III., Jason, and a second Onias, who took the name of Menelaus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 10; 5, § 1). After Jason had supplanted Onias III., a civil war broke out between him and his brother, Menelaus, in which the latter was worsted; whereupon he appealed to Antiochus, who made him High Priest and deprived Jason. It is impossible to reconcile this account with our author's. We must necessarily choose between them. The primary objection to our author's statement is, that Menelaus, if a Benjamite, could not be a priest, much less High Priest. It is a sufficient reply to this, that the Syrian kings had no regard for the Jewish Law, and that Antiochus was at this time aiming at its entire abolition. It is also noticeable that when Alcimus was appointed High Priest by Eupator, confidence was felt in him because, as was said, "One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army" (1 Macc. vii. 14), implying previous irregularity. Josephus's statement that two brothers, who both grew up, had the same name, is moreover suspicious.

24. *offering more than Jason by three hundred talents.*] Three hundred talents would be equal to 72,000*l.* of our money. It is not clear whether the payment was to be made once for all, or annually.

25. *So he came.*] "Returned," *i.e.* "to Jerusalem."

having the fury of a cruel tyrant.] See below, *vv.* 34, 39; ch. v. 15, 16.

26. *Jason . . was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites.*] As persistent enemies of Israel (see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 6), the Ammonites would be ready enough to give an asylum to powerful Jewish refugees, who might be counted upon to injure and harass their own countrymen, as Jason afterwards did (ch. v. 5–7).

27. *the money that he had promised.*] See *v.* 24.

the ruler of the castle.] Rather, "the commandant of the citadel." On the position of the "citadel," see the comment on *v.* 12. Sostratus is not elsewhere mentioned.

28. *the customs.*] Rather, "the taxes." The Syrian commandant in Jerusalem had the duty of collecting all the taxes of the city and province, and of remitting them to the king's treasury. Sostratus claimed that his right extended to the sum which the High Priest had agreed to pay for his office. Menelaus disputed this claim, which seems to have been a novel one, since Jason sent his money by his own special messenger (*v.* 23).

§ 4. MENELAUS, HAVING LEFT HIS BROTHER LYSIMACHUS IN CHARGE AT JERUSALEM, GOES TO ANTIOCH, BUT FINDS THE KING ABSENT, AND ANDRONICUS REGENT. HAVING BRIBED ANDRONICUS WITH SOME OF THE TEMPLE TREASURES, HE IS REBUKED BY ONIAS, WHEREUPON HE PROCURES ONIAS'S DEATH.

29–35. In obedience to the king's summons both Menelaus and Sostratus quitted Jerusalem and went to Antioch, leaving deputies to take their place. On their arrival, they found that the king had quitted the city, in order to put down an insurrection in Cilicia, and had left a certain Andronicus as regent till his return. Menelaus, to ingratiate him-

B. C. cir. 171.

29 Now Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead in the priesthood; and Sostratus *left* Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.

30 While those things were in doing, they of Tarsus and Mallos made insurrection, because they were given to the king's concubine, called Antiochis.

31 Then came the king in all haste to appease matters, leaving Andronicus, a man in authority, for his deputy.

B. C. cir. 171.

32 Now Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold into Tyrus and the cities round about.

33 Which when Onias knew of a surety, he reproved him, and withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne, that lieth by Antiochia.

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self with the regent, presented him with some golden vessels, which he was believed to have stolen from the Temple. Hereupon Onias, the ex-High Priest, who was in the neighbourhood, ventured to rebuke him, having previously, however, knowing his danger, taken sanctuary in one of the temples at Daphné. Menelaus had sufficient influence with Andronicus to induce him, contrary to all the Greek notions of what was just and right, to draw forth Onias from his asylum by a promise of safety, and then immediately to violate it by casting him into prison and there putting him to death.

29. *Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead.*] This seems to be the true meaning, though the word translated "in his stead" is διάδοχος, which commonly signifies a "successor." There is a similar use of the word in ch. xiv. 26.

Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians.] This cannot mean, "who was at the time governor of the Cyprians," since the governor would naturally reside in the island, and at any rate would not, while governor, be holding a subordinate post at Jerusalem—not to mention that Cyprus was at the time a dependency of Egypt. Crates must be called "governor of the Cyprians," either as having once held that office under one of the Ptolemies, or else, by *prolepsis*, as the man who subsequently was appointed governor, when in B.C. 168 Epiphanes conquered the island.

30. *they of Tarsus and Mallos.*] Tarsus and Mallos were, both of them, Cilician cities—the former the well-known capital of Cilicia Campestris, the latter a less important place in the same region, situated near the sea, to the east of the old bed of the Pyramus, in lat. 36° 36′, long. 35° 20′ nearly. (See Beaufort's 'Karamania,' p. 294.)

they were given to the king's concubine.] It was a practice of the Achæmenian Persians to assign the revenues of one or more cities to individuals as an act of favour. Artaxerxes Longimanus made over the revenues of three Greek cities to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138); Mnemon gave those of several villages in Syria to Parysatis (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 4, § 9). According to Herodotus, Anthylla, a city of Egypt, was permanently assigned under the Achæmenians, as pin-money, to the wife of the satrap of Egypt for the time being (Herod. ii. 98). The practice is mentioned as a general one by Cicero ('Orat. in Verrem,' iii. 33). It is also noticed by Plato, Athenæus, Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, and Philostratus.

31. *Then came the king.*] *I.e.* Epiphanes departed from Antioch, and went with all speed into Cilicia, to put down the insurrection.

leaving Andronicus.] This Andronicus is not otherwise known. The name is a common one.

32. *Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time.*] It is not clear why the time should have seemed particularly "convenient." Menelaus, being at Antioch, could only have obtained the vessels by requiring his deputy, Lysimachus, to send them, which would have given the affair unnecessary publicity. Probably he had brought the vessels with him from Jerusalem.

stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple.] Literally, "appropriated to himself some of the golden vessels of the temple."

and some he sold into Tyrus.] Rather, "and others he **had previously sold**."

33. *he reproved him, and withdrew himself.*] This translation inverts the order of the events. The Greek text states that Onias, "having first withdrawn himself into sanctuary at Daphne, then proceeded to reprove Menelaus."

a sanctuary at Daphne.] Daphné, often spoken of as a "suburb" of Antioch (Dio Cass. li. 7; Am. Marc. xix. 12, § 19), was really situated about five miles to the south-west. It was a sacred precinct, nearly ten miles in circumference, on the northern slope of the hills which shut in the Orontes valley

B. C. cir. 171. 34 Wherefore Menelaus, taking Andronicus apart, prayed him to get Onias into his hands; who being persuaded thereunto, and coming to Onias in deceit, gave him his right hand with oaths; and though he were suspected *by him*, yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary: whom forthwith he shut up without regard of justice.

35 For the which cause not only the Jews, but many also of other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder of the man. B. C. cir. 171.

36 And when the king was come again from the places about Cilicia, the Jews that were in the city, and certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also, complained because Onias was slain without cause.

37 Therefore Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and

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upon the south. Naturally a place of extreme beauty, with an abundance of perennial springs and frequent groves of bay and cypress trees (Liban. 'Antioch.' p. 356), it was adorned also by art with several temples and shrines, as well as with numerous statues and fountains. The main temple was one of Apollo and Diana, built by the first Seleucus. That the right of asylum belonged to the place is mentioned by Polyænus ('Strateg.' viii. 50).

that lieth by Antiochia.] The Syrian capital was distinguished from other cities of the same name by the suffix ἐπὶ Δάφνης, "near Daphné." It has been questioned whether, under any circumstances, a religious Jew, such as Onias is represented to have been (ch. iii. 1; iv. 2, &c.), would have consented to take sanctuary in a heathen precinct, especially in one so notorious for licentiousness and debauchery as that of Daphné. But our author, at any rate, did not think such a thing impossible.

34. *to get Onias into his hands.*] Or, "to put Onias to death." The verb used (χειροῦσθαι) has this sense (Xen. 'Cyrop.' vii. 5, § 30; Ælian, 'Var. Hist.' iv. 5; 3 Macc. vii. 15).

yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary.] This was a common proceeding. The Greeks had a strong objection to violating the right of sanctuary by actual slaughter of the refugee within the place of asylum, though in hot blood they would do this sometimes (Plutarch, 'Vit. Solon.' § 12); but they thought little of evading the right, and reducing it to a nullity. Sometimes they would surround the asylum, prevent the entrance of food, and, having reduced their victim to the last gasp, remove him without violence, and let him perish just outside the sacred place (Thucyd. i. 134); sometimes they would make the most solemn promises to spare the victim's life, yet cut him down the moment he had left the asylum. It was universally allowed that such conduct was wrong, and the guilt of it attached not merely to the individual, but to his descendants (Herod. v. 70; Thucyd. i. 126–135); but the sin was reckoned less than that of actually violating a sanctuary, and admitted of expiation.

whom forthwith he shut up.] The Vulgate and Syriac versions translate, "he put to death;" and so Wahl and Grimm. But it is admitted that παρακλείω has nowhere else this meaning. Still, the next verse shews that, in point of fact, Andronicus did put Onias to death.

§ 5. ANTIOCHUS AVENGES THE MURDER OF ONIAS BY THE EXECUTION OF ANDRONICUS.

36–38. On his return from Cilicia to Antioch, after the suppression of the revolt, Antiochus found the inhabitants generally, both Jews and Gentiles, in a state of indignation at the murder of Onias. Participating in this feeling himself, since he had greatly respected Onias, he first degraded Andronicus by stripping off his purple robe, and tearing his under garments, and then put him to death on the spot where he had killed the ex-High Priest.

36. *the places about Cilicia.*] *I.e.* Tarsus and Mallos. (See *v.* 30, and the comment *ad loc.*)

the Jews that were in the city.] *I.e.* in Antioch. The Jewish colony in Antioch was very large, though its numbers cannot be exactly estimated. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. pp. 237, 239, 241.)

and certain of the Greeks . . . complained.] The Greek text rather implies that the Jews alone "complained," but that the Greeks generally sympathised with them.

37. *Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept.*] The character of Antiochus Epiphanes was extraordinary. Dean Stanley's estimate of it has been already quoted. (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 10.) It was remarkable for its strange inconsistencies and curious combination of opposites. Here we have one of the softer and more pleasing traits. The "Great King" yields to

B. C. cir. 171. modest behaviour of him that was dead.

38 And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus his purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very place, where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer. Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment, as he had deserved.

39 Now when many sacrileges had been committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, and the bruit thereof was spread abroad, the multitude gathered themselves together against Lysimachus, many vessels of gold being already carried away. B. C. cir. 171.

40 Whereupon the common people rising, and being filled with rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men, and began first to offer violence; one ‖Auranus being the ‖ Or, *Tyranius.*

his feelings, and "weeps" on account of the untimely end of one whom he had admired and respected.

the sober and modest behaviour.] Or, "the sobriety and great modesty." The same two qualities are ascribed to Scipio Æmilianus by Polybius (xxxii. 11, § 8).

38. *being kindled with anger.*] Rather, "**inflamed** with anger."

he took away Andronicus his purple.] We have seen in the First Book of the Maccabees that the privilege of wearing purple was confined to a few. (See 1 Macc. viii. 14; x. 20, 62.) Andronicus, as regent (*v.* 31), had naturally been entitled to the distinction. Stripping his purple off him was like striking a knight's spurs from his heels before executing him.

rent off his clothes.] Rather, "rent his clothes"—*i.e.* tore them so that they looked like the clothes of a mean person.

leading him through the whole city.] That his disgrace might be seen by all. The proceeding was the converse of that enviable display of such as a king "delighted to honour" in the sight of a whole town, whereof we read in Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 11; and 1 Macc. x. 63.

there slew he the cursed murderer.] It has been questioned whether the passage has this meaning. The verb translated "he slew" means ordinarily "he stript off his ornaments"—an impossible signification here: (1) as his ornaments were already taken from him; (2) as such a punishment could not have been regarded by a Jew as equal to his deserts. Ewald would give the word here the meaning of "he banished;" but this is wholly without authority. The Syriac and Vulgate render, "he killed" or "he deprived of life;" and this meaning is etymologically possible, since ἀποκοσμεῖν might conceivably mean, "he removed from the world." The writer affects strange words and strange meanings for his words, and especially endeavours to vary those which express the taking of life. (See above, *v.* 34, and below, *v.* 42.)

Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment.] It is characteristic of the writer to see everywhere the hand of Divine Providence. (Compare ch. iii. 24, 28, 29, 33; v. 20; vi. 12–16, &c.)

§ 6. THE SACRILEGIOUS AND VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF LYSIMACHUS CAUSE A TUMULT AT JERUSALEM, WHEREIN HE IS SLAIN.

39–42. In the absence of Menelaus, Lysimachus followed the bad example which he had set, and continued to steal the gold vessels belonging to the Temple. After a time his doings became generally known, and roused public feeling to such an extent that gatherings took place, and insurrection seemed imminent. Hereupon Lysimachus took the initiative, and, arming 3,000 men, let them loose upon the people. A bloody tumult followed, in which Lysimachus himself and many of his partisans were slain.

39. *when many sacrileges had been committed.*] Literally, "when the temple had been many times robbed."

with the consent of Menelaus.] It is not clear whether Menelaus had returned to Jerusalem from Antioch, or whether he was detained there by Antiochus, either on account of his debt (*v.* 27), or of the part which he had taken with respect to Onias (*v.* 34). On the whole it seems most probable that he had been placed under arrest. (See the comment on *v.* 45.)

40. *Lysimachus armed about three thousand men.*] Literally, "armed men up to the number of three thousand." It is implied that he gave them the regular offensive and defensive arms of soldiers.

one Auranus being the leader.] Some MSS

B. C. cir. 171. leader, a man far gone in years, and no less in folly.

41 They then seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones, some clubs, others taking handfuls of dust, that was next at hand, cast them all altogether upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.

42 Thus many of them they wounded, and some they struck to the ground, and all *of them* they forced to flee: but as for the church-robber himself, him they killed beside the treasury.

43 Of these matters therefore there was an accusation laid against Menelaus. B. C. cir. 171.

44 Now when the king came to Tyrus, three men that were sent from the senate pleaded the cause before him:

45 But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised [d] Ptolemee the *son* of Dorymenes to give him much money, if he would pacify the king toward him. [d] 1 Mac. 3. 38.

46 Whereupon Ptolemee taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air, brought him to be of another mind:

47 Insomuch that he discharged

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have "one Tyrannus;" but it is unlikely that so familiar a name (Acts xix. 9; Apollod. ii. 4, § 5; Böckh, 'Corp. Inscr.' No. 1732) should have been changed into the otherwise unknown "Auranus." *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua.*

41. *seeing the attempt of Lysimachus.*] Rather, "the **attack** of Lysimachus."

upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them.] Literally, "upon Lysimachus and his partisans."

42. *the church-robber.*] Lysimachus. Their killing him "beside the treasury" may have been accidental, but looks more like a designed act of retribution, like the execution of Andronicus on the very spot where his great crime had been committed (*v.* 38).

§ 7. MENELAUS, ACCUSED TO ANTIOCHUS AS THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE DISTURBANCES, BRIBES PTOLEMY, SON OF DORYMENES, TO INTERCEDE FOR HIM. BY THIS DEVICE HE ESCAPES, AND HIS ACCUSERS ARE EXECUTED.

43–50. Antiochus, being at Tyre, and having Menelaus with him, as a prisoner whose fate was not yet decided, the Jewish senate sent three commissioners to accuse him to the king as the "fons et origo mali,"—the real originator of all the troubles, both as having begun the plunder of the Temple treasures, and as having set over the city so execrable a governor as Lysimachus. Menelaus upon this, aware of his danger, promised a sum of money to Ptolemy, son of Dorymenes, one of Antiochus's courtiers, if he succeeded in getting him pardoned. This Ptolemy did; and Antiochus not only found him innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, but punished his accusers with death. The flagrant injustice of this sentence aroused the indignation of the Tyrians, who, to mark their disapproval, gave the commissioners a magnificent funeral.

43. *there was an accusation laid against Menelaus.*] Literally, "a trial was impending over Menelaus."

44. *three men . . . sent from the senate.*] The number may have been chosen with reference to Deut. xix. 15: "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established." On the existence of a Jewish senate, or council, at this time, see the comment on ch. i. 10.

45. *Menelaus, being now convicted.*] It is difficult to see how this meaning is to be obtained from the Greek. The ordinary reading, λελειμένος, has usually the sense of "being left behind," or "still surviving." Εἰλημμένος, a conjectural reading of Ewald's, would mean "being taken," "being held in fetters." Λείπεσθαι has sometimes the meaning of "being defeated," but scarcely when the matter in contention is a lawsuit. Perhaps Ewald's reading and rendering should be accepted.

Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes.] See 1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 8, x. 12, 13. He seems to have succeeded Apollonius in the government of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia.

46. *taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air.*] If we could accept these details as fact, we should have to suppose that the original author, Jason, had a very exact knowledge of all the particular circumstances of the history, and was either an eye-witness, or wrote from the reports of eye-witnesses. As it is, we cannot but suspect that the epitomator is here introducing some of his "painting" and "encaustic." (See ch. ii. 29.)

B. C. cir. 171. Menelaus from the accusations, who notwithstanding was cause of all the mischief: and those poor men, who, if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, should have been judged innocent, them he condemned to death.

48 Thus they that followed the matter for the city, and for the people, and for the holy vessels, did soon suffer unjust punishment.

49 Wherefore even they of Tyrus, moved with hatred of that wicked deed, caused them to be honourably buried.

50 And so through the covetousness of them that were of power Menelaus remained still in authority, increasing in malice, and being a great traitor to the citizens. B. C. cir. 171.

CHAPTER V.

1 Of the signs and tokens seen in Jerusalem. 6 Of the end and wickedness of Jason. 11 The pursuit of Antiochus against the Jews. 15 The spoiling of the temple. 27 Maccabeus fleeth into the wilderness.

ABOUT the same time Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt: cir. 171.

2 And then it happened, that through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers,

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47. *if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians.*] St. Paul in one place uses the word "Scythian" as an equivalent for "barbarian" (Col. iii. 11), as does Cicero frequently ('Orat. in Verr.' ii. 5, § 58; 'Orat. in Pison.' § 8). So also does the writer of the Third Book of Maccabees (vii. 5). According to the pictures drawn by Herodotus (iv. 1–142) and Hippocrates ('De Aere, Aqua, et Locis,' § 47), the savagery of the nation was of an extreme type. (See 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. pp. 222–226.)

48. *they that followed the matter for the city.*] Rather, "they **who had pleaded on behalf of** their city."

49. *caused them to be honourably buried.*] Rather, "**conducted their obsequies with magnificence.**"

50. *a great traitor to the citizens.*] Rather, "a great **plotter against his fellow-citizens.**" (See below, ch. v. 15, 16, 23.)

CHAPTER V.

§ 8. THE SIGNS AND WONDERS SEEN IN JERUSALEM DURING THE TIME OF EPIPHANES' SECOND EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

1–4. Epiphanes had invaded Egypt in B.C. 172, taking the offensive, as Ptolemy refused to remain at peace. He now, B.C. 171, invaded it a second time. During his absence, strange portents appeared in the sky through a space of nearly six weeks, armed hosts seeming to contend one with the other. As calamity was thought to be portended, the Jews prayed that the evil, whatever it was, might not fall on their nation.

1. *Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt.*] Literally, "his second *journey*;" but the meaning is, "his second expedition." On the circumstances of the first expedition, see the comment on 1 Macc. i. 16–19. In the second expedition, Antiochus took Pelusium and Memphis, and obtained possession of the person of Ptolemy Philometor; but Philometor's brother, Physcon, still maintained himself at Alexandria. (See Polyb. xxviii. 20–22; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 66.)

2. *through all the city.*] "*The* city" is here Jerusalem, as generally with our author (ch. iii. 14; iv. 39; v. 5, 17; viii. 3, &c.), though not always (ch. iv. 36).

for the space almost of forty days.] "Forty" is not only a "sacred" number with the Hebrews, but it has always been a common "round" number with Orientals, who will use it whenever the actual number exceeds twenty and falls short of a hundred. Thus the ruined palace at Persepolis is called that of "the forty pillars;" a generation is "forty years;" Abdon has "forty sons" who ride on "forty ass colts" (Judg. xii. 14); a numerous band of robbers is spoken of as "the Forty Thieves," &c. Here there is an (unusual) admission, that the number is not exact.

there were seen horsemen running in the air.] Such sights have frequently been reported, and seem to be quite possible, through a peculiar state of atmosphere, which intensifies refraction and reflection. Tacitus says, in speaking of the last Jewish war: "Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma" ('Hist.' v. 13). Josephus gives it as the statement of many eye-witnesses, that at this time chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the air throughout the length and breadth of the land

B. C. cir. 171.

3 And troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of ‖ pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts.

‖ Or, *staves.*

4 Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.

5 Now when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead, Jason took at the least a thousand men, and suddenly made an assault upon the city; and they that were upon the walls being put back, and the city at length taken, Menelaus fled into the castle:

B. C. cir. 171.

6 But Jason slew his own citizens without mercy, not considering that

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('Bell. Jud.' vi. 5, § 3). Moderns add similar testimony (Brewster, 'Natural Magic,' pp. 201–223; edit. of 1883). As ships at sea have frequently been seen in the sky by abnormal refraction and reflection, so may armed hosts be seen, when a country is alive with soldiers marching and counter-marching. On the other hand, under excitement of feeling, men may see in mere clouds a semblance of armies.

in cloth of gold.] Literally, "in gold apparel." (Compare Polyb. xxxi. 3, § 13.) On the actual use of gold or gilded armour, see the comment on ch. iii. 25.

3. *encountering and running one against another.*] Rather, "**charging and making raids**"—some of course doing the one, some the other.

glittering of golden ornaments.] Orientals usually indulge in this species of display. The greater part of a man's wealth is often carried openly upon his person. Herodotus speaks of the Persians slain at Platæa as having worn bracelets and chains and scimitars with golden ornaments (ix. 80). Xenophon says that golden earrings and collars were worn by the Persians generally ('Anab.' i. 2, § 27). The Syro-Macedonians had probably adopted this practice, together with other Persian customs.

harness of all sorts.] Rather, "**corslets** of all manner of kinds." These were sometimes of linen (Herod. ii. 182; iii. 47), more commonly of metal, which was either of a single piece, like the breastplates of modern *cuirassiers*, or made of scales, one overlaying another (ib. ix. 22).

4. *every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good.*] The appearances were taken as portending war. The Jews prayed that the war might turn out to their advantage and not to their hurt.

§ 9. On a Rumour of the Death of Epiphanes, Jason makes an Attack upon Jerusalem. His Attack fails. His unhappy Fate.

5–10. On quitting Jerusalem, Jason had taken up his abode in the Ammonite country to the east of the Jordan. There he could easily watch the course of events, and be ready to take advantage of any turn in affairs that might seem to give him a chance of re-establishing himself. The report that Epiphanes had died in Egypt seemed to him just the opportunity which he needed. Though he could hastily raise no more than about a thousand men, he swooped on Jerusalem, took the town all but the citadel, whither Menelaus retired, and proceeded to revenge himself upon his nation by numerous cruelties. He was, however, compelled after a short time to evacuate the city and retreat across the Jordan. Here he was attacked by Aretas, an Arabian chief, who drove him from place to place, till at last he was obliged to take refuge in Egypt with the Ptolemies. Eventually he retired to Lacedæmon, where he claimed protection as being of a kindred race, but lived and died unhonoured.

5. *when there was gone forth a false rumour, as though Antiochus had been dead.*] It is impossible to say how this report arose. Antiochus does not appear to have run any risk of his life in Egypt. He was successful from first to last, and would have completed the conquest of the country, but for the Romans.

the city . . . taken.] Rather, "**on the point of being** taken." That Jason should so nearly have succeeded in his attempt when he was at the head of only a thousand men, must be accounted for, first, by the suddenness of his attack; and, secondly, by his having many partisans within the walls. It must be borne in mind that he was the legitimate High Priest.

Menelaus fled into the castle.] Rather, "into the **citadel**." See the comment on ch. iv. 12.

6. *Jason slew his own citizens without mercy.*] The original is still stronger. It implies that the ex-High Priest, during the time that he held the city, made repeated massacres of the unresisting citizens.

not considering, &c.] Literally, "not considering that to gain the day over his own kinsmen was the greatest possible loss of the day for himself; but imagining that he was

B. C. cir. 171. to get the day of them of his own nation would be a most unhappy day for him; but thinking they had been *his* enemies, and not *his* countrymen, whom he conquered.

7 Howbeit for all this he obtained not the principality, but at the last received shame for the reward of his treason, and fled again into the country of the Ammonites.

8 In the end therefore he had an unhappy return, being accused before Aretas the king of the Arabians, fleeing from city to city, pursued of all men, hated as a forsaker of the laws, and being had in abomination as an open ‖enemy of his country and countrymen, he was cast out into Egypt.

B. C. cir. 171.

‖ Or, *executioner.*

9 Thus he that had driven many out of their country perished in a strange land, retiring to the Lacedemonians, and thinking *there* to find succour by reason of his kindred:

10 And he that had cast out many unburied had none to mourn for him, nor any solemn funerals at all, nor sepulchre with his fathers.

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erecting trophies of victories over enemies, and not over his countrymen."

7. *he obtained not the principality.*] He did not succeed in ousting Menelaus and re-establishing himself in the civil governorship of Jerusalem. On the contrary, as Menelaus held out, and Antiochus started for Jerusalem "in a furious mind" (*v.* 11), as soon as he heard of Jason's attack, he felt compelled to retreat, and to place the Jordan between himself and the Syro-Macedonian monarch.

and fled again.] See ch. iv. 26.

8. *In the end therefore he had an unhappy return.*] Many other renderings have been proposed; but on the whole this seems to be the best. Πέρας is used adverbially, as τέλος so often; and ἀναστροφὴ is to be preferred to καταστροφή—the reading of several MSS.—and understood of Jason's "turning back" to the point from which he started.

being accused before Aretas.] Our translators, following Luther and Grotius, have preferred the reading ἐγκληθεὶς to ἐγκλεισθείς. But the latter has far more authority than the former, and yields at least an equally good sense. Aretas "imprisoned" Jason, who escaped, and fled from city to city, everywhere an object of hatred, until at last he was, as it were, "thrust" into Egypt. No doubt the passage is coloured by Jewish animosity; but its main facts may be accepted. The supplanter of the good Onias, the first purchaser of the high priesthood, the introducer into Jerusalem of a Greek gymnasium, the sacrificer (so far as intention went) to Hercules, had a miserable ending, wandered from land to land, and died in poverty and exile.

the king of the Arabians.] Aretas is often found as the name of Arab chiefs. It is perhaps the native *Harith.* An Aretas, whose capital was Petra, had a war with Herod Antipas (Joseph. 'A. J.' xviii. 5, § 1), and subsequently held Damascus for a time, soon after the conversion of St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32). Another, called also Obedas, was engaged in a war with Alexander Jannæus (Joseph. 'A. J.' xiii. 13, § 5) about B.C. 79, and was afterwards attacked by the Roman general, Scaurus (ibid. xiv. 5, § 1). The Aretas of the present passage is distinct from both of these.

he was cast out into Egypt.] In Egypt he would be sure of a refuge, as an enemy of Epiphanes.

9. *Thus he that had driven many out.*] Rather, "**And** he that had driven," &c. The writer sees in the ultimate fate of Jason another instance of exact retribution, and so of strict justice, as defined by the poet—εἴ κε πάθοι τά κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο. (Compare ch. iv. 38.)

the Lacedemonians, . . . his kindred.] See 1 Macc. xii. 7, 10, 21; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' i. 26, § 1. Utterly unfounded as was the idea of a connection between races so entirely unlike in all respects as the Spartans and the Jews, it was apparently accepted as a fact by both nations.

10. *nor sepulchre with his fathers.*] To be "gathered to their fathers" was always the Jews' desire in death (Gen. xlix. 30, 31; 2 Kings xi. 43, xiv. 31, &c.; 1 Macc. ix. 19, xiii. 25). It was felt as the denunciation of a heavy penalty, when the sentence went forth: "Thy carcase shall not come into the sepulchre of thy fathers" (1 Kings xiii. 22). Ancestral tombs were sunk deep in the rock, which received generation after generation. In every case there was a desire at least to rest in the holy soil, and not in the unsanctified earth of a "strange land."

§ 10. RETURN OF ANTIOCHUS FROM HIS SECOND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN. HE VENTS HIS FURY UPON THE JEWS BY MASSACRES IN THE CITY, AND BY THE PLUNDERING OF THE TEMPLE. MENELAUS ABETS HIS PROCEEDINGS.

11–21. Antiochus was disappointed with the results of the Egyptian war. Though he

B. C. cir. 171.

11 Now when this that was done came to the king's ear, he thought that Judea had revolted: whereupon [a] removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms,

[a] 1 Mac. i. 10, &c.

12 And commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses.

13 Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants.

14 And there were destroyed within the space of three whole days fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict; and no fewer sold than slain.

B. C. cir. 171.

15 Yet was he not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple of all the world; Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, being his guide:

16 And taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with pro-

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had been generally successful, yet Alexandria had escaped him, and the representations of foreign powers had induced him to forego almost all the advantages which he had gained. The disturbances in Jerusalem during his absence (*vv.* 5–7) had also displeased him, and he needed a scapegoat on which he might vent his fury. He was likewise terribly in want of money; and recent events had made it clear, 1. That there was a vast accumulation of treasure at Jerusalem; and 2. That there was a strong party among the Jews themselves which would connive at the conversion of these treasures to secular purposes. Epiphanes therefore resolved to treat Jerusalem as a revolted city—to assault it, take it, and plunder it. Our author says that 80,000 of the inhabitants were slain in the assault and massacre, and an equal number sold as slaves. Menelaus served Epiphanes as guide to the Temple treasures, which were plundered and carried off, to the amount of 1800 talents (432,000*l.*).

11. *he thought that Judea had revolted.*] This might naturally be the first impression that the tidings made; but it is impossible that Epiphanes should not have been better informed before he gave the order for the assault. He must have become aware that, whatever Jason's intentions may have been—and it is improbable that even he had aimed at shaking off the Syro-Macedonian yoke—Jason had been foiled, and the authority of Menelaus re-established. The assault can only be looked on as a wanton outrage, for which the motive was cupidity. The Syrian treasury needed replenishing. No easier mode of filling it offered than the seizure of half a million of money and the sale of 80,000 (or even 10,000) captives.

12. *such as went up upon the houses.*] They were to kill all whom they found in the streets, and all who took post upon the house-roofs in what might be viewed as a threatening attitude.

13. The point of this verse is the *promiscuous* character of the slaughter. Neither age nor sex was spared. Young and old, men and women, even infants, were ruthlessly massacred.

14. *three whole days.*] Rather, "three days **altogether**." The massacre was continued on into the third day.

fourscore thousand.] It may be suspected that this number is exaggerated. The writer's numbers are frequently suspicious (ch. viii. 20, 30; ch. x. 17, 31; ch. xii. 11, &c.); and here he seems greatly to over-estimate the population of Jerusalem, which he makes considerably more than 160,000. Josephus ('A. J.' xii. 4, § 5) does not say how many were killed on this occasion, but gives the number of the prisoners as "about ten thousand." The slain are not likely to have much exceeded this amount.

no fewer sold.] On the practice of selling captives as slaves, see 1 Macc. iii. 41; 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.

15. *presumed to go into.*] Compare 1 Macc. i. 21; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 4, § 5.

the most holy temple of all the world.] See above, ch. ii. 22; iii. 12.

16. *the holy vessels.*] Cyrus had made over to Zerubbabel a number of the original vessels of Solomon, which Nebuchadnezzar had carried off. These consisted of 5,400 vessels in all (Ezra i. 11). Artaxerxes Longimanus had subsequently made a present of further vessels to the Temple by the hand of Ezra (ibid. vii. 19). Others may have been added by successive high priests. These "holy vessels" had, it would appear, until the high-priesthood of *Menelaus*, remained intact. Menelaus, first of all, laid his profane hands upon them (ch. iv. 32, 39, 42). Epiphanes now, at one fell swoop, carried off the remainder. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 21–23.)

with polluted hands . . . with profane hands.] Rather, "with **his** polluted hands . . . with **his** profane hands."

B. C. cir. 170. fane hands pulling down the things that were dedicated by other kings to the augmentation and glory and honour of the place, he gave them away.

17 And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not that the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place.

18 For had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins, this man, as soon as he had come, had forthwith been scourged, and put back from his presumption, [b] as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury.

[b] ch. 3. 25, 26.

19 Nevertheless God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake.

B. C. cir. 170.

20 And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord: and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory.

21 So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot: such was the haughtiness of his mind.

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pulling down.] Rather, "**sweeping off.**"

he gave them away.] This cannot be the author's meaning. The whole object of Epiphanes in plundering the Temple was the replenishment of his treasury. His motive was, as Josephus says, "covetousness" (πλεονεξία). Grimm understands, "he gave them to his servants to convey to Antioch." But possibly the reading is a corrupt one.

17. *so haughty was Antiochus.*] Rather, "**so lifted up.**"

18. *had they not been formerly wrapped in many sins.*] Rather, "Had **it not chanced that they were wrapped up** in many sins." It is the present time, not any earlier one, whereof the writer is speaking.

scourged . . . as Heliodorus was.] See above ch. iii. 26.

Seleucus the king.] *I.e.* Seleucus IV., called Philopator. (See the comment on ch. iii. 3.)

19. *Nevertheless.*] Rather, "**But.**"

God did not choose the people for the place's sake.] The Temple was not the end but the means. God's object was to purify to Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. The Temple was hallowed, and sanctified, and protected, and kept free from pollution, in order to help towards the people's purification and sanctification. When the people had corrupted themselves (ch. iv. 12–15), notwithstanding God's care of the Temple, there was no longer any object in maintaining the Temple's sanctity. Its pollution was therefore permitted.

20. *the place . . . did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord.*] See below, ch. x. 1–8; compare 1 Macc. iv. 36–59.

21. *a thousand and eight hundred talents.*] If this is the estimate of the value of the whole booty in the ordinary (Attic) silver talent, the amount would be little short of half a million of our money. If it is a statement of the weight, the value must remain unknown, since we cannot tell what proportion the gold vessels bore to the silver.

weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot.] *I.e.* thinking himself *capable* of reversing the order of nature, as Xerxes had done, when he bridged the Hellespont and cut through Athos (Herod. vii. 22–24, 36; Justin. ii. 10, § 24). It is not meant that Epiphanes entertained any such projects.

§ 11. Epiphanes continues his Oppression by his Instruments, Philip, Andronicus, Menelaus, and Apollonius. Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, retires to the Wilderness.

22–27. Not content with the cruelties which he had superintended in person, Epiphanes, on quitting Jerusalem, left a heathen governor in the city further to oppress the people, and also left another in Samaria, besides confirming Menelaus in the high-priestly office. After his arrival at Antioch —two years after, according to 1 Macc. i. 29 —he further sent his chief officer of revenue, Apollonius (probably the person who is called "governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia" in ch. iii. 5; iv. 4), to commit fresh atrocities. Apollonius made a great massacre of the males on the Sabbath day, and, seizing the

B. C. cir. 170.

22 And [c] he left governors to vex the nation: at Jerusalem, Philip, for his country a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous than he that set him there;

[c] 1 Mac. 1. 51.

23 And at Garizim, Andronicus; and besides, Menelaus, who worse than all the rest bare an heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen the Jews.

cir. 168.

24 He sent also [d] that detestable ringleader Apollonius with an army of two and twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that

[d] 1 Mac. 1. 29.

were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort:

B. C. cir. 168.

25 Who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath, when taking the Jews keeping holy day, he commanded his men to arm themselves.

26 And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons slew great multitudes.

‖ Gr. *who was the tenth.*

27 But Judas Maccabeus ‖ with nine others, or thereabout, [e] with-

[e] 1 Mac. 1. 53. Hebr. 11. 38.

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women and children, sold them as slaves. Upon this, Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, withdrew from the city into the wilderness, and lived on the wild fruits of the earth, becoming the nucleus of the rebellion which followed.

22. *Philip . . a Phrygian.*] "Philip the Phrygian" must have continued to be governor of Jerusalem through all the time of the severe persecution (chs. vi.–vii.), since we find him still at the head of affairs in B.C. 166–5, when he sends to the governor of Cœlesyria to help him against the rebels under Judas (ch. viii. 8).

23. *And at Garizim, Andronicus.*] "Garizim" seems to be used here as an equivalent of Samaria. Properly it was the name of the hill on which the Samaritans had built their temple (John iv. 20: "Our fathers worshipped in *this mountain*"). The Syro-Macedonians seem at this time to have confounded the Samaritans with the Jews, and to have looked on both with equal suspicion. Samaria had therefore to be garrisoned, and to receive a Syro-Macedonian governor. He has been supposed to be the Andronicus of ch. iv. 31–38; but we have shewn reasons for believing that that individual suffered death before this. (See the comment on ch. iv. 38.)

24. *that detestable ringleader.*] Rather, "that ringleader **of corruption**." The article (τὸν μυσάρχην) implies that Apollonius is already known to the reader, whence it may be concluded that he is the "governor of Cœlesyria" mentioned in ch. iii. 5; iv. 4. He may have exchanged that office recently for the chief collectorship of revenue which is assigned to him in 1 Macc. i. 29. A Ptolemy is found as governor of Cœlesyria in B.C. 166–5 (2 Macc. viii. 8).

all those that were in their best age.] Rather, "all those of the military age"—*i.e.* all those between 17 and 47, or whatever were the limits of military service recognised by the Syro-Macedonians.

to sell the women and the younger sort.] Compare above, *v.* 14.

25. *did forbear till the holy day of the sabbath.*] The Sabbatarian feeling was, we know, strong among those of the religious and patriotic party. At a later date than that to which the narrative has brought us, they still refused to resist attack upon the Sabbath, and allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep (1 Macc. ii. 36–38). Apollonius must have calculated upon this feeling.

keeping holy day.] Literally, "resting"—or "observing rest."

26. *And so he slew all them that were gone.*] Rather, "that were gone **forth**"—*i.e.* that had quitted the city, and gone across to the Temple hill, to attend the Temple worship.

and running through the city.] Rather, "**into** the city." Besides his attack on the worshippers in the Temple, he sent his bands into the city on the western hill, and there killed "great multitudes."

27. *Judas Maccabeus with nine others.*] It is remarkable that the author ignores Mattathias wholly, and makes Judas the leader of the revolt. In this there can be no doubt that he is unhistorical. The authority of the First of Maccabees and of Josephus must override his. Judas, however, it is clear, remained, in the eyes of his countrymen, the *great* hero of the war of independence—the chief to whom all others were secondary. It was he who first defeated armies; who first made success seem possible; above all, who first recovered and

B. C. cir. 168. drew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution.

CHAPTER VI.

1 *The Jews are compelled to leave the law of God.* 4 *The temple is defiled.* 8 *Cruelty upon the people and the women.* 12 *An exhortation to bear affliction, by the example of the valiant courage of Eleazarus, cruelly tortured.*

B. C. cir. 168.

NOT long after this the king sent an old man of ‖Athens to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God:

‖ *Antioch:* the Latin interpreters.

2 And to pollute also the temple

purified the Temple, and re-established the daily sacrifices.

withdrew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains.] Compare 1 Macc. ii. 26, 27. The place chosen seems to have been "the wilderness of Judea," or the tract south and south-east of Jerusalem, between the great southern road and the Dead Sea.

after the manner of beasts.] This is rhetorical exaggeration. Neither in the time of Judas, nor even in that of Mattathias, were the patriots brought so low as is here asserted. They had always "cattle" (1 Macc. ii. 30), and the spoil of cities (ibid. 44–47; iii. 8), and consequently the ordinary means of sustaining life.

lest they should be partakers of the pollution.] We learn from 1 Macc. ii. 1–28, that Mattathias and his sons did not withdraw into the wilderness until an attempt had been made, at their own village of Modeïn, to force them to offer sacrifice on a heathen altar to heathen gods. It was this "pollution" in which they refused to partake. Compare the conduct of the early Christians (Plin. 'Epist.' x. 97).

CHAPTER VI.

§ 12. A ROYAL COMMISSIONER SENT TO JERUSALEM WITH ORDERS TO EXTIRPATE THE JEWISH RELIGION. HIS PROCEEDINGS WITH THIS OBJECT.

1–9. Epiphanes now thought that the time was come when he might be able wholly to obliterate the Jewish religion; and accordingly he sent a commissioner—an Athenian, according to our author—with full powers, and strict orders to put down all Jewish usages. The Temple was to be re-dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; heathen festivals with licentious rites were to be celebrated in it; the altar was to be polluted by the sacrifice of swine upon it; the observance of the Jewish feasts and even of the Sabbath was to be prohibited; circumcision was to be forbidden; the copies of the Law were to be destroyed (1 Macc. i. 56); and the Jews were to be compelled to join in the heathen feasts and sacrifices. Finally, the commands and prohibitions were extended beyond Judæa to the neighbouring Grecian cities; and the Jews of all parts of the Empire were forced under the penalty of death to adopt Gentile customs.

1. *Not long after this.*] In the same year with the attack of Apollonius (B.C. 168), towards its close—in November or December.

the king sent an old man of Athens.] The Vulgate has "an old man of Antioch"—a reading of which Ewald approves ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 298, note [6]). But, as Antiochus was at the time engaged in building the magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens (Polyb. xxvi. 1, § 10), of which the ruins are still to be seen on the banks of the Ilissus, it is quite likely that he may have selected an Athenian to introduce the worship of the same god at Jerusalem. The worship would thus, as Dean Stanley observes ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 295) have seemed to be "introduced from its most genuine seat."

to depart from the laws of their fathers.] Compare 1 Macc. i. 42–50; Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 4. Josephus says: "He compelled them to lay aside the ceremonial observances of their own God, and to worship the gods whom he acknowledged; to build temples and erect altars in every city and village, and to offer upon them every day a sacrifice of swine. He also forbade them to circumcise their children, and threatened all who should be caught so doing with punishment."

2. *to pollute also the temple.*] "It was the 23rd of the month Marchesvan (November)," says Dean Stanley ('Lectures,' vol. iii. p. 297), "that the enclosure was broken between the outer and inner court; in after days the breaches were pointed out in thirteen places. On the 15th of the next month (Chisleu—December) a small Grecian altar was planted on the huge platform of the altar of Zerubbabel in honour of the Olympian Jupiter. On the 25th the profanation was consummated by introducing a herd of swine and slaughtering them in the sacred precincts. One huge sow was chosen from the rest. Her blood was poured on the altar before the Temple and on the Holy of Holies

B. C. cir. 168. in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and that in Garizim, of Jupiter the Defender of strangers, [1] as they did desire that dwelt in the place.

[1] Out of Joseph. lib. 12. cap. 7. or, *as they were.*

3 The coming in of this mischief was sore and grievous to the people:

4 For the temple was filled with riot and revelling by the Gentiles, who dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the circuit of the holy places, and besides that brought in things that were not lawful.

5 [a] The altar also was filled with profane things, which the law forbiddeth. B. C. cir. 168. [a] 1 Mac. 1. 47

6 Neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath [c] days or ancient feasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew.

7 And in the day of the king's birth every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy.

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within. A mess of broth was prepared from the flesh, and sprinkled on the copies of the Law. This was the 'abomination of desolation'—the horror which made the whole place a desert."

the temple of Jupiter Olympius.] Jupiter (Zeus) was worshipped as "Olympian" chiefly at Olympia in Elis (Herod. ii. 7); but Antiochus had recently begun to build a temple to him under the same title at Athens (see the comment on *v.* 1). He perhaps identified the Greek "Zeus Olympios" with the Roman "Jupiter Capitolinus," to whom he had built a splendid temple at Antioch (Liv. xli. 20).

of Jupiter the Defender of strangers.] Zeus is mentioned as worshipped under this title (Xenius) very frequently by the classical writers (Hom. 'Il.' xiii. 625; 'Od.' i. 270; Æsch. 'Agam.' ll. 61, 362, 748; Pind. 'Ol.' viii. 38; Eurip. 'Cycl.' l. 357; Xen. 'Anab.' iii. 2, § 4; Plat. 'De Leg.' v. 730; Arist. 'De Mundo,' § 7; Pausan. iii. 11, § 11; Athen. 'Deipn.' xv. p. 696, D, &c.). He was regarded as careful to avenge any wrongs suffered either by strangers or by guests or hosts.

as they did desire that dwelt in the place.] Rather, "as they **were** that dwelt in the place." The writer means that the title was selected in reference to the character of the Samaritans, who were "protectors of strangers" themselves. It is remarkable that a Jew should give this testimony.

3. *grievous to the people.*] Rather, "grievous **even to the multitude.**" *I.e.* not only was it disliked by the upper orders, or the more strictly religious, but it was felt as a grievance by the common people generally.

4. *revelling.*] Literally, "bands of revellers."

who dallied with harlots.] On the licentious character of the Gentile worship at this period, and the indecent orgies permissible in heathen temples, see Döllinger's 'Judenthum und Heidenthum' *passim.* The Syro-Macedonians were especially addicted to these unspeakable abominations, and Antioch with its notorious suburb of Daphné was the head-quarters of religious profligacy. Hence we may well believe that the charges here made were not without a foundation in fact.

brought in things that were not lawful.] As swine, and broth made from the flesh of swine.' (See the comment on *v.* 2.)

5. *The altar . . . was filled with profane things.*] It was permanently surmounted by a heathen altar, on which heathen sacrifices were offered. It was trampled on by the feet of the heathen sacrificing priests, and was also on at least one occasion purposely polluted by the pouring upon it of swine's blood (Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1).

6. *Neither was it lawful . . . to keep sabbath days.*] Compare 1 Macc. i. 45.

or ancient feasts.] Literally, "ancestral feasts"—those which had come down to the Jews of the day from their forefathers—the Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, Purim, &c.

7. *in the day of the king's birth every month.*] Rather, "**on** the day." It is questioned whether this statement is worthy of belief. No other instance has been as yet found of a king's birthday being kept *monthly*, and it is thought improbable that even Epiphanes would have introduced such a custom. Grimm suggests that the author has confused the annual royal birthday with the monthly sacrifice mentioned in 1 Macc. i. 59.

when the feast of Bacchus was kept.] In every Greek state "Dionysia" were celebrated at least once a year; in some, as at Athens, they were celebrated twice. Autumn was the usual time for them, the feast being specially connected with the vintage, and its celebration being accompanied with wild dances, coarse gestures and songs, uproar, tumult, and revelry. A "pomp" or "pro-

B. C. cir. 168.

8 Moreover there went out a decree to the neighbour cities of the [g] heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemee, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their sacrifices:

[g] Gr. *Grecians.*

9 And whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery.

10 For [b] there were two women brought, who had circumcised their children; whom when they had openly led round about the city, the babes hanging at their breasts, they cast them down headlong from the wall.

B. C. cir. 168.

[b] 1 Mac. 1. 60.

11 And others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the sabbath day secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt to-

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cession" was a necessary part of the festival. The worshippers defiled through the streets in a long train, on their way generally to some temple, where sacrifice was to be offered and a sacrificial feast to follow. Ivy was worn by those who went in the procession, as the sacred plant of Dionysus (3 Macc. ii. 29; Eurip. 'Bacch.' l. 81).

8. *to the neighbour cities of the heathen.*] Rather, "of the **Grecians**." The cities intended must have lain within the dominions of the Seleucidæ, as Ptolemaïs, Epiphaneia, Apameia, and perhaps Antioch. The Jewish population at Antioch was considerable.

by the suggestion of Ptolemee.] Many MSS., including the Vatican, have "by the suggestion of *the Ptolemies*," which could only be understood of the Egyptian royal house. But it is inconceivable that the foreign princes who ruled in Egypt should have undertaken to advise Epiphanes on a matter belonging entirely to the internal administration of his own empire. The reading which our translators have followed is therefore greatly to be preferred; and the "Ptolemee" intended is probably "Ptolemee the son of Dorymenes" (ch. iv. 45), who was among the chief advisers of the Syro-Macedonian king.

against the Jews.] The existing text does not admit of the translation, "there went out a decree against the Jews." To obtain this meaning we must change the place of the clause, κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, which has no meaning where it stands at present.

that they should observe the same fashions.] Literally, "that they should lead the same life."

9. *And whoso would not conform . . . should be put to death.*] Here was the sting of the decree. Both in Judæa and elsewhere it was made a capital offence to observe Jewish customs, or profess oneself a Jew, or even to possess a copy of the Jewish scriptures. Any one might denounce his neighbour, and death was the consequence. (See 1 Macc. i. 50, 57, 60, 63.)

to the manners of the Gentiles.] Rather, "to the customs of the **Greeks**" (ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικά).

Then might a man have seen, &c.] This is a transition clause from the general to the particular. It concludes the writer's survey of the general position of his countrymen under the edicts issued by Epiphanes, and introduces the graphic account which he proceeds to give in the remainder of the chapter and in ch. vii., of the practical results which followed from the edicts.

§ 13. SPECIAL INSTANCES OF PERSECUTION. CASE OF THE TWO WOMEN. CASE OF THOSE BURNT FOR KEEPING THE SABBATH.

10, 11. The writer proceeds now to adduce special instances of persecution. He begins with the case, noted also by the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. i. 60, 61), of two mothers, who, contrary to the king's edict, had had their children circumcised, who were led round the city, with their children hung around their necks, and then cast headlong from the city wall into the ditch. He next notes a case where persons who had met secretly for worship on the Sabbath day in some of the caves near Jerusalem, were burnt to death in them unresistingly, as their conscience would not allow them to defend themselves on the Sabbath.

10. *there were two women brought.*] Rather, "brought **up**," or "brought **before the court**."

who had circumcised their children.] *I.e.* "who had caused them to be circumcised." The operation was performed by men. (See 1 Macc. i. 61.)

the babes hanging at their breasts.] Literally, "after they had hung the babes at their breasts."

11. *others that had run together into caves near by.*] Literally, "into **the** caves." The limestone rocks of Palestine are everywhere perforated with caves, some natural, some arti-

B. C. cir. 168. gether, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honour of the most sacred day.

12 Now I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation.

13 For it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished.

14 For not as with other nations, whom the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us, B. C. cir. 168.

15 Lest that, being come to the height of sin, afterwards he should take vengeance of us.

16 And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people.

17 But let this that we have spoken be for a warning unto us. And now will we come to the declaring of the matter in few words. cir. 167.

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ficial, and often capable of containing a considerable assemblage of persons. The "cave of Adullam" (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13) is notorious. Other scriptural notices of caves in Palestine are Gen. xxiii. 17; Josh. x. 16; 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; 1 Kings xviii. 4; Heb. xii. 38.

being discovered to Philip.] *I.e.* to "Philip the Phrygian," the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22).

were all burnt together.] Perhaps rather suffocated than burnt. When brushwood is piled at the mouth of caves and set on fire, the inmates are mostly suffocated. The operation is among the recognised ones even of modern warfare. It was practised by the French in the subjection of Algeria.

they made a conscience to help themselves.] *I.e.* they had a conscientious scruple against defending themselves on the Sabbath. (Compare 1 Macc. ii. 32–38.)

§ 14. REMARKS OF THE AUTHOR ON THE PURPOSE OF GOD IN SUFFERING HIS PEOPLE TO BE THUS PERSECUTED.

12–17. The writer here interrupts his narrative, and interposes certain remarks on the method of God's government, in order to prevent his readers from being depressed and disheartened by his history. God, he says, allows other nations to persist in their iniquities, until they have filled up the measure of them and are the proper objects of His vengeance. With Israel He acts differently. Their transgressions He constantly corrects and chastens, before they come to a head; and so He brings them back to himself, and is never driven to destroy them, or forsake them utterly. The persecutions which he is relating were Divine chastisements with a merciful object.

12. *I beseech those that read this book.*] Literally, "those that happen upon this book" or "chance to meet with it."

that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction.] Rather, "that they **take into account** that those punishments **were** not for our destruction." The persecutions did not destroy Israel, but purified the nation, and raised it up to a height of glory and prosperity which it had not enjoyed for centuries.

13. *wicked doers.*] The "wicked doers" intended are not Epiphanes and his advisers, but the irreligious Israelites—Jason, Menelaus, and their partisans—whose impieties are viewed as having brought a general judgment upon the nation.

14. *other nations . . . the Lord patiently forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins.*] Compare Gen. xv. 16; Dan. viii. 23. The principle was not, however, as the writer thought, one from the operation of which the Jews were exempt. They too, ultimately, "filled up the measure of their iniquities" (Matt. xxiii. 32; 1 Thess. ii. 16), and, having exhausted the patience and long-suffering of God, were dealt with penally, cast off, and "forsaken." God, however, having once chosen them to be His "peculiar people," did watch over them, chastise them, check their wanderings, recall them to the right path, with especial patience, especial tenderness. (See 2 Kings xvii. 9–23; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14–16; Is. i. 2–27.)

17. *But let this . . . be for a warning unto us.*] Rather, "for a **reminding**." Men are apt to forget the method of God's dealings with them. They need to have their hearts stirred up "by way of remembrance." This is the object which the writer has proposed to himself in his digression.

in few words.] Rather, "**after brief divergence**." The writer does not pretend

B. C. cir. 167.

18 Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh.

19 But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, [c] and came of his own accord to [c] the torment,

[c] Hebr. 11. 35.

20 As it behoved them to come, that are resolute to stand out against such things, as are not lawful for love of life to be tasted.

21 But they that had the charge of that wicked feast, for the old acquaintance they had with the man, taking him aside, besought him to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king;

B. C. cir. 167.

22 That in so doing he might be delivered from death, and for the old friendship with them find favour.

23 But he began to consider discreetly, and as became his age, and the excellency of his ancient years, and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come, and his most honest education from a child, or rather the holy law made and given by God: therefore he an-

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that he is about to use brevity in his coming narrative, which is remarkably diffuse.

§ 15. ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ELEAZAR.

18–31. One of the simplest modes of compelling Israelites to transgress the Law, was to make them swallow unclean food; and of unclean foods the readiest at hand was the flesh of swine, which were largely used by the heathen for sacrifice and for the food of the common people. In carrying out their system of persecution, the authorities at Jerusalem required one Eleazar, an old man of ninety and one of the chief scribes, to thus pollute himself; but when the flesh was forced into his mouth, Eleazar spat it out. They then suggested privately, that he might provide himself with clean meat, and pretend to eat the swine's flesh offered him; but Eleazar rejected this proposal as an unworthy hypocrisy and as the setting of a bad example. He was accordingly martyred, being cruelly beaten to death.

18. *Eleazar.*] A common name among the Jews, and one certainly in use at the time, since it was borne by one of the sons of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 5)—not, as some have supposed, a fancy name, ascribed to an ideal personage. In the Hellenistic Greek "Eleazar" became "Lazarus."

one of the principal scribes.] Therefore, probably, a member of the Sanhedrin—perhaps also a priest, as stated in 4 Macc. v. 3, 34; vii. 6, 12, but certainly not "high priest," as called by Josephus Gorionides (iii. 4). A man of high station, however, on terms of intimacy with the authorities, as appears from *vv.* 21, 22.

an aged man.] Ninety years old (see *v.* 24).

of a well-favoured countenance.] The original is stronger. Translate, "of a **most beautiful** countenance." The face of the first Christian martyr, when he addressed the Jewish council, is said to have been "as the face of an angel" (Acts vi. 15).

19. *came of his own accord to the torment.*] Literally, "to the instrument of torture." What exactly was the nature and construction of the *tympanum* is uncertain. By *v.* 30 it would seem that the machine was not one which caused death, since Eleazar was killed by repeated blows of a whip or scourge.

21. *they that had the charge of that wicked feast.*] It would seem that, in order to carry on the persecution, a special sacrifice of swine was made, after which the Jews at hand were brought in to take part in the customary "feast upon the *viscera*" (σπλαγχνισμός, *visceratio*). The mouths of those who resisted were forced open, and the unclean meat put into them. All was done in the presence, and with the sanction, of the civil authorities. At a little distance was the "torture-instrument," on which those were placed who would not swallow the unclean food.

23. *the excellency of his ancient years.*] So Grimm, who quotes ch. xv. 13. But ὑπεροχὴ γήρως more naturally means "**extreme advance** in years," and should be so taken here; the clause καὶ τῆς τοῦ γ. ὑπεροχῆς being exegetical of the preceding τῆς ἡλικίας.

and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come.] This is a somewhat loose paraphrase. Nothing is said in the original about "honour." Translate—"and the **conspicuous** gray head whereto he had come."

or rather the holy law.] Rather, "and **still more** the holy **legislation**."

B. C. cir. 167. swered accordingly, and willed them straightways to send him to the grave.

24 For it becometh not our age, *said he*, in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion;

25 And so they through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time and a moment longer, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to mine old age, and make it abominable.

26 For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men: yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.

27 Wherefore now, manfully changing this life, I will shew myself such an one as mine age requireth,

28 And leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws. And when he had said these words, immediately he went to the torment:

B. C. cir. 167.

29 They that led him changing the good will they bare him a little before into hatred, because the foresaid speeches proceeded, as they thought, from ‖ a desperate mind.

‖ Or, *madness, or, pride.*

30 But when he was ready to die with stripes, he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I *now* endure sore pains in body by being beaten: but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him.

31 And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage, and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.

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willed them.] Rather, "bade them."

24. *a strange religion.*] The same word as that translated "heathenish manners" in ch. iv. 13. The term is used by our author as antithetical to Ἰουδαϊσμός, and designates "the religion of the Gentiles," as Ἰουδαϊσμὸς does that of the Jews.

26. *yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead.*] It is belief in a future life, and in the just judgment of God, that has always sustained the martyrs, both Jewish and Christian, and enabled them to set the threats of their persecutors at defiance. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews probably refers to this passage, among others, when he says—"And others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, *that they might obtain a better resurrection*" (Heb. xi. 35).

28. *to die.*] Rather, "to die a noble death." Our version fails to give any expression to the εὖ in ἀπευθανατίζειν.

29. *proceeded, as they thought, from a desperate mind.*] Literally, "were, as they thought, mere folly." The world always counts suffering for conscience sake to be folly. It is accepting present certain evil, in the hope of future and (as they think) very uncertain good. Christianity itself was "to the Greeks foolishness" (1 Cor. i. 23). Paul was thought by Festus to be "beside himself" (Acts xxvi. 24). The life of the good man is generally "accounted madness, and his end to be without honour" (Wisd. v. 4).

30. *when he was ready to die with stripes.*] Literally, "with the blows"—*i. e.* those which he received while stretched upon the *tympanum*. By the word μαστιγούμενος towards the end of the verse they would appear to have been blows from a scourge. The writer evidently regards the mode of punishment as familiar to his readers, and therefore does not describe it. Martyrdoms by scourging are mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi. 36).

31. *leaving his death for an example.*] It is as "examples" that the martyrs of this and of other times are brought forward in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where they are joined with the Christian's great example, Jesus (Heb. xii. 1, 2).

and a memorial of virtue.] "Virtue" (ἀρετή), or moral excellence—the perfection of man's moral nature, according to Greek philosophy—is not very often brought forward either in the Apocrypha or in the Canonical Scriptures as the condition at which men should endeavour to arrive. Piety (εὐσέβεια) and righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) are commonly the ends set before him. Ἀρετή, however, receives occasional acknowledgment. (See Philipp. iv. 8; 2 Pet. i. 5; Wisd. iv. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 12; 3 Macc. vi. 1, &c.)

B. C. cir. 167.

CHAPTER VII.

The constancy and cruel death of seven brethren and their mother in one day, because they would not eat swine's flesh at the king's commandment.

IT came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips.

2 But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.

B. C. cir. 167.

3 Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot:

4 Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on.

5 Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him being yet alive to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus,

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CHAPTER VII.

§ 16. ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE SEVEN BROTHERS AND THEIR MOTHER.

1–42. The martyrdom of the seven brothers is a main subject of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, where it occupies the chapters from ch. viii. to the end. They were known as the "All-Holy Hebdomade" (*παναγία ἀδελφῶν ἑβδομάς*, 4 Macc. xiv. 7), and were believed to have suffered all in one day (*v.* 20). The place where they suffered is uncertain. The present narrative does not fix it, excepting in so far as the presence of Epiphanes, who is said in ch. v. 25 to have returned to Antioch, may be considered to suggest the Syrian capital as the scene. The author of the Fourth Book makes them suffer at Jerusalem (ch. iv. 22; v. 1), as also does Cedrenus (vol. i. p. 223). Josephus Gorjonides gives "the neighbourhood of Jerusalem" as the place (iii. 5, § 2); while John of Malala ('Chronograph.' viii. p. 206) and the Roman Martyrology distinctly say that the martyrdom was at Antioch. Our author has observed that the persecution was not confined to Judæa, but extended to the "neighbour cities of the heathen" also (ch. vi. 8). Even, however, if Antioch was the scene, it is very unlikely that Antiochus would have been present at the executions.

1. *seven brethren . . . were taken.*] *I.e.* "seized," "apprehended."

against the law.] The Jewish law of unclean meats is of course intended. (See Lev. xi. 7.)

scourges and whips.] "Scourges" (*μάστιγες*) were whips of cords (John ii. 15); "whips" (*νευρὰ*) were of untanned hide. The latter inflicted far more suffering than the former.

2. *What wouldest thou ask?*] "Why," *i.e.*, "this mockery of an inquiry? What is there to learn? *Habes confitentes reos.* We are Jews; we admit it; and we are resolved not to transgress the Law. Put us to death at once."

3. *the king . . . commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot.*] The "caldrons" (*λέβητες*) of the present passage seem to have been the vessels that contained the fire, on the top of which were placed the "pans" (*τήγανα*), that these latter might be heated to a glow. The victims were placed in the "pans" (*v.* 5). Burning to death was a recognised Assyrian and Babylonian practice ('Records of the Past,' vol. i. p. 77; vol. ix. p. 56, &c.; Dan. iii. 6–27; Jer. xxix. 22), but seems to have been effected ordinarily by means of a furnace.

4. *to cut off the utmost parts of his body.*] On this punishment, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 9, § 13; 'Beh. Inscr.' col. ii. par. 13, 14; Nic. Damasc. Fr. 132; Herodian. vi. 6, § 6; viii. 4, § 29, &c. Our translators, like the Syriac, have omitted wholly to attempt any rendering of the participle *περισκυθίσαντες*, which must certainly designate some other distinct cruelty. It probably means "scalping," or "removing the scalp"—a noted Scythian practice (Herod. iv. 64; Plin. 'H. N.' vii. 11; Hesych. ad voc. *Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον*). The Vulgate gives "cute capitis abstracta."

5. *as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed.*] The meaning seems to be, that the scent of the roasting flesh extended to a considerable distance, reaching the spot where the mother and her other children stood. So the Syriac Version, and Dean Stanley ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 299, note [1]), who parallels the remark with the jests of St. Lawrence in the martyrologies.

B. C. cir. 167.

6 The Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as [a]Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.

[a] Deut. 32. 36.

7 So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock: and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body?

8 But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did.

9 And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life.

B. C. cir. 167.

10 After him was the third made a mocking stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully,

11 And said courageously, These I had from heaven; and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again.

12 Insomuch that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled

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6. *The Lord God looketh upon us.*] Rather, "the Lord God **keepeth watch**"—has an eye, not only over us, but over all things. The expression is quite general.

hath comfort in us.] Rather, "**is compassionate towards** us," according to the general meaning of the phrase. (See Deut. xxxii. 36; Ps. xc. 13, cxxxv. 14.)

Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces.] Rather, "which witnessed **against them** to their faces" (τῆς ἀντιμαρτυρούσης ᾠδῆς). The reference is to *vv.* 15–33 of the "Song," where Moses reproaches the Israelites with their unfaithfulness.

saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.] Our version of the "Song" gives —"and repent himself for his servants" (Deut. xxxii. 36).

7. *to make him a mocking stock.*] Compare Heb. xi. 36, "and others had trials of cruel *mockings* and scourgings;" and for the practice of mocking an accused person before executing him, see Matt. xxvii. 29, 30; Mark xv. 20, 31; Luke xxiii. 11, 36.

when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair.] A variant mode of describing the operation of scalping. Compare *v.* 4, and the comment *ad loc.*

Wilt thou eat?] Supply "swine's flesh" from *v.* 1.

before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body.] As the first brother had been punished. (See *vv.* 4 and 5.)

8. *he answered in his own language.*] *I.e.* in the Syriac of the time, which the executioners would understand well enough, though Antiochus, as seems to be implied below (*v.* 24), might not, as a Greek, be familiar with any other language than his own.

9. *Thou like a fury.*] Rather, "Thou, **O wicked one.**" An ἀλάστωρ is a man who does deeds of wickedness that cannot be forgotten (ὁ ἄλαστα δεδρακώς). The word is rarely found in prose, but is common with the tragedians. (See Æsch. 'Ag.' 1482; 'Eum.' 227; 'Suppl.' 410; 'Pers.' 256;—Soph. 'Œd. Col.' 788; 'Aj.' 372;—Eurip. 'Hec.' 675, 949; 'Phœn.' 1556, &c.)

shall raise us up . . . unto everlasting life.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26. As that passage alludes to the punishment after death of those who offend God, so the present brings forward with great distinctness the happiness enjoyed after death by those who have remained faithful to Him. Whatever obscurity had hung about the doctrine of a future life and future rewards and punishments, during the earlier period of the Mosaic dispensation, it is clear that at this time there was a firm belief in them among all the religious part of the nation. (See *vv.* 11, 14, 23, 29, 36; and compare ch. xii. 43–45, xiv. 46.)

10. *After him was the third made a mocking stock.*] See the comment on *v.* 7.

11. *These I had from heaven.*] [a]*I.e.* they were given to me by God at my birth. His hands "made me and fashioned me" (Job x. 8). "In his book were all my members written; which day by day were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them" (Ps. cxxxix. 16).

from him I hope to receive them again.] Here we have belief in the resurrection of the *body* expressed. This doctrine is perhaps scarcely taught in Job xix. 25–27, where some have thought to find it; but it appears distinctly in Daniel (xii. 2) and Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1–14), and seems to have been the general belief of the Jews after the return from the Captivity.

B. C. cir. 167. at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

13 Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner.

14 So when he was ready to die he said thus, It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life.

15 Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him.

16 Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God;

17 But abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed.

18 After him also they brought the sixth, who being ready to die said, Be not deceived without cause: for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done *unto us*.

B. C. cir. 167.

19 But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpunished.

20 But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that she had in the Lord.

21 Yea, she exhorted every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits; and stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them,

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12. *the king.*] Rather, "the king **himself**."

14. *when he was ready to die.*] Or, "at the point of death."

to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him.] It was distinctly recognised by the Jews that there could be no *natural* resurrection. The "dead bones" could not "live," unless through some miraculous exertion of Divine power upon them. Consequently each Jew looked to be raised up to a new life after death by a distinct act of Omnipotence performed for his individual benefit.

as for thee.] The denunciations of their persecutor by the martyrs, here and in *vv.* 17, 19, 31, 35–37, are such as Christian martyrs have been taught by their Lord not to utter (Matt. v. 44; Luke xxiii. 34). They are, however, such as the brutal conduct of Antiochus well deserved, and such as human nature instinctively utters, unless subdued and perfected by grace. Compare the denunciations of the Psalms (Ps. xxxv. 4; xl. 14, 15; lv. 15; lix. 10–13; &c.).

16. *Thou hast power . . . thou art corruptible . . . thou doest.*] The *nexus* of the clauses is lost by this interpretation. Translate—"Thou that art corruptible, yet hast power over men, doest what thou wilt." The point of the reproach is, that, being a frail perishing mortal, entrusted with power over men, he should suppose himself at liberty to treat them according to his mere will and pleasure. Compare John xix. 11, where our Lord suggests to Pilate his responsibility for the use of a "power given to him from above."

17. *abide a while.*] Literally, "Be patient;" *i.e.* "Do not be in a hurry to judge: wait, and see the result."

how he will torment thee and thy seed.] Compare ch. ix. 5–28; xiv. 2. The speaker does not claim the prophetic gift, but utters his threat upon the general conviction that God will punish evil-doers, and their seed after them. (Compare Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Lev. xxvi. 39, &c.)

18. *being ready to die.*] Rather, "**when he was about to** die."

for ourselves.] Rather, "**on our own account**"—because we have sinned, and God is punishing us in this life, to purify us and make us fit for the life which is to come in heaven. (See ch. vi. 13.)

20. *the mother was marvellous above all.*] First, as a woman, whereas the rest were men and might be expected to bear pain and death; secondly, as subjected to worse suffering than the others, since there is no such agony as that felt by a mother who sees her children tortured and slain. But the crowning marvellousness is no doubt that related in *vv.* 24–29—the mother exhorting her youngest not to accept the offer of his life and of the royal favour, but to die nobly like his brethren.

21. *in her own language.*] See the comment on *v.* 8.

stirring up her womanish thoughts with a

B. C. cir. 167.

22 I cannot tell how ye came into my womb; for I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you;

23 But doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake.

24 Now Antiochus, thinking himself despised, and suspecting it to be a reproachful speech, whilst the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs.

B. C. cir. 167.

25 But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the king called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life.

26 And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised him that she would counsel her son.

27 But she bowing herself toward

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manly stomach.] Gregory Nazianzen says she had the soul of a man in the body of a woman ('Hom. in Macc.' p. 399). The language is perhaps rather conventional, than in accordance with the facts of human nature, since in enduring pain women have at all times exhibited at least equal courage with men, and the martyrologies shew as many female names as male.

22. *I cannot tell how ye came into my womb.*] Compare Eccles. xi. 5. Conception, generation, growth, have always been mysteries, and remain such, despite of vivisection and the microscope. The formation of human beings in the womb is fairly paralleled with their re-formation after death and dissolution have taken place. Each is a Divine work, and requires Divine power and Divine knowledge for its accomplishment. God's ability to effect the one may well encourage us to believe that He can effect the other. This is the mother's argument.

I neither gave you breath nor life.] The most earnest wishes, the greatest care, on the part of the mother will not secure the child's being born alive. God alone gives the life, the vital principle, the soul, or whatever we choose to call it, the germ of personality and of an undying existence.

nor was it I that formed the members.] Compare Job x. 8–12: "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about . . . thou hast made me as the clay . . . thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favour," &c. See also Ps. cxxxix. 13–16.

23. *the Creator . . . who formed the generation of man.*] See Gen. i. 26, 27; ii. 7, 18–22.

and found out the beginning of all things.] *I.e.* who determined after deep thought the constitution of the universe. Compare Eph. i. 11, "Who worketh all things *after the counsel* of his will."

of his own mercy.] Rather, "of his mercy." There is no epithet to ἔλεος.

24. *Antiochus . . . suspecting it to be a reproachful speech.*] Rather, "suspecting **the tone of reproach** in which she spoke." Antiochus could not understand what the woman said, as he did not know Syriac; but he caught the *tone* of the speech (*τὴν φωνήν*), which sounded like one of reproach; and this made him suspicious of the tenor of her words.

he would take him for his friend.] On the position of "king's friend" at the Syrian Court, see the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 18, where the offer here made is repeated to Mattathias.

25. *in no case.*] Rather, "**in no wise.**"

the king . . . exhorted her.] Either the mother is to be regarded as understanding Greek, or Antiochus as having spoken to her through an interpreter.

26. *she promised him that she would counsel her son.*] Literally, "that she would *persuade* her son." The king, no doubt, understood this to mean, that she would persuade him to accept his offer; but the mother only meant that she would use her influence with him, and persuade him to do what she thought right.

27. *bowing herself toward him.*] *I.e.* leaning towards him, so as to bring herself nearer, and to give her words greater effect. The touch is most graphic and affecting. She was afraid that her youngest, probably a mere boy, might yield, and so tarnish the glory of her race, and at the same time become eternally lost to her (*v.* 29).

B. C. cir. 167. him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner; O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education.

28 I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that [a] Rom. 4. 17. [b]God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise.

29 Fear not this tormentor, but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death, that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren. B. C. cir. 167.

30 Whiles she was yet speaking these words, the young man said, Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the king's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses.

31 And thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God.

32 For we suffer because of our sins.

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laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn.] Rather, "**passing a cheat on** the cruel tyrant"—*i.e.* making him think she was persuading her son to accept his offer, when she was doing the opposite.

that bare thee.] Literally, "that carried thee about."

and gave thee suck three years.] Compare 2 Chr. xxxi. 16, where we find that the children of the priests had no daily portion of food assigned them until they were three years old. Children are still suckled in the East for three, or even four, years.

and endured the troubles of education.] Rather, "and **did thy nursing.**" Compare Deut. i. xxxi; and Acts xiii. 18 (according to one reading). The word points to the tendance of a nurse, not to "education" in our sense of the term.

28. *consider that God made them of things that were not.*] Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων. Compare Heb. xi. 3: "Things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." The creation of the universe out of nothing, which was an idea never reached by heathen philosophy, seems to have been from the first the conception of the Hebrews. No pre-existent matter is spoken of in Genesis, where God makes all things by a mere word. Compare the declaration of the Psalmist, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth" (Ps. xxxiii. 6). Contact with Greek philosophy at Alexandria modified the Hebrew view; and we find the author of the Book of Wisdom declaring, quite in the language of a Platonist, that God's "almighty hand made the world out of matter without form" (ἐξ ὕλης ἀμόρφου). Compare Plat. 'Tim.' p. 30, A; and Tim. Locr. § 1.

and so was mankind made likewise.] This is not altogether true. "God formed man of the dust of the ground" (Gen. ii. 7), and formed woman out of man (ib. *vv.* 21, 22). But he had previously formed the dust of the ground out of nothing.

29. *this tormentor.*] Or, "this hangman." The word employed is the usual one for the common executioner. It is a term, not merely of vituperation, but of insult.

that I may receive thee again.] The mother expects to meet her sons again in the other world, and to hold still the relation of a mother towards them.

30. *Whiles she was yet speaking.*] Some MSS. have καταληγούσης, which would mean "as she was leaving off;" and Grimm prefers this reading; but it does not suit the preceding ἔτι, "yet." We can say, "while she was yet speaking," but not "while she was *yet* leaving off." The Vulgate, the Syriac, and Joseph. Gorion. (iii. 6), confirm the received text.

I will not obey.] Literally, "I obey not"—*i.e.* "I decide not to obey."

31. *the author of all mischief.*] Literally, "the inventor of all evil." Compare Rom. i. 30. Jason, Menelaus, and others had no doubt been the original conceivers of much of the "mischief;" but nothing could have been *done* except by command of Antiochus. On him therefore the responsibility rested.

against the Hebrews.] The old ethnic name, "Hebrews" (Ex. ii. 13), which had fallen out of use for many centuries, was revived in the course of the second century B.C., and came to be regarded as a title of honour. (See 2 Macc. xi. 13, xv. 37; 4 Macc. iv. 11, v. 1, viii. 2, &c.; Acts vi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 22; Philipp. iii. 5.) It has not, however, any special force in this place.

32. *we suffer because of our sins.*] Compare *v.* 18.

B. C. cir. 167.

33 And though the living God be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants.

34 But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God:

35 For thou hast not yet escaped the judgment of Almighty God, who seeth all things.

36 For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life: but thou, through the judgment of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride.

37 But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that [c] thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God;

B. C. cir. 167.

38 And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon all our nation, may cease.

39 Then the king, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked.

40 So this man died undefiled, and put his whole trust in the Lord.

41 Last of all after the sons the mother died.

42 Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures.

[c] 2 Mac. 6. 13. ch. 9. 12, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 *Judas gathereth an host.* 9 *Nicanor is sent against him: who presumeth to make much money of his prisoners.* 16 *Judas encourageth his men, and putteth Nicanor to flight,* 28 *and divideth the spoils.* 30 *Other enemies are also defeated,* 35 *and Nicanor fleeth with grief to Antioch.*

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34. *puffed up with uncertain hopes.*] The vain hope of forcing Hellenism on the whole Jewish nation, and inducing them to renounce their own religion.

35. *who seeth all things.*] Rather, "who **keepeth a watch**"—*i.e.* who has an eye on men and their doings (ἐπόπτης, not παντόπτης).

36. *God's covenant of everlasting life.*] It is not easy to see how, anterior to Christianity, God could be said to have entered into covenant with man, to give him "everlasting life." Daniel had declared that, of those who slept in the dust of the earth, some should "awake to *eternal life*, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (ch. xii. 2); but the declaration was in no way a "covenant." David, it is true, had spiritualised the idea of Canaan, and spoken of an entrance into rest as guaranteed to true Israelites, which was still future in his day (Ps. xcv. 8–11; Heb. iii. 7–19, iv. 5–9). But this was far short of a covenant to give *eternal life*. Perhaps the covenant was regarded as anterior to revelation, and implied in man's moral nature. Perhaps no very definite account could have been given of it, even by those with whom it was an article of faith.

37. *that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God.*] The "torments and plagues," which the writer believes Antiochus to have suffered, are set forth in ch. ix. 5–11; the confession, which he supposes him to have made, in ch. ix. 12–17. Of these, the latter seems to be an invention (see 1 Macc. vi. 11–13), while the former are much exaggerated (ibid. 8–10).

39. *and took it grievously.*] Rather, "**since he** took it grievously." The author assigns this as the reason of his rage, and of his excessive cruelty towards the youngest of the brothers.

40. *and put his whole trust, &c.*] It would be better to translate—"trusting wholly in the Lord." The trust was before, and at the time of, death.

42. *Let this be enough now to have spoken.*] Compare the summaries in ch. iii. 40, x. 9, xiii. 26, and xv. 38, 39. It is the author's habit to end each portion of his work with a sort of summary or recapitulation.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART III.

THE WAR OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS WITH ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

§ 1. THE BEGINNINGS OF MACCABÆUS. PHILIP'S APPLICATION TO PTOLEMÆUS, GOVERNOR OF CŒLESYRIA.

1–8. The writer had told us (ch. v. 27), that Judas Maccabæus, with about nine

B. C. cir. 166.

THEN Judas Maccabeus, and they that were with him, went privily into the towns, and called their kinsfolks together, and took unto them all such as continued in the Jews' religion, and assembled about six thousand men.

2 And they called upon the Lord, that he would look upon the people that was trodden down of all; and also pity the temple profaned of ungodly men;

3 And that he would have compassion upon the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground; and hear the blood that cried unto him,

4 And remember the wicked slaughter of harmless infants, and the blasphemies committed against his name; and that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.

5 Now when Maccabeus had his company about him, he could not be withstood by the heathen: for the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.

B. C. cir. 166.

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others, withdrew himself from Jerusalem, soon after the cruel massacre of unarmed Jews in the streets of Jerusalem by Apollonius (ibid. *v.* 26). He now resumes his account of this hero and his marvellous doings, occupying with them the remainder of his treatise, but dividing them into three portions, corresponding to the three reigns of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius Soter. Here he relates how Judas, having collected about six thousand men, and made solemn prayer to God, began a series of offensive operations, chiefly by night, and thus got into his hands many of the Judæan towns, and gained several victories over the king's troops. At last, Philip, the commandant of Jerusalem, finding himself overmatched, applied to Ptolemy, governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, for aid, and begged him to interpose in the war, which was going against the interests of the king.

1. *they that were with him.*] The little knot of nine or ten friends, who, according to our author, had withdrawn with him from Jerusalem. We know from 1 Macc. ii. 27–48 that the first army was in reality collected, and the first battles fought, by Mattathias, whom the author of the Second Book wholly ignores.

about six thousand men.] According to the author of the first book, Judas had no more than 3000 men in his contest with Gorgias and Nicanor (1 Macc. iv. 6). Against Lysias he mustered 10,000 (ibid. *v.* 29). The estimate of numbers with Orientals is always vague and uncertain.

2. *they called upon the Lord.*] On the strong devotional spirit that animated Judas, see 1 Macc. iii. 18–22, 46–60; iv. 8–11, 24, 30–33, 36–59; ix. 10. The present passage (*vv.* 2–4) is quite in accordance with those above quoted, and adds the further fact, that his army was animated by much the same spirit as himself, and "continued calling upon God" (ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Κύριον) day by day and hour by hour.

that was trodden down of all.] Trampled upon by Syrians, Phrygians (ch. v. 22), and renegade Jews, the last the worst enemies of God's faithful people.

the temple profaned of ungodly men.] See ch. v. 15–21, vi. 2–5; and compare 1 Macc. i. 21–59, iii. 45. If the profanation described in ch. vi. 4 continued, we can well understand the horror of all pious Jews, and their earnest prayers that such pollutions might cease.

3. *the city, sore defaced, and ready to be made even with the ground.*] Apollonius had "set the city on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side" (1 Macc. i. 31).

the blood that cried unto him.] *I.e.* the blood of the 80,000 slain by Antiochus himself (ch. v. 14), of the 22,000 slaughtered by Apollonius (ibid. *v.* 24), and of all the later martyrs (ch. vi. 10–31). Innocent blood, shed by man, cries to God for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10; Rev. vi. 10).

4. *the wicked slaughter of harmless infants.*] See 1 Macc. i. 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10.

the blasphemies committed.] As calling the temple of Jehovah that of Jupiter Olympius (ch. vi. 2). Impious deeds, however, seem to have been regarded as "blasphemies," no less than impious words. (See the comment on ch. ii. 6.)

that he would shew his hatred against the wicked.] Literally, "that he would hate wickedness." But the translation does not ill express the meaning of the writer.

5. *his company.*] *I.e.* his army of 6,000 men (see *v.* 1).

he could not be withstood.] See 1 Macc. iii. 10–26.

the wrath of the Lord was turned into mercy.] The prayers of the seven brethren had been heard (Grimm). The tide had turned. The fortunes of Israel were once more in the ascendant. Instead of a nation

B. C. cir. 166.

6 Therefore he came at unawares, and burnt up towns and cities, and got into his hands the most commodious places, and overcame and put to flight no small number of his enemies.

7 But specially took he advantage of the night for such privy attempts, insomuch that the bruit of his manliness was spread every where.

8 So when Philip saw that this man increased by little and little, and that things prospered with him still more and more, he wrote unto Ptolemeus, the governor of Celosyria and Phenice, to yield more aid to the king's affairs.

B. C. cir. 166.

9 Then forthwith choosing Nicanor the *son* of Patroclus, one of his special friends, he sent him with no

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crushed beneath the heel of the oppressor, there was now to be seen a nucleus of patriots, determined on resisting the tyrant to the uttermost, and on maintaining at once the national religion and the separate national existence. Uninterrupted success attended the early efforts of this party under the leadership of Judas.

6. *at unawares.*] His first successes were a series of surprises. He suddenly appeared before towns and villages which did not expect him, besieged, stormed, and burnt them. His attacks were chiefly made by night (see *v.* 7).

and got into his hands . . . and overcame.] Rather, "and **by getting** into his hands the most commodious places, he overcame," &c. The seizure of important posts is represented as the cause of his victories.

7. *specially took he advantage of the night.*] Night attacks are regarded by the Orientals as especially dangerous, and are very seldom adventured on. A leader whose attacks were systematically made by night would in the East soon acquire a reputation for extraordinary daring.

8. *So when Philip saw.*] "Philip the Phrygian" was the Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem, whom Antiochus had left there when he withdrew to Antioch (ch. v. 22). His continuance in the office is implied in ch. vi. 11.

he wrote unto Ptolemeus.] The name Ptolemy was very common at the time, and causes much confusion; but the Ptolemy here intended is probably the son of Dorymenes, already mentioned by the author as high in the favour of Antiochus (ch. iv. 45, 46), and coupled with Nicanor and Gorgias by the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 38). For the antecedents of this Ptolemy, see the comment on the last-quoted passage.

the governor of Celosyria and Phenice.] Apollonius had ceased to hold that office (ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, v. 24, compared with 1 Macc. i. 29, iii. 10–12), apparently before his death, and had been replaced by Ptolemy.

§ 2. THE EXPEDITION OF NICANOR AND GORGIAS AGAINST JUDAS. VICTORY OF JUDAS. HIS SOLEMN THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER.

9–29. This passage has to be compared with 1 Macc. iii. 38–60, iv. 1–25, which relates to the same occurrences. The chief differences between the two accounts are—(1.) That in 1 Macc. Lysias is made to conceive the expedition, while Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias are entrusted with its execution; but in 2 Macc. Ptolemy forms the plan and assigns its execution to the two others. (2.) In 1 Macc. Gorgias appears as the actual commander, while Nicanor is barely mentioned; in 2 Macc. the position of the two is reversed. (3.) The writer of 1 Macc. estimates the Syro-Macedonian forces at 47,000 (ch. iii. 39); those under Judas at 3,000 (ch. iv. 6), while our author makes the respective numbers 20,000 (*v.* 9) and 6,000 (*v.* 16). On the other hand, the number of the slain on the Syro-Macedonian side, which is but 3,000 in 1 Macc. iv. 15, is raised to 9,000 in 2 Macc. viii. 24. (4.) The account in 1 Macc. goes into much greater detail than that in 2 Macc. with respect to the movements on either side, military and other; while 2 Macc. adds an interesting feature in the division of his forces made by Judas (*v.* 22), and another in the part assigned to Eleazar (*v.* 23). (5.) The account of Judas's march on Jerusalem, and return to Emmaus is peculiar to 1 Macc. (ch. iii. 46–57), while the accounts of his speech immediately before the battle (2 Macc. viii. 16–20) and his thanksgiving afterwards (ibid. *vv.* 27–29) are given at length only in 2 Macc. Altogether the two accounts have little that is contradictory except the numbers, and help to fill out each other.

9. *Then forthwith choosing.*] Rather, "**And he** (*i.e.* Ptolemy) forthwith choosing," &c. Ewald says that our author regards *Philip* as appointing these officers ('Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 310, note [1]); but this is incorrect. The pronoun ὁ can only refer to the latest antecedent, Ptolemy.

Nicanor the son of Patroclus.] See 1 Macc.

B. C. cir. 166.

fewer than twenty thousand of all nations under him, to root out the whole generation of the Jews; and with him he joined also Gorgias a captain, who in matters of war had great experience.

10 So Nicanor undertook to make so much money of [a] the captive Jews, as should defray the tribute of two thousand talents, which the king was to pay to the Romans.

[a] 1 Mac. 3. 41. ver. 25, 34.

11 Wherefore immediately he sent to the cities upon the sea coast, proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews, and promising that they should have fourscore and ten bodies for one talent, not expecting the vengeance that was to follow upon him from the Almighty God.

B. C. cir. 166.

12 Now when word was brought unto Judas of Nicanor's coming, and he had imparted unto those that were with him that the army was at hand,

13 [b] They that were fearful, and distrusted the justice of God, fled, and conveyed themselves away.

[b] 1 Mac. 3. 56.

14 Others sold all that they had left, and withal besought the Lord to deliver them, being sold by the wicked Nicanor before they met together:

15 And if not for their own sakes, yet for the covenants he had made with their fathers, and for his holy

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iii. 38, and Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 3. It is probable, though not quite certain, that this is the same Nicanor who made the expeditions against Judæa of which an account is given by our author in chs. xiv. and xv.

no fewer than twenty thousand.] Forty-seven thousand, according to 1 Macc. (iii. 39) and Josephus (*l. s. c.*). Ewald accepts the larger number.

to root out the whole generation of the Jews.] Rather, "the whole **race**." Compare 1 Macc. iii. 35, 36, where this design is distinctly ascribed to Antiochus himself.

with him he joined also Gorgias.] See 1 Macc. iii. 38; iv. 1, 5, 18; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, §§ 3, 4.

10. *Nicanor undertook.*] Rather, "**determined**." It is represented as his own idea that he should raise the money wanted for the tribute by the sale of Jewish slaves. Note that the writer of the First Book knows nothing of this proposed application of the money, and that Roman history knows nothing of any "tribute" due at this time to Rome from Antiochus. Syria was not tributary to Rome; and the last instalment of the indemnity to which Antiochus the Great became liable after the battle of Magnesia, was paid by Epiphanes in B.C. 173 (Liv. xlii. 6), eight years before this expedition of Nicanor's.

11. *the cities upon the sea coast.*] The Phœnician cities especially, which profited largely by the sale of slaves (Ezek. xxvii. 13).

fourscore and ten bodies for one talent.] Slaves were called "bodies" in the later Greek, being regarded materially, as mere live implements (ἔμψυχα ὄργανα, Arist. 'Pol.' i. 2). Ninety slaves for a talent was an extraordinarily low price, when all classes of slaves were to be included; since it was very little above the lowest current rate. *That*, according to Xenophon ('Mem.' ii. 5, § 2), was half a *mina* (2*l.*). Captives in war were ordinarily redeemable at a *mina* (Arist. 'Eth. Nic.' v. 6, § 1). Strong and capable slaves fetched commonly ten *minæ* (40*l.*); superior ones sometimes fetched a talent (240*l.*). The rate established by Nicanor made the price of a slave two-thirds of a *mina* (2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*). He must have expected to sell 180,000, in order to obtain the 2000 talents which he intended to raise. On the flocking of the slave-merchants to the Syrian camp on the occasion, see 1 Macc. iii. 41.

13. *They that were fearful . . . fled.*] The author of the First Book says that Judas issued an order that all those who were afraid should disperse to their homes (1 Macc. iii. 56).

14. *Others sold all that they had left.*] Rather, "**the** others," or "**the remainder**." The fact is unnoticed by the writer of the First Book, and may perhaps be doubted. It is not very clear what fugitives like those who formed the army of Judas (1 Macc. iii. 43, 44) would have to sell, or to whom they could sell, unless it were one to another.

before they met together.] Rather, "before **he fell in with them**," or "before **he joined battle with them**." Nicanor had as good as sold them; *i.e.* he had arranged for their price, and invited their purchasers into his camp, before he had even so much as met them in the field.

15. *for the covenants he had made with their fathers.*] As with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (see ch. i. 2), and again with the whole nation in the wilderness (Ex. xix. 5–8; xxiv. 3–8; xxxiv. 10).

and for his holy and glorious name's sake,

B. C. cir. 166. and glorious name's sake, by which they were called.

16 So Maccabeus called his men together unto the number of six [c] thousand, and exhorted them [c] not to be stricken with terror of the enemy, nor to fear the great multitude of the heathen, who came wrongfully against them; but to fight manfully,

17 And to set before their eyes the injury that they had unjustly done to the holy place, and the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery, and also the taking away of the government of their forefathers:

18 For they, said he, trust in their weapons and boldness; but our confidence is in the Almighty God, who at a beck can cast down both them that come against us, and also all the world.

19 Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found, and [d] how they were delivered, when under Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand perished.

20 And he told them of the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians, how they came but eight thousand in all to the business, with four thousand Macedonians, and that the Macedonians being perplexed, the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand because of the help that they had from heaven, and so received a great booty.

B. C. cir. 166.

[c] 1 Mac. 4. 8.

[d] 1 Mac. 7. 41. ch. 15. 22.

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by which they were called.] Rather, "and because of their being called by his holy and glorious name." Because, *i.e.*, they were known as "the people of God" (Ex. xxxiii. 13; Deut. ix. 26, &c.), and their destruction, at which Nicanor aimed, would have been a sort of dishonour to God himself.

16. *unto the number of six thousand.*] The writer seems to have forgotten what he had said, of many having "fled and conveyed themselves away" (*v.* 13). He makes the number of Judas's army, after this defection, exactly the same as before it. (See *v.* 1.) The writer of the First Book, on the contrary, makes the armed men who remained with Judas no more than 3,000 (1 Macc. iv. 6), and Josephus agrees with this estimate ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4).

nor to fear the great multitude.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 8.

17. *the injury . . . unjustly done to the holy place.*] See above, ch. vi. 2–5.

the cruel handling of the city, whereof they made a mockery.] The inhabitants of the city, rather than the city itself, seem to be here intended, and the reference to be to the "cruel handling" and "mocking" of the martyrs. (See ch. vii. 7, 10, 13, &c.)

the taking away of the government of their forefathers.] The appointment of Philip the Phrygian as Syro-Macedonian governor of Jerusalem (ch. v. 22), and the sending of royal commissioners from Antioch with unlimited powers (ch. vi. 1), were infringements of the terms on which the Jews had become subjects of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, and amounted to an abolition (καταλύσις) of their ancestral government. Under the new system, the High Priest was a mere puppet in the hands of the Syro-Macedonian governor.

19. *Moreover he recounted unto them what helps their forefathers had found.*] The writer of the First Book makes his sole historic reference to be to the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptians at the Red Sea (ch. iv. 9). This our present author omits, while bringing forward two other great deliverances.

under Sennacherib.] See 2 Kings xix. 35; and compare 1 Macc. vii. 41.

20. *the battle that they had in Babylon with the Galatians.*] Rather, "in **Babylonia**." Nothing more is known of this engagement. Galatian troops were widely employed as mercenaries by the Asiatic kings for some time after the great Galatian inroad into Asia Minor in the third century B.C. (Justin. xxv. 2, § 10), and are said to have fought on both sides in the war of Antiochus the Great with Molo. As Babylon was in fact the scene of this struggle, it is conjectured that Judas alludes to some episode of the contest, not elsewhere mentioned, in which the Jews who served under Antiochus had gained a victory over a large body of Galatians in the service of Molo (Grimm).

with four thousand Macedonians.] *I.e.* "Syro-Macedonians"—Greek subjects of the Seleucidæ.

the eight thousand destroyed an hundred and twenty thousand.] Here there is probably a great exaggeration. The Galatians, in the height of their prosperity, never brought into the field more than about 20,000 warriors (Liv. xxxviii. 16). Moreover, the number of mercenaries in the service of any single Asiatic king is not found to have exceeded 8,000.

and so received a great booty.] Literally,

B. C. cir. 166.

21 Thus when he had made them bold with these words, and ready to die for the laws and the country, he divided his army into four parts;

22 And joined with himself his own brethren, leaders of each band, *to wit*, Simon, and Joseph, and Jonathan, giving each one fifteen hundred men.

23 Also *he appointed* Eleazar to read the holy book: and when he had given them this watchword, The help of God; himself leading the first band, he joined battle with Nicanor.

24 And by the help of the Almighty they slew above nine thousand of their enemies, and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host, and so put all to flight;

B. C. cir. 166.

25 And took [e]their money that [f]came to buy them, and pursued them far: but lacking time they returned;

[e] ver. 10, 11, 34.

26 For it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they would no longer pursue them.

27 So when they had gathered [g]their armour together, and spoiled their enemies, they occupied them-

[g] That is, *the enemies' armour.*

"great advantage." The nature of the advantage is not stated.

21. *he divided his army into four parts.*] Literally, "He made **a sort of fourfold division** of his army." It is not meant that he made an actual separation of his men, and sent some to fight in one place and some in another, as was done by his adversaries (1 Macc. iv. 1–7), but only that he enrolled his soldiers in four regiments, each under its own leader. The leaders were himself and three of his brothers, Simon, John, and Jonathan.

22. *Joseph.*] This "Joseph" is clearly the brother called John by the author of the First Book (ch. ii. 2; ix. 36, 38). It is not, however, a wrong reading, or even a mere slip of the pen on the part of the writer, but probably an actual mistake. He repeats the error in ch. x. 19.

giving each one fifteen hundred men.] This statement assumes that the total number was 6,000, as stated in *v.* 16. If it was really no more than 3,000, we must regard the "regiments" as consisting each of 750 men.

23. *Also he appointed Eleazar to read the holy book.*] The existing Greek text is ungrammatical, and cannot be said to have any clear and distinct meaning. It seems necessary to change παραγνοὺς into παραγνῶναι, in order to obtain anything like a satisfactory sense. We may then supply ἔταξε from the τάξας at the beginning of *v.* 22, and translate as in the English Version. The δοὺς of the second clause probably misled the copyists.

this watchword, The help of God.] Compare ch. xiii. 15. On the practice of giving a watchword to an army about to engage in battle, see Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, § 17; 'Cyrop.' iii. 3, § 58; vii. 1, § 10; Appian, 'Bell. Civ.' ii. 76; Veget. 'De Re Mil.' iii. 3, &c.

himself leading the first band.] *I.e.* the first of the four regiments into which he had divided his army (*v.* 21).

he joined battle with Nicanor.] Nicanor, it appears, was in command of the main body of Syro-Macedonian troops encamped at Emmaus, which Judas attacked, after Gorgias had been sent with five thousand men into the hill-country to attack him (1 Macc. iv. 1–14).

24. *they slew above nine thousand.*] The slain are reckoned by the writer of the First Book as "upon a three thousand" (ch. iv. 15). So also Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 4). The probability is in favour of the smaller number.

and wounded and maimed the most part of Nicanor's host.] Another exaggeration. If 3,000 were killed, it is not likely that more than 6,000 were wounded. But Nicanor's host had numbered twenty thousand, according to our author (*v.* 9); forty-seven thousand, according to the writer of the First Book (1 Macc. iii. 39).

25. *And took their money that came to buy them.*] See above, *v.* 11, and compare 1 Macc. iii. 41. On the richness and abundance of the spoil taken after the battle, see 1 Macc. iv. 23.

and pursued them far.] To Gazara, Azotus, Jamnia, and the borders of Idumæa (ibid. *v.* 15).

but lacking time they returned.] The writer of the First Book attributes the short pursuit and speedy return of Judas's army to the fact that Gorgias, with an unbroken body of Syro-Macedonian troops, was in the immediate neighbourhood, and had to be guarded against (1 Macc. iv. 15–18). He says nothing of the approach of the Sabbath.

27. *when they had gathered their armour together.*] Here there is an "undesigned coincidence" between the accounts of the two historians. The writer of the First Book notes, that the troops of Judas before the battle

B. C. cir. 166. selves about the sabbath, yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord, who had preserved them unto that day, which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.

28 And after the sabbath, when they had given part of the spoils to the ‖maimed, and the widows, and orphans, the residue they divided among themselves and their servants.

‖ Or, *lamed with tortures.*

29 When this was done, and they had made a common supplication, they besought the merciful Lord to be reconciled with his servants for ever.

30 Moreover of those that were with Timotheus and Bacchides, who fought against them, they slew above twenty thousand, and very easily got high and strong holds, and divided among themselves many spoils more, and made the ‖maimed, orphans, widows, yea, and the aged also, equal in spoils with themselves.

B. C. cir. 165.

‖ Or, *lamed.*

31 And when they had gathered their armour together, they laid them up all carefully in convenient places, and the remnant of the spoils they brought to Jerusalem.

32 They slew also Phylarches, that wicked person, who was with Timotheus, and had annoyed the Jews many ways.

33 Furthermore at such time as they kept the feast for the victory in

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"had neither armour nor swords to their mind," but says nothing of their stripping the dead after their victory. The author of the Second supplies this fact, without having previously noted the want of satisfactory arms on the part of the Israelites.

yielding exceeding praise and thanks to the Lord.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 24.

which was the beginning of mercy distilling upon them.] Our translators preferred the reading στάξαντος or στάξαντι, which is followed also by the Vulgate. But the ordinary reading of the MSS. (τάξαντος or τάξαντι) is more probable, and gives as good a sense. Translate, "and had appointed a beginning of mercy for them." The author, apparently, is not aware of the previous victories of Judas over Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 10–24).

28. *the maimed.*] Those who had been injured, without being killed, by the persecutors. Compare ch. vii. 1–4.

29. *they . . . made a common supplication.*] The "supplication" was apparently additional to the thanksgiving of *v.* 27, and subsequent to it. No mention is made of it by the writer of the First Book.

§ 3. FURTHER SUCCESSES OF JUDAS AGAINST TIMOTHEUS AND BACCHIDES.

30–33. The successes here briefly mentioned seem to be those which the writer of the First Book considers to have been gained over Lysias (1 Macc. iv. 28–34), and which belong to the year B.C. 165–164, the year following the defeat of Nicanor. It is possible that Timotheus and Bacchides were generals under Lysias during the campaign of this year, though they are not mentioned by the writer of the First Book.

30. *they slew above twenty thousand.*] In the great battle between Judas and Lysias 5,000 only were slain (1 Macc. iv. 34; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 5). There may have been other engagements with his generals; but it is not at all likely that the entire loss of the Syro-Macedonians in the campaign can have reached the figure here given. "Twenty thousand" is a favourite number with our author. (See ch. viii. 9; x. 17, 23, 31.)

and . . . got high and strong holds.] One of these was certainly Bethsura (Beth-Zur), which fell into the hands of Judas after the defeat of Lysias, according to the writer of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61.)

31. *when they had gathered their armour together.*] See the comment on *v.* 27. The Jewish levies were still glad to obtain the superior arms and armour of their enemies. (See 1 Macc. iii. 12; iv. 6.)

32. *They slew also Phylarches.*] Rather, "the phylarch." Had the word been a proper name, it would not have been accompanied by the article. Moreover, the proper name is "Phylarch*us*," not "Phylarch*es*."

that wicked person.] Rather, "a most impious person." Nothing more is known of him than what is here stated.

33. *at such time as they kept the feast for the victory.*] Victories were celebrated by festivals both among the heathen and among the Jews. In the case of a great victory, the day was sometimes observed annually (ch. xv. 36; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 5).

in their country.] Jerusalem is probably meant rather than Judæa, since there would have been no need to state that Judæa was the scene of a Jewish feast.

B. C. cir. 165. their country they burnt Callisthenes, that had set fire upon the holy gates, who had fled into a little house; and so he received a reward meet for his wickedness.

34 As for that most ungracious Nicanor, who had brought a thousand
f ver. 25. merchants f to buy the Jews,

35 He was through the help of the Lord brought down by them, of whom he made least account; and putting off his glorious apparel, and discharging his company, he came like a fugitive servant through the midland unto Antioch, having very great dishonour, for that his host was destroyed. B. C. cir. 165.

36 Thus he, that g took upon him g ver. 10.
to make good to the Romans their tribute by means of the captives in Jerusalem, told abroad, that the Jews had God to fight for them, and therefore they could not be hurt, because they followed the laws that he gave them.

CHAPTER IX.

1 *Antiochus is chased from Persepolis.* 5 *He is stricken with a sore disease,* 14 *and promiseth to become a Jew.* 28 *He dieth miserably.*

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they burnt Callisthenes.] According to the majority of MSS., the passage runs thus:—"They burnt those who had set fire to the holy gates, namely Callisthenes and certain others, who had all fled into one small house; and so they received a reward meet for their wickedness." Grimm prefers the reading which our translators have followed; but it is a fatal objection to it, that it makes the writer say that "one man fled into *one* small house" (εἰς ἓν οἰκίδιον), as if it were possible for a man to fly into several. If it be said that ἓν may be an equivalent of τι (Wahl, 'Clavis Lib. Apoc.' *ad voc.* εἷς), the reply is, that in no other passage does the writer of this Book, whose Greek is (on the whole) good, make this unclassical substitution. The fact of the burning may be compared with what is related in ch. vi. 11, and vii. 5, 8, &c. If the one side employed this horrid mode of execution, the other side was in a manner driven to it.

that had set fire upon the holy gates.] See 1 Macc. iv. 38.

§ 4. Nicanor's Flight, and Testimony concerning the Jews.

34–36. According to our author, Nicanor, after his defeat, disguised himself, and, dismissing his retinue, returned to Antioch a solitary fugitive. Arrived there, he bore witness to the Providence which kept watch over the Jews, and declared his conviction that under the protection of their resistless God they were invincible. But little trust can be placed in any portion of these statements, which have the appearance of rhetorical embellishments. (See ch. ii. 29.)

34. *that most ungracious Nicanor.*] Literally, "the threefold sinner." Compare ch. xv. 3. The epithet is applied to Haman in the 'Additions to Esther,' ch. xvi. 15, where our translators render it by "wicked wretch."

who had brought a thousand merchants.] Rather, "**the man who brought the** thousand merchants to buy the Jews." The writer speaks as if he had mentioned the thousand merchants before, which he had certainly not done, either in *v.* 11 or elsewhere; or else as if the number was a well-known fact. It is probably one of his exaggerations.

35. *putting off his glorious apparel.*] *I.e.* his dress as commander of the army.

and discharging his company.] Rather, "his **retinue.**" Literally, the phrase used is, "making himself a solitary."

having very great dishonour.] Rather, "having **met with a** great **misfortune.**"

36. *that took upon him to make good to the Romans their tribute.*] See the comment on *v.* 10. It is there shewn that no tribute was at this time payable by the Syro-Macedonians to the Romans.

the Jews . . . could not be hurt.] Literally, "could not be *wounded*," or "were invulnerable;" but the meaning is, that they could not be conquered. Compare the testimony which Heliodorus is said by the writer to have borne, when he returned to Antioch from Jerusalem after the failure of his attempt to plunder the Temple treasury (ch. iii. 36–39).

CHAPTER IX.

§ 5. The Expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Persia, and the Affliction that befell him as he was returning.

1–10. This entire chapter runs parallel with 1 Macc. vi. 1–16. The accounts agree (1) with respect to the attempt made by Antiochus to plunder a Persian temple, and its frustration by popular resistance; (2) with respect to news reaching him on his way home of the reverses which had befallen his

B. C. cir. 163.

ABOUT that time came Antiochus ‖with dishonour [a]out of the country of Persia.

‖ Or, *disorderly.*

[a] 1 Mac. 6. 1, &c.

2 For he had entered the *city* called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple, and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened, that Antiochus being put to flight of the inhabitants returned with shame.

3 Now when he came to Ecbatane, news was brought him what had happened unto Nicanor and Timotheus.

4 Then swelling with anger, he thought to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee. Therefore commanded he his chariotman to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey, the judgment of God now following him. For he had spoken proudly in this sort, That he would come to Jerusalem, and make it a common buryingplace of the Jews.

B. C. cir. 163.

5 But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague: for as soon as he had spoken these words, [b]a pain of the bowels that was reme-

[b] 1 Mac. 6. 8, 9, 13.

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arms in the Jewish war; (3) with respect to the fact of *his* then falling into a severe illness, from the effects of which after a little time he died. They differ (1) in the place where the temple was situated; (2) in the cause and character of the sickness; and (3) in the steps taken by Antiochus when he knew that he was dying. The account in 1 Macc. vi. has more air of truth about it than that of our present author.

1. *came Antiochus with dishonour out of . . . Persia.*] Rather, "it happened that Antiochus had set off with dishonour on his return." He died at Tabæ, *in Persia* (Polyb. xxxi. 11, § 3). The "dishonour" is explained in the next verse.

2. *he had entered the city called Persepolis.*] Polybius (*l. s. c.*) and Appian ('Syriac.' § 66) place the temple which Epiphanes tried to plunder in Elymaïs, and therefore considerably to the north-west of Persepolis, which was in Persia Proper.

the multitude running to defend themselves.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 3, 4: "They of the city, having had warning, rose up against him in battle." Polybius agrees, but Appian says that he succeeded in plundering the temple.

3. *when he came to Ecbatane.*] According to the author of the First Book, Epiphanes after his repulse set out for Babylon (ch. vi. 4), but died, before reaching it, in Persia (*vv.* 5, 16). Ecbatana would lie very far to the north of this route.

news was brought him what had happened.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 5–7. This writer includes in the news the recovery of the Temple by Maccabeus, which our author seems to place later (ch. x. 1–3).

4. *the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee.*] *I.e.* his repulse from the temple which he had tried to plunder (*v.* 2).

the judgment of God now following him.] Rather, "when the judgment of **heaven** was now **approaching** him." The original expresses the idea of the judgment being just on the point of falling. The actual fall is declared in the next verse.

5. *the Lord Almighty.*] Literally, "the All-supervising" or "All-superintending Lord." The author of the Book aims at strongly impressing upon his readers God's superintending providence and constant watchfulness over the world, and especially over the actions of its inhabitants. He does not view God so much in the light of an Almighty Being (παντοκράτωρ), able to create worlds out of nothing and destroy them by the breath of His mouth, as in the light of an All-watchful Being (πανεπόπτης), constantly supervising human life and actions, with the special intent of bringing vengeance down on the proud and overbearing, and shewing mercy on the sinner who is self-abased and penitent. (See ch. ii. 22; iii. 24–29, 38, 39; v. 17–20; vi. 12–16; vii. 6, 23, 28, 31–36; viii. 2–4, 18, 29, 35, &c.)

smote him with an incurable and invisible plague.] It is remarkable that Polybius so far agrees with our author as to ascribe the death of Epiphanes to a Divine visitation (δαιμονήσας ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον). He connects the visitation, however, with the attempt upon the Elymæan temple. Josephus, not without reason, objects to this view, that the accomplished sacrilege at Jerusalem was more calculated to draw down the Divine vengeance than the contemplated profanation in Elymaïs ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 1). The author of the First Book of Maccabees considers the death natural, a pining away through grief and disappointment (ch. vi. 8–13). But it is hard to say where what is natural ends, and what is providential begins.

a pain of the bowels, &c.] The physical

B. C. cir. 163. diless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts;

6 And that most justly: for he had tormented other men's bowels with many and strange torments.

7 Howbeit he nothing at all ceased from his bragging, but still was filled with pride, breathing out fire in his rage against the Jews, and commanding to haste the journey: but it came to pass that he fell down from his chariot, carried violently; so that having a sore fall, all the members of his body were much pained.

8 And thus he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea, (so proud was he beyond the condition of man) and weigh the high mountains in a balance, was now cast on the ground, and carried in an horselitter, shewing forth unto all the manifest power of God.

B. C. cir. 163.

9 So that [c]the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and whiles he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army. [c] Acts 12. 23.

10 And the man, that thought a little afore he could reach to the stars of heaven, no man could endure to carry for his intolerable stink.

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descriptions of our author (*vv.* 5–12) are probably "evolved from his inner consciousness." They receive no kind of confirmation from any of the other accounts.

6. *And that most justly.*] Here we have the origin of the narrative. Antiochus was made to suffer that which the Jewish writers thought it would have been strict *justice* for him to have suffered.

7. *he nothing at all ceased from his bragging.*] Rather, "from his **haughtiness**."

he fell down from his chariot, carried violently.] This tale is probably derived from the fact related by Granius Licinianus, that, on its way to Antioch, his body fell into a river, through the animals by which it was conveyed taking fright.

all the members of his body were much pained.] Rather, "were **racked**." Nemesis required this, as he had himself racked many.

8. *he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea.*] See above, ch. v. 21. The meaning is that Epiphanes thought himself a god upon earth. It is certain that he allowed himself to be addressed as "God" (θεὸς) by his subjects (Joseph. 'A. J.' xii. 5, § 5), and assumed the same title upon his coins (Eckhel, 'Doct. Num.' vol. iii. p. 224 *et seqq.*). How far he himself believed in his own divinity may be a question.

and weigh the high mountains in a balance.] Compare Isaiah xl. 12, where God is said to have "weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance."

cast on the ground.] See *v.* 7.

carried in an horselitter.] Rather, "in a **litter**." It is not said that the litter was drawn by horses; and we may gather from *v.* 10 that, at first at any rate, it was borne on the shoulders of men. Egyptian litters were certainly thus borne (Rawlinson, 'History of Ancient Egypt,' vol. i. p. 535), and so was the Roman *lectica*.

9. *the worms.*] Rather, "worms." The Greek has no article. On this form of malady, see Herod. iv. 205; Plut. 'Vit. Artaxerx.' § 16; Acts xii. 23.

his flesh fell away.] "Piecemeal," as Grimm observes; one portion of flesh at one time, one at another. The description is graphic, but drawn probably from the imagination of the writer. Polybius gives no hint of any such terrible end, nor is it prophesied in the Book of Daniel.

the filthiness of his smell.] Compare *vv.* 10 and 12. This would be a natural feature of the disease described; but the author's knowledge of it does not add anything to the credibility of his narrative.

10. *the man that thought . . . he could reach to the stars of heaven.*] The idealised king of Babylon is declared by Isaiah to have "said in his heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God . . . I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High" (ch. xiv. 13, 14).

§ 6. ANTIOCHUS HUMBLES HIMSELF, AND PROMISES FREEDOM AND FAVOUR TO THE JEWS.

11–17. Our author regards Antiochus as brought to feel remorse at any rate, if not true repentance, by his sufferings—as acknowledging in them the hand of God, and proceeding from such acknowledgment to make four solemn promises to God on the subject of Jerusalem and the Jews: viz., (*a*) a promise that he would make Jerusalem a free city; (*b*) a promise that he would give

B. C. cir. 163. 11 Here therefore, being plagued, he began to leave off his great pride, and to come to the knowledge *of himself* by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.

12 And when he himself could not abide his own smell, he said these words, It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself, as if he were God.

13 This wicked person vowed also unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him, saying thus,

14 That the holy city (to the which he was going in haste, to lay it even with the ground, and to make it a common buryingplace,) he would set at liberty: B. C. cir. 163.

15 And as touching the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of ‖Athens:

‖ Or, *Antioch.*

16 And the holy temple, which before he had spoiled, he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels with many more,

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all Jews the Athenian (Antiochian?) citizenship; (*c*) a promise that he would restore the holy vessels to the Temple and re-establish the ancient worship; and (*d*) a promise that he would himself become a Jew, and go through the world proclaiming the power of the God of the Jews. In these statements, and in the "letter" which follows (*vv.* 19–27), we have probably exaggerations and embellishments of the fact recorded by the author of the First Book (ch. vi. 12, 13), that in his last illness Epiphanes expressed regret for his cruel treatment of the Jews, and his desecration of the Temple.

11. *being plagued.*] Rather, "being **broken in spirit.**"

by the scourge of God, his pain increasing every moment.] Rather, "**the pain that he suffered through the scourge of God** increasing every moment." The "scourge of God" is the disease that had fallen upon him. (See *v.* 5.)

12. *when he . . . could not abide his own smell.*] Compare *vv.* 9, 10.

13. *the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.*] It is possible to exhaust the patience and mercy of God. "Esau found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears" (Heb. xii. 17). "Wisdom" warns men in the Book of Proverbs: "Because I have called, and ye have refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me; for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them" (Prov. i. 24–33). Antiochus had reached this point. He had provoked God beyond endurance. He had "filled up the measure of his iniquity." Nothing remained for him, but that "fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation" whereof the Apostle speaks to the Hebrews (Heb. x. 27).

14. *the holy city to the which he was going in haste.*] See above, *vv.* 5 and 7.

he would set at liberty.] *I.e.* restore to the degree of freedom which it had enjoyed under his father Seleucus (ch. iii. 1–3).

15. *the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried.*] This piece of savagery is not ascribed to Epiphanes by any other author, and cannot be accepted as true on the unsupported authority of the present writer.

he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens.] If the text is sound, we must suppose that (in the view of the author) Antiochus had conferred on all Athenians a certain status, perhaps isopolity, within his dominions, and that he now expressed the intention of conferring a similar privilege on the Jews. Perhaps, however, Ἀθηναίοις is a corruption of Ἀντιοχέσι, and the privilege now promised to all Jews is that already granted to the people of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9).

16. *the . . . temple . . . he would garnish with goodly gifts.*] See the comment on ch. iii. 2.

restore all the holy vessels.] See above, ch. v. 16. The vessels had probably, long

B. C. cir. 163.

and [d] out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices:

17 Yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself, and go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God.

18 But for all this his pains would not cease: for the just judgment of God was come upon him: therefore despairing of his health, he wrote unto the Jews the letter underwritten, containing the form of a supplication, after this manner:

19 Antiochus, king and governor, to the good Jews his citizens wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity: B. C. cir. 163.

20 If ye and your children fare well, and your affairs be to your contentment, I give very great thanks to God, having my hope in heaven.

21 As for me, I was weak, or else I would have remembered kindly your honour and good will. Returning out of Persia, and being taken with a grievous disease, I thought it necessary to care for the common safety of all:

22 Not distrusting mine health,

[d] So Ezra 6. 9. 1 Mac. 10. 39, 40.

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before this, been melted down at the royal mint, to help the king's necessities. He might, however, have given back others like them; and this is perhaps what is meant.

and out of his own revenue defray the charges.] As his father had done (ch. iii. 3).

17. *he would become a Jew himself.*] *I.e.* a proselyte. It is extremely improbable that Epiphanes ever expressed any such intention.

§ 7. Supposed Letter of Antiochus to the Jewish Nation.

18-27. Jason of Cyrene had apparently an especial liking for documents, and accepted any that came in his way without subjecting them to a very searching criticism. The present "letter" is a manifest forgery; since (*a*) it is written in slipshod Greek such as no educated Hellene would have put on paper; (*b*) it gives Epiphanes a title (στρατηγὸς, "general") which he would never have condescended to take; (*c*) it makes Epiphanes say that he had *often* visited the inland provinces, whereas he only visited them once; (*d*) it speaks of his having committed the care of his son to the Jews during these frequent absences! (*e*) it represents Eupator as grown up, whereas he was certainly no more than twelve years old at his father's death.

18. *containing the form of a supplication.*] Rather, "**bearing the character** of a supplication"—written, *i.e.*, in the tone, not of a harsh master, but of a timid supplicant. See especially *v.* 26.

19. *Antiochus, king and governor.*] Rather, "king and general." It is not likely that any Syro-Macedonian king would have added the poor title of "general" to the grand one of "king." Such an addition is not made in any of the other letters ascribed to the Seleucidæ. (See 1 Macc. x. 18, 25; xi. 30, 32; xiii. 36; 2 Macc. xi. 22, 27, &c.)

to the good Jews.] An improbable piece of flattery.

his citizens.] They were not yet, except the Jews of Jerusalem, "citizens." Antiochus had only promised to make them such. (See *v.* 15.)

wisheth much joy, health, and prosperity.] This form is quite unusual. It combines the Greek χαίρειν with the Latin "salutem dat," and adds to them a third good wish, not found elsewhere in salutations of the time and country.

20. *If ye . . . fare well.*] This Latinism is scarcely likely to have been used by the Syro-Macedonian kings. It is taken from the ordinary "S. V. B. E. E. Q. V." (Compare ch. xi. 28.)

having my hope in heaven.] The use of "Heaven" for "God," common in the Hellenistic Greek of the period (1 Macc. iii. 18, 60; iv. 10, 55, &c.), is not in accordance with the classical Greek idiom.

21. *As for me, I was weak, or else.*] There is no "or else" in the original, which is absolutely ungrammatical and gives no sense. To produce a sense, either εἰ μὴ must be inserted before ἀσθενῶς, or ἄλλως γὰρ before ὑμῶν.

I would have remembered . . . your honour.] *I.e.* the honour in which you have held me.

Returning out of Persia.] Literally, "out of the regions about Persia"—the same expression as that used in *v.* 1.

22. *Not distrusting mine health.*] Grimm finds a contradiction between this statement and that of *v.* 18, that Antiochus wrote the letter because he "despaired of his health."

B. C. cir. 163. but having great hope to escape this sickness.

23 But considering that even my father, at what time he led an army into the high countries, appointed a successor,

24 To the end that, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, or if any tidings were brought that were grievous, they of the land, knowing to whom ‖ the state was left, might not be troubled:

‖ Or, *common affairs.*

25 Again, considering how that the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom wait for opportunities, and expect what shall be the event, I have appointed my son Antiochus king, whom I often committed and commended unto many of you, when I went up into the high provinces; to whom I have written as followeth:

B. C. cir. 163.

26 Therefore I pray and request you to remember the benefits that I have done unto you generally, and in special, and that every man will be still faithful to me and my son.

27 For I am persuaded that he

But it is conceivable that he might really despair of it, yet wish the Jews to think otherwise.

to escape this sickness.] Rather, "to escape **from** this sickness"—*i.e.* to survive it, recover from it.

23. *my father.*] Antiochus III., known as "the Great" (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 65). In the year B.C. 187 this monarch made a journey into the eastern provinces for the purpose of collecting treasure, and, having entered Elymaïs, attempted to plunder a rich temple of Belus, but was met with armed resistance by the natives, who overpowered his attendants, and slew the king himself. (See the comment on ch. i. 17.) It is quite possible that he may have "appointed a successor" before starting on his expedition; but we have no confirmation of our author's statement on this point by any other authority.

the high countries.] Literally, "the upper regions"—*i.e.* those at a distance from the Syrian sea-coast. (Compare the expression ἡ ἄνω Ἀσίη, so common in Herodotus.)

appointed a successor.] The practice was common in the East, and was followed by Cyrus (Herod. i. 208), by Alyattes (ib. i. 92), by Darius (ib. vii. 3), and many others. A monarch was regarded as entitled to make a selection from among his grown-up sons, and, if no son were grown up, might either name a regent or pass the crown on to a brother. In practice, the law of primogeniture was, for the most part, respected.

24. *if anything fell out . . . grievous.*] A long periphrasis is preferred to a direct mention of the calamity intended, viz. the king's death, which it was of evil omen to mention. The euphemism is in entire accordance with Oriental practice.

25. *Again.*] Rather, "**And further.**"

the princes that are borderers and neighbours unto my kingdom.] Rather, "the princes that are borderers, and **the (other)** neighbours unto my kingdom." The "princes" intended are probably Ptolemy Philometor, Attalus of Pergamus, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia; the "other neighbours," the Jews themselves, the Arab tribes, the Idumæans, Moabites, &c. All would be on the look-out for an opportunity to aggrandise themselves, if internal troubles should break out in Syria on the death of the king.

I have appointed my son Antiochus king.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 15. The nomination was necessary in order to give Eupator any title to the throne, since the legitimate heir was Demetrius, son of Seleucus Callinicus, the elder brother of Epiphanes, who was not of age to mount the throne at his father's death, but was now grown to manhood.

whom I often committed and commended unto many of you.] Literally, "to most of you." The "committal" of the young heir to the special guardianship of the Jews, is a fiction of a very barefaced character. The assertion that such a committal had taken place "often" is a further indication of the recklessness and ignorance of the writer. (See the comment on *vv.* 18–27.)

to whom I have written as followeth.] We must suppose that a second letter, addressed to Eupator, was originally appended to the existing document (*vv.* 19–27), but that this was omitted, either by Jason of Cyrene, or by our author.

26. *I pray . . . you to remember the benefits.*] It is perhaps not wholly absurd for Epiphanes to be made to speak of his "benefits" to the Jewish people. He would consider the Antiochene citizenship which he had conferred on the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ch. iv. 9), and perhaps even the permission to set up a gymnasium (ibid.), as "benefits."

B. C. cir. 163.

[1] understanding my mind will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.

[1] Or, *following.*

28 Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains.

29 And Philip, that was brought up with him, carried away his body, who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt to Ptolemeus Philometor.

B. C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER X.

1 *Judas recovereth the city, and purifieth the temple.* 14 *Gorgias vexeth the Jews.* 16 *Judas winneth their holds.* 29 *Timotheus and his men are discomfited.* 35 *Gazara is taken, and Timotheus slain.*

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27. *understanding my mind.*] Rather, "carrying out my intention."

will favourably and graciously yield to your desires.] Literally, "will deal with you graciously and lovingly." The author of the letter would scarcely have made Epiphanes pledge himself so positively as to his son's system of government, had he remembered that Eupator was at his father's death, at most, twelve years of age. Appian says nine ('Syriac.' § 45).

§ 8. Death of Epiphanes and Flight of Philip to Egypt.

28, 29. The death of Epiphanes in Persia is a certain fact. The author of the First Book tells us that, previously to his decease, he appointed Philip, one of his "friends," regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his son Eupator (ch. vi. 14, 15). Philip conducted the Syro-Macedonian army from Tabæ, where Epiphanes died, to Antioch (ibid. 55, 56). He no doubt brought with him the body of the king. At Antioch he was well received and possessed himself of the government (ibid. 63), but was unable to take charge of Eupator, who was absent from the city, with Lysias in Judæa. Lysias, on learning what had happened, patched up a peace with Judas Maccabæus, and marched rapidly against Philip, whom he besieged in Antioch. After a short siege, he took the city by storm; but it is possible that Philip had previously quitted it and escaped to Egypt.

28. *the murderer and blasphemer.*] Compare ch. v. 12–21; vi. 1–8, &c.

as he entreated other men.] See above, *v.* 6.

in the mountains.] Here the writer has got hold of a true tradition. Tabæ, where Epiphanes died, was in Elymaïs, a portion of the mountainous Zagros region, which separates the high plateau of Persia from the Mesopotamian lowland. The writer's object in mentioning the fact is (as Grimm notes) rhetorical rather than geographic. He means to say, "This great king died, not in a royal palace, not in a luxurious city, but in a wild and lonesome tract, far from the haunts of civilised men."

29. *Philip.*] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 14, 55, 63. Some critics regard him as identical with "Philip the Phrygian" (2 Macc. v. 22), whom Epiphanes made governor of Jerusalem; but this is scarcely probable. Philip the Phrygian was governor of Jerusalem at the time of the expedition of Gorgias and Nicanor (ch. viii. 8); Philip the regent had probably accompanied Epiphanes into Armenia and Persia previously.

carried away his body.] *I.e.* "took it with him," to give it honourable burial at Antioch. The meaning, "buried it," or "caused it to be buried," which Grimm suggests, is unsupported by any parallel passage.

who also fearing the son of Antiochus went into Egypt.] It is very questionable whether this passage has *any* historical value. Our author's statements, when unsupported, must be accepted or rejected, according to their internal probability. Now, it is clear that Philip could not have "feared" Eupator, whose legal protector he had been constituted, until he found, on returning to Antioch, that Lysias was in possession of the boy's person, and was prepared to maintain that he, and not Philip, was the rightful regent. *Possibly* he may then have gone by sea from Antioch to Alexandria, in the hope of obtaining aid from Philometor; but to quit the capital would, under the circumstances, have been a great risk, and one which he is scarcely likely to have incurred on the faint hope of getting Ptolemy to help him. Or, again, he may, after the siege was begun, have escaped from the town and made his way to Egypt, where Ptolemy may have given him refuge. We have to set against this, however, the positive statement of Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7), that he was made prisoner at the capture of the city, and put to death by Lysias.

CHAPTER X.

§ 9. Recovery of the Temple by Judas, and Restoration of the Jewish Worship. Institution of the Feast of the Dedication.

1–9. The present writer does not fix the exact date of the recovery of the Temple,

B. C. 164. NOW Maccabeus and his company, the Lord guiding them, recovered the temple and the city:

2 But the altars which the heathen had built in the open street, and also the chapels, they pulled down.

3 And having cleansed the temple [a] they made another altar, and striking stones they took fire out of them, and offered a sacrifice after two years, and set forth incense, and lights, and shewbread.

4 When that was done, they fell flat down, and besought the Lord B. C. 164. that they might come no more into such troubles; but if they sinned any more against him, that he himself would chasten them with mercy, and that they might not be delivered unto the blasphemous and barbarous nations.

5 Now [b] upon the same day that the strangers profaned the temple, on the very same day it was cleansed again, even the five and twentieth day of the same month, which is Casleu.

[a] 1 Mac. 4. 47.

[b] 1 Mac. 4. 52, 54.

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which, however, we know from the First Book (ch. iv. 28) to have occurred in B.C. 164. Antiochus died in B.C. 163. Thus, there is a departure from chronological order in chs. ix. and x., the first section of ch. x. (*vv.* 1–8) belonging to a time anterior to any of the events related in ch. ix. This dislocation does not arise from ignorance on the part of our author, since he not only (in ch. x. 9) states that the recovery took place within the lifetime of Epiphanes, but (in ch. viii. 31) gives an indication that he knew of Jerusalem, or a part of it, being in possession of the patriots before the illness of Epiphanes began. His object in departing from chronological order seems to have been rhetorical. He wished to conclude the second portion of his narrative with the grand event of Judas's earlier career—the recovery of the Temple from the hands of the heathen, and its rededication to the worship of the true God.

1. *Maccabeus . . . recovered the temple and the city.*] This is an over-statement. All that Judas recovered was the Temple and such part of the city as stood upon the Temple hill. The remainder, including all the buildings upon the western hill, which was the main city, continued in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians until the time of Simon, whose great glory it was that he drove out the heathen from it, and completed the recovery of Jerusalem. (See 1 Macc. iv. 41–60; vi. 18–26; xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36.)

2. *the altars which the heathen had built in the open street.*] Rather, "in the market-place." It was the custom of the Greeks to have numerous altars to different gods in various parts of their cities. Some of these may have been erected in the *agora* of the eastern city. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 47, 54.)

and also the chapels.] Rather, "the **sacred enclosures**." Compare the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.

3. *having cleansed the temple.*] See 1 Macc. iv. 43.

they made another altar.] The old altar of burnt offering having been polluted by having an idolatrous altar erected on the top of it (1 Macc. i. 54), it was thought best to pull it down, and build a new one with unhewn stones, in accordance with Ex. xx. 25. (See the fuller narrative of the cleansing in 1 Macc. iv. 41–51.)

and striking stones they took fire out of them.] The author of the First Book omits this characteristic feature. It was quite in accordance with the spirit of the command to build the altar of rough natural stones, the idea being that nature was unpolluted, while everything with which man had come into contact had more or less of pollution attaching to it. We may well accept our author's statement in this place, contradictory as it is to the tale told in ch. i. 18–36, as "the simple historical account" of the matter (Stanley, 'Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 311).

after two years.] This is a mistake. The exact dates of the First Book (1 Macc. i. 54; iv. 52) shew *three* years to have elapsed between the desecration of the Temple by Epiphanes and its purification by Maccabæus.

incense, and lights, and shewbread.] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 50, 51.

4. *they . . . besought the Lord . . . that he himself would chasten them.*] So David, when given his choice of punishments (2 Sam. xxiv. 14).

blasphemous and barbarous nations.] See the comment on ch. ii. 21. The cruelties of the Syro-Macedonians might well justify the epithet "barbarous" (ch. v. 12–14, 24–26; vi. 10, 11, 18–31; vii. 3–40, &c.).

5. *upon the same day.*] Compare 1 Macc. i. 59; iv. 52–54. Judas, no doubt, intentionally arranged this exact correspondence, in order that the sense of national humiliation should be swallowed up in that of joy and triumph, when the fated day came round.

B. C. 164. 6 [c] And they kept eight days with gladness, as in the feast of the tabernacles, remembering that not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles, when as they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.

[c] 1 Mac. 4. 56.

7 Therefore they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also, and sang psalms unto him that had given them good success in cleansing his place.

[d] 1 Mac. 4. 59. 8 [d] They ordained also by a common statute and decree, That every year those days should be kept of the whole nation of the Jews.

B. C. 164.

9 And this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.

B. C. 163.

10 Now will we declare the acts of Antiochus Eupator, who was the son of this wicked man, gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.

11 So when he was come to the crown, he set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm, and *appointed*

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6. *they kept eight days.*] See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 56.

as in the feast of the tabernacles.] See the next verse, and compare Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 7, § 7; xiii. 13, § 5.

not long afore they had held the feast of the tabernacles.] The Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the month Tisri, or rather from the fifteenth day to the twenty-second, about three months previously to the twenty-fifth of Casleu, or Chisleu. The similarity in the observances customary at the two feasts led to their being known respectively as "the Tabernacle Feast of the Autumn," and "the Tabernacle Feast of the Winter." (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 59.)

they wandered in the mountains and dens like beasts.] Compare ch. v. 27. The writer seems to forget that the patriots had long since issued from their fastnesses, and made themselves masters of towns and villages (ch. viii. 6), and become a power in the land (ibid. 16–32).

7. *they bare branches, and fair boughs, and palms also.*] Compare Neh. viii. 15. They made the Feast of the Dedication a sort of supplement to that of Tabernacles, which had no doubt been celebrated under difficulties, while the campaign against Gorgias and Nicanor was going on, and had been shorn of some of its customary rites.

8. *They ordained also by a common statute and decree.*] See 1 Macc. iv. 59. The festival continued to be celebrated in the time of our Lord's ministry (John x. 22), and indeed was only discontinued when the Temple was finally destroyed.

9. *this was the end of Antiochus, called Epiphanes.*] Rather, "And **thus ended the reign** of Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes." The writer does not refer to the circumstances of Epiphanes' death, but simply notes that this is the point in his narrative where the reign of Epiphanes ends and that of Eupator begins. It is also the point where the Third Portion of his work ends, and the Fourth Portion begins.

PART IV.

THE WAR OF JUDAS WITH ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.

§ 1. Lysias succeeds Ptolemy Macron as Governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.

10–13. In accordance with his idea that Eupator was grown to manhood at his father's death, and had the actual direction of affairs (see the comment on ch. ix. 18–27), the writer represents him as selecting Lysias for high office, and assigning him a certain command. In reality, Lysias had been left at the head of affairs in Syria by Epiphanes, when he departed for the East (1 Macc. iii. 32–38) and had been made Eupator's guardian (*v.* 33). When Epiphanes died, Eupator was at the most twelve years old, and was a mere puppet in the hands of the regent. Lysias proclaimed him, and ruled in his name (1 Macc. vi. 17), but kept all power in his own hands (ibid. 53–60). It is not likely that he held at any time so subordinate an office as that of "governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia:" and if Ptolemy was at this time superseded, it cannot have been with the object of Lysias taking his place.

10. *Antiochus Eupator.*] On the name and reign of this prince, see Appian, 'Syriaca,' § 45;—Polyb. xxxi. 12, § 7; 19, § 2;—Porphyr. ap. Euseb. 'Chron. Can.' Part i. 40, § 15, &c. His age at his father's death, according to Appian, was nine; according to Porphyry, twelve.

gathering briefly the calamities of the wars.] Compare above, ch. ii. 31, where the author promises "brevity."

11. *he set one Lysias over the affairs of his realm.*] It has been noted above, that Lysias was placed in power, not by Eupator, but by Epiphanes, and that the boy Eupator was a puppet in his hands. Lysias is strangely intro-

B. C. 163. *him* chief governor of Celosyria and Phenice.

12 For Ptolemeus, that was called Macron, choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews for the wrong that had been done unto them, endeavoured to continue peace with them.

13 Whereupon being accused of *the king's* friends before Eupator, and called traitor at every word, because he had left Cyprus, that Philometor had committed unto him, and departed to Antiochus Epiphanes, ‖and seeing that he was in no honourable place, he was so discouraged, that he poisoned himself and died. B. C. 163

‖ Or, *and not bearing his authority as becometh a nobleman.*

14 But when Gorgias was governor of the ‖holds, he hired soldiers, and nourished war continually with the Jews:

‖ Or, *strong places.*

15 And therewithal the Idumeans,

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duced in this place as "*one* Lysias," or "a certain Lysias" (Λυσίαν τινά), an expression which commonly denotes obscurity of birth and condition. Lysias was in fact, as the writer very well knew (ch. xi. 1), a member of the royal family, and one of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. He was the actual ruler of Syria for above three years, from the departure of Antiochus for the East in B.C. 166–5, to his own destruction by Demetrius in B.C. 162–1. He is mentioned as regent of Syria by Appian, Polybius, Livy, and Porphyry. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 32.)

12. *Ptolemeus, that was called Macron.*] Evidently the same with the Ptolemeus mentioned as "governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnice" in ch. viii. 8, and therefore probably the same as "Ptolemee, son of Dorymenes" (1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. iv. 45, 46).

choosing rather to do justice unto the Jews.] It has been made an argument against the identification of Ptolemy Macron with Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes (Grimm), that the latter was ill-disposed to the Jews (2 Macc. vi. 8), while the former favoured them. But there is no difficulty in conceiving that a better acquaintance with the nation may have induced the governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia to change his policy.

for the wrong that had been done unto them.] The wrong done was such as might well have called forth the pity of a conscientious heathen. (See ch. v. 12–26; vi. 1–11, 18–31; vii. 1–41, &c.)

endeavoured to continue peace with them.] Rather, "endeavoured to **manage his dealings with them peaceably.**" Ptolemy thought that the policy of war and violence hitherto pursued was wrong, and recommended a complete change. He would have had all the matters in dispute arranged by negotiation and diplomacy.

13. *being accused of the king's friends.*] The simplest translation would be—"by his friends;" but as this is unlikely, we may perhaps accept the gloss of our translators, who have regarded "the friends" as "the *king's* friends"—*i.e.* the courtiers of the first rank, who bore that title. (See 1 Macc. ii. 18; iii. 38; vi. 28; vii. 8; x. 20, 60, 65, &c.)

before Eupator.] Formally, the boy king may have presided at the investigation; but the real judge of the cause must have been Lysias.

because he had left Cyprus, &c.] See Polyb. xxvii. 11. Ptolemy Macron had been appointed governor of Cyprus by Philometor, but in the campaign of B.C. 169 had deserted his cause, and made the island over to Epiphanes. It was hard that he should be taxed with treachery by the side to which he had deserted.

and departed.] Rather, "and **gone over.**"

§ 2. GORGIAS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE IDUMÆANS, MAKES WAR UPON JUDAS. SUCCESSES OF JUDAS.

14–23. We seem here to have an account, given with some detail, of the Idumæan war briefly touched on by the writer of the First Book in ch. v. 2, 3. We learn from the present passage that Gorgias had a share in the operations, which however were chiefly in the Idumæan country, where Judas made himself master of various strongholds, and put to death their garrisons. It is impossible to accept our author's numbers, in *vv.* 17, 23; but we may gather from his statements that the Maccabee leader acted during the campaign with great severity, both towards the enemy and towards those of his own party who were inclined to leniency. (See *vv.* 20–22.)

14. *when Gorgias was governor of the holds.*] Gorgias had been previously mentioned as "a captain of great experience," and as joined with Nicanor in the campaign of B.C. 165 (ch. viii. 9). The active part which he took in that campaign appears from 1 Macc. iv. 1–5, 18–22.

he hired soldiers.] *I.e.* "he collected a force of mercenaries." Compare what is said of Lysias in 1 Macc. iv. 35.

15. *And therewithal the Idumeans.*] Rather, "And **in conjunction with him** the Idumæans **also.**"

B. C. 163. having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds, kept the Jews occupied, and receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem, they went about to nourish war.

16 Then they that were with Maccabeus made supplication, and besought God that he would be their helper; and so they ran with violence upon the strong holds of the Idumeans,

17 And assaulting them strongly, they won the holds, and kept off all that fought upon the wall, and slew all that fell into their hands, and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.

18 And because certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled together into two very strong castles, having all manner of things convenient to *sustain* the siege, B. C. 163.

19 Maccabeus left Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus also, and them that were with him, who were enough to besiege them, and departed himself unto those places which more needed his help.

20 Now ‖ they that were with Simon, being led with covetousness, were persuaded for money through certain of those that were in the castle, and took seventy thousand drachms, and let some of them escape. ‖ Or, *Simon.*

21 But when it was told Maccabeus what was done, he called the

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having gotten into their hands the most commodious holds.] Rather, "**being masters of certain** commodious strongholds." It is not implied that they had recently taken these holds, but only that they were in possession of them.

receiving those that were banished from Jerusalem.] It was a natural consequence of the recovery of the Temple hill by Judas, that a number of those Jews whom he found established there should be expelled from their homes and driven to seek a refuge elsewhere. They would be necessarily Jews of the Hellenizing party, whose continued presence within the recovered portion of the city would be a danger. Compare the exodus of the inhabitants from the western city, when it was taken by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 50).

16. *ran with violence.*] Rather, "**marched hastily.**"

17. *kept off all that fought upon the wall.*] Rather, "**repulsed**" them, "drove them back."

slew all that fell into their hands.] Rather, "all **with whom they fell in.**" It is not intended that there was a massacre of prisoners in cold blood, but that the soldiers of Judas, when they burst into each town, killed every one whom they found in the streets. Their proceedings were in accordance with the barbarous usage of the time.

and killed no fewer than twenty thousand.] This number is quite incredible, and may be confidently regarded as one of our author's many exaggerations. "Twenty thousand" recurs too frequently in his estimates to have any historical value. (See ch. viii. 9, 30; ch. x. 23, 31.)

18. *certain, who were no less than nine thousand, were fled . . . into two . . . castles.*] Rather, "into two **towers.**" Nine *hundred* would be a more probable number than "nine thousand" for "two towers" to receive and shelter.

19. *Simon and Joseph, and Zaccheus.*] "Simon" is, no doubt, the elder brother of Judas (1 Macc. ii. 3), whom Judas commonly made his second in command (1 Macc. v. 20, 55; 2 Macc. viii. 22). "Joseph" is probably, as in ch. viii. 22, the eldest son of the family, whose real name was "Joannan," or John (1 Macc. ii. 2). Zaccheus is otherwise unknown.

20. *they that were with Simon.*] The ordinary meaning of the phrase used is "Simon and his friends;" but it would seem to have here a narrower meaning, and to designate strictly "those who were about Simon," *i.e.* his chief officers. They may have acted without his authority or knowledge.

in the castle.] Rather, "in the **castles**" or "**towers.**"

seventy thousand drachms.] About 2840*l.* At the ordinary rate of a mina for a man, this sum should have ransomed 700 persons.

21. *when it was told Maccabeus.*] Judas, having returned from the expedition glanced at in *v.* 19, learnt what had been done in his absence. He appears to have been greatly angered. To spare the lives of enemies given by God into his hand he regarded as inexcusable, since it was an endangering of the lives of Israelites, whom the escaped enemies might afterwards kill in battle. He therefore determined to visit the offence with exemplary punishment.

he called the governors of the people to-

B. C. 163. governors of the people together, and accused those men, that they had sold their brethren for money, and set their enemies free to fight against them.

22 So he slew those that were found traitors, and immediately took the two castles.

23 And having good success with his weapons in all things he took in hand, he slew in the two holds more than twenty thousand.

[e] 1 Mac. 5. 6, 7.

24 Now Timotheus, [e] whom the Jews had overcome before, when he had gathered a great multitude of foreign forces, and horses out of Asia not a few, came as though he would take Jewry by force of arms.

25 But when he drew near, [1] they that were with Maccabeus turned themselves to pray unto God, and sprinkled earth upon their heads, and girded their loins with sackcloth, B. C. 163.

[1] Or, Maccabeus, and they that were with him.

26 And fell down at the foot of the altar, and besought him to be merciful to them, and to be [f] an enemy to their enemies, and an adversary to their adversaries, as the law declareth.

[f] Exod. 23. 22. Deut. 28. 7.

27 So after the prayer they took their weapons, and went on further from the city: and when they drew near to their enemies, they kept by themselves.

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gether.] Rather, "the **leaders** of the people;" who, when the people were engaged in a campaign, would be their officers.

and accused those men.] The men had a formal trial. Judas was not the judge, but the prosecutor. They were condemned by their peers.

they had sold their brethren for money.] See *v.* 20.

23. *he slew in the two holds more than twenty thousand.*] Compare the comment on *v.* 17; and remark, that 9,000 only are said to have taken refuge in the towers (*v.* 18); that a certain number of these had been allowed to escape (*v.* 20): yet that at the final assault the slain are, as in the strongholds previously captured (*v.* 17), "twenty thousand"!

§ 3. CAMPAIGN AGAINST TIMOTHEUS. HIS SUPPOSED DEATH.

24–38. This campaign of Judas against Timotheus is probably the one briefly described in 1 Macc. v. 6–8, which terminates, like this, with the capture of a "Jazar" or "Gazara." It is true that this campaign begins near Jerusalem (*vv.* 26, 27), while that of the First Book is wholly in the Ammonite country; but we may reconcile the two narratives by supposing an omission of the earlier circumstances of the campaign by the author of 1 Macc., and an imperfect knowledge of the geographical data on the part of the present writer. Timotheus may have begun by invading Judæa and threatening Jerusalem, but may afterwards have withdrawn across the Jordan, whither Judas may have pursued him.

24. *Timotheus, whom the Jews had overcome before.*] See above, ch. viii. 30. The author of the First Book makes no mention of this earlier defeat.

foreign forces.] By "foreign forces" the writer means "hired mercenaries." On the employment of such troops by the Syro-Macedonians, see 1 Macc. iv. 35; 2 Macc. x. 14.

horses out of Asia not a few.] To mount a portion of his mercenaries, Gorgias purchased horses in various parts of Asia, as (probably) Media, Armenia, and perhaps Persia. The Median horses were especially famous.

25. *they that were with Maccabeus . . . sprinkled earth upon their heads.*] It was more usual to sprinkle ashes upon the head (2 Sam. xiii. 19; Job ii. 8, 12; Jonah iii. 6; Lam. ii. 10); but, if ashes were not at hand, earth was used (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, xv. 32; Neh. ix. 1; 1 Macc. xi. 71, &c.).

26. *fell down at the foot of the altar.*] This shews that Judas and his army were at Jerusalem, at the time when Timotheus invaded Judæa, and "drew near" to them.

and besought him.] *I.e.* "besought God," before whose altar they had prostrated themselves.

as the law declareth.] See Ex. xxiii. 22: "I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries."

27. *after the prayer they . . . went on further from the city.*] Rather, "they went on a **long distance** from the city"—across the Jordan into the country of the Ammonites, according to the author of the First Book (ch. v. 6). Timotheus had probably found that he could not attack the newly-fortified Temple hill (ib. iv. 60) with any prospect of success, and, after threatening it for a while, had removed into the Transjordanic territory.

B. C. 163. 28 Now the sun being newly risen, they joined both together; the one part having together with their virtue their refuge also unto the Lord for a [1]pledge of their success and victory: the other side making their rage leader of their battle.

[1] Or, *warrant, or, surety.*

29 But when the battle waxed strong, [r] there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men upon horses, with bridles of gold, and two of them led the Jews,

[r] See ch. ii. 21.

30 And took Maccabeus betwixt them, and covered him on every side with their weapons, and kept him safe, but shot arrows and lightnings against the enemies: so that being confounded with blindness, and full of trouble, they were killed. B. C. 163.

31 And there were slain *of footmen* twenty thousand and five hundred, and six hundred horsemen.

32 As for Timotheus himself, he fled into a very strong hold, called Gazara, where Chereas was governor.

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they kept by themselves.] *I.e.* "they halted"—they did not at once engage the enemy, but encamped at a little distance.

28. *Now the sun, &c.*] Translate, "and when the sun was newly risen, **both sides advanced to the attack.**" Each army was equally eager to attack the other—there was a simultaneous advance.

their refuge . . . unto the Lord.] *I.e.* the fact that they had resorted to God, and cast all their care upon Him (see *v.* 23). This act of faith wrought in them a confidence of success, which had a supernatural foundation. Their adversaries were animated by mere natural courage and high spirit (*θυμός*).

29. *when the battle waxed strong.*] Rather, "waxed **fierce**"—*i.e.* when both sides fought bravely, and neither had any advantage over the other.

there appeared unto the enemies from heaven five comely men.] Compare ch. ii. 25, 26. The interference of angelic beings in the combats of men upon earth was widely credited in antiquity. Ares and Aphrodité took a prominent part in the battles under the walls of Troy (Hom. 'Il.' v. 840–63). A celestial warrior fought on the Greek side at Marathon, and carried dismay into the ranks of the Persians (Herod. vi. 117). When Delphi was attacked, two local demigods aided the Greeks who defended it, and put the assailants to flight (ibid. viii. 38, 39). At the battle of the Regillus Castor and Pollux lent their assistance to the Romans, and were mainly instrumental in securing them the victory (Dion. Hal. vi. 12). Such stories are poetic embodiments of beliefs entertained by the combatants, that they enjoyed supernatural protection. Our author is a firm believer in the reality of his apparitions. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; xi. 8.)

upon horses.] So the adversary of Heliodorus (ch. iii. 25), and the angel who assisted Maccabæus (ch. xi. 8).

with bridles of gold.] The horse on which the adversary of Heliodorus sat had complete harness of gold; the angelic assistant of Judas was clothed in a panoply of gold. So, in the Revelation of St. John, the "seven angels" have "their breasts girded with golden girdles" (ch. xv. 6). Gold is assigned to angels on account of its purity, beauty, and value.

two of them.] Literally, "*the* two"—*i.e.* "the principal two," whose chief business it was to protect Judas. (See the next verse.)

30. *covered him on every side with their weapons.*] Literally, "with their *panoplies*."

shot arrows and lightnings.] Employed against the enemy both human and divine weapons. So the deities who protected the temple of Delphi not only brought a storm of thunder and lightning upon the invaders (Herod. vii. 37), but also slew the hindmost of them, as they fled away, with spear and sword (ibid. 38).

being confounded with blindness.] Blindness was inflicted on Epizelus, according to the legend, by the near presence of the angelic warrior at Marathon (Herod. vi. 117). Here, however, the blindness is probably intended to have followed from the flashes of lightning.

31. *there were slain . . . twenty thousand and five hundred.*] An unusual affectation of exactness. The writer may have begun to suspect that he will not be believed, if he always makes the number of those slain in a battle exactly 20,000 (ch. viii. 30; x. 17, 23).

32. *a very strong hold, called Gazara.*] Not the "Gazara" of 1 Macc. xiii. 53; xiv. 34; xvi. 1, 19, 20, which was in the Shefêlah, six miles east of Ekron (see the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 15), but the "Jazer," or Gazara, of the Transjordanic region, which was twelve or thirteen miles north of Heshbon, in the country assigned to Gad by Moses (Num. xxxii. 35). Compare 1 Macc. v. 8, and the comment *ad loc.*

where Chereas was governor.] Chereas, or

B. C. 163. 33 But they that were with Maccabeus laid siege against the fortress courageously four days.

34 And they that were within, trusting to the strength of the place, blasphemed exceedingly, and uttered wicked words.

35 Nevertheless upon the fifth day early twenty young men of Maccabeus' company, inflamed with anger because of the blasphemies, assaulted the wall manly, and with a fierce courage killed all that they met withal.

36 Others likewise ascending after them, whiles they were busied with them that were within, burnt the towers, and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers alive; and others broke open the gates, and, having received in the rest of the army, took the city, B. C. 163.

37 And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a certain pit, and Chereas his brother, with Apollophanes.

38 When this was done, they praised the Lord with psalms and thanksgiving, who had done so great things for Israel, and given them the victory.

CHAPTER XI.

3 *Lysias, thinking to get Jerusalem,* 8 *is put to flight.* 16 *The letters of Lysias to the Jews:* 22 *of the king unto Lysias,* 27 *and to the Jews:* 34 *of the Romans to the Jews.*

NOT long after this, Lysias the king's ‖protector and cousin, who also managed the affairs, took ‖ Gr. *tutor.*

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rather Chæreas, is said in *v.* 37 to have been a brother of Timotheus. He is known to us only through the present writer.

33. *courageously.*] Rather, "gladly," "joyfully"—confident, as it would seem, that the siege would not be a long one.

34. *they that were within . . . blasphemed exceedingly.*] *I.e.* defied the Jews and their God. (See 1 Macc. vii. 35, 38, 42.)

35. *with a fierce courage.*] Literally, "with a courage like that of wild beasts." The "blasphemies" of the besieged had lashed them into a fury, and made them more like wild beasts than men.

36. *and kindling fires burnt the blasphemers alive.*] Compare 1 Macc. v. 5, 44; x. 84, 85; and see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 44.

37. *And killed Timotheus, that was hid in a certain pit.*] Timotheus reappears as alive in ch. xii. 2, 18–24, and certainly survived the capture of Gazara. (See 1 Macc. v. 11–40.) He may have been found hid in a cistern—a usual place of concealment (2 Sam. xvii. 18; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 8, § 1)—when the city fell, and have been made a prisoner; but he must have contrived to obtain his release, as he did also at a later period (2 Macc. xii. 25).

Chereas . . . Apollophanes.] Unknown persons, but for the present narrative. Chæreas was the commandant of the town (*v.* 32).

38. *they praised the Lord.*] Compare ch. viii. 27; ix. 7; xi. 9, &c. A formal service of thanksgiving, like a modern *Te Deum* after a victory, seems to be intended.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 4. First Campaign of Lysias against Judas.

1–12. The author of the First Book places this campaign in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, during the absence of the monarch in the eastern provinces (ch. v. 28–35); and with this agree the dates in *vv.* 21, 33, and 38 of the present chapter. We must therefore regard the writer of the Second Book as having misplaced the campaign by one or two years. It belongs to B.C. 165–4, Epiphanes not having died till B.C. 164–3. The two writers agree as to the locality of the campaign—Idumæa, and especially the region about Beth-zur; as to the great disproportion between the forces brought into the field on either side; and as to the complete discomfiture of the Syro-Macedonians. They differ chiefly in the details of the numbers engaged and slain. The author of the Second Book, or his authority, Jason of Cyrene, embellishes his narrative with an apparition (ἐπιφάνεια), and attaches to it an account of negotiations and treaties, whereof the author of the First Book knows nothing. This writer, on the other hand, professes to give (ch. iv. 30–33) the exact words of the prayer offered by Maccabæus before the battle.

1. *Lysias the king's protector and cousin.*] The true position and rank of Lysias is here for the first time acknowledged. He is no longer Λυσίας τις, "a certain Lysias" (ch. x. 11), but "the king's cousin"—no longer a "governor" whom the king has "set up," but his "protector" or "guardian." Unfortunately these acknowledgments are made at

B. C. cir. 164.

sore displeasure for the things that were done.

[a] 1 Mac. 4. 28.

2 [a]And when he had gathered about fourscore thousand with all the horsemen, he came against the Jews, thinking to make the city an habitation of the ‖Gentiles,

‖ Or, *Grecians.*

3 And to make a gain of the temple, as of the other chapels of the heathen, and to set the high priesthood to sale every year:

4 Not at all considering the power of God, but puffed up with his ten thousands of footmen, and his thousands of horsemen, and his fourscore elephants.

B. C. cir. 164.

5 So he came to Judea, and drew near to Bethsura, which was a strong town, but distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs, and he laid sore siege unto it.

6 Now when ‖they that were with Maccabeus heard that he besieged the holds, they and all the people with lamentation and tears besought the Lord that he would send a good angel to deliver Israel.

‖ *Maccabeus and his company.*

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a wrong date, *before* Lysias had entered on his office of "guardian."

took sore displeasure for the things that were done.] At the results of the Idumæan and Ammonite wars (ch. x. 14–37), according to the mind of the writer; at the failures of Nicanor and Gorgias in the campaign of B.C. 166–5, according to the author of the First Book. (See 1 Macc. iv. 26, 27.)

2. *when he had gathered about fourscore thousand.*] This is intended as an estimate of the footmen, whom the writer of the First Book reckons at 60,000 (1 Macc. iv. 28).

all the horsemen.] Five thousand, according to the same authority.

thinking to make the city an habitation of the Gentiles.] Literally, "of the Greeks." The campaign really fell at a time when the whole city was in possession of the Syro-Macedonians, before Judas had recovered any part of it. (See 1 Macc. iv. 28–59.) But our author imagined that it took place after the recovery, which, according to him, was a recovery of both "the temple and the city" (ch. x. 1). He could thus view Lysias as designing to put "the Greeks" once more in possession.

3. *to make a gain of the temple.*] In what way, is not clear. Perhaps by requiring an annual payment from those who worshipped in it.

as of the other chapels of the heathen.] Τεμένη should be translated "sacred precincts," not "chapels." (See the comment on 1 Macc. i. 47.)

to set the high priesthood to sale every year.] Jason had bought the high-priestly office of Epiphanes (ch. iv. 7, 8); and Menelaus had three years later done the same, outbidding Jason (ib. *vv.* 24–27). Lysias now, according to our author, conceived the design of holding an annual sale of the office. Fortunately for the Jewish nation, this extreme degradation was never reached.

4. *his fourscore elephants.*] This is a very improbable number. Antiochus the Great had but fifty-four elephants (Liv. xxxvii. 39) at Magnesia. Lysias, in his second expedition, had only twenty-two (2 Macc. xiii. 2), or at most thirty-two (1 Macc. vi. 30). Josephus, however, in one passage ('Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5), makes the elephants in the second expedition "eighty."

5. *he . . . drew near to Bethsura.*] Bethsura, or Beth-Zur, was at this time reckoned to Idumæa (1 Macc. iv. 29). It was a strong place, occupying a commanding position, in the border country of Judæa and Edom. (See the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 29.)

distant from Jerusalem about five furlongs.] This is a mistake. The distance of Beit-Sur from Jerusalem is, at least, 160 furlongs. Two MSS. have σχοίνους for σταδίους, but our author habitually measures distances by stades (ch. xii. 9, 16, 17, 29), never by schœni.

he laid sore siege unto it.] Another mistake. Bethsura, at the time of Lysias's first expedition, was in the possession of the Idumæans, who were subject allies of the Syro-Macedonians. Lysias occupied it without any resistance (1 Macc. iv. 29).

6. *when they that were with Maccabeus heard that he besieged the holds.*] "He" refers to Lysias, whose (supposed) siege of Bethsura is looked upon as the beginning of a systematic attack upon, and occupation of, all the strongholds.

they . . . besought the Lord that he would send a good angel.] God had promised to "send an angel" before Israel to bring them safely into Canaan (Ex. xxiii. 20, 23; xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 2); and, more generally, to "give his angels charge over the righteous, to keep them in all their ways" (Ps. xci. 11; comp. Ps. xxxiv. 7). He had also, on various occasions (Josh. v. 13–15; Judg. vi. 11–23, xiii. 3–20; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17; 2 Kings vi. 17), allowed the angels, who are His ministers, visibly to appear to His servants. It was thus natural that pious Israelites should in times

B. C. cir. 164. 7 Then Maccabeus himself first of all took weapons, exhorting the other that they would jeopard themselves together with him to help their brethren: so they went forth together with a willing mind.

8 And as they were at Jerusalem, [b] there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing, shaking his armour of gold.

[b] ch. 2. 21. & 10. 29.

9 Then they praised the merciful God all together, and took heart, insomuch that they were ready not only to fight with men, but with most cruel beasts, and to pierce through walls of iron.

10 Thus they marched forward in their armour, having an helper from heaven: for the Lord was merciful unto them. B. C. cir. 164.

11 And giving a charge upon their enemies like lions, they slew eleven thousand *footmen*, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the others to flight.

12 Many of them also being wounded escaped naked; and Lysias himself fled away shamefully, and so escaped.

13 Who, as he was a man of understanding, casting with himself what loss he had had, and considering that the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the Almighty

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of danger put up such a petition as that recorded in the text, not necessarily meaning to ask for a *visible* angelic manifestation, but only for the promised angelic aid, which might be given either visibly or invisibly. It is the author's belief that, on this occasion, as on many others in the course of the Maccabæan struggle, the aid was given visibly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30.)

7. *to help their brethren.*] Besieged, as the writer supposes, in Bethsura. (See *vv.* 5, 6.)

8. *And as they were at Jerusalem.*] Rather, "And **there**, while they were at Jerusalem." Judas and his army are regarded as having their head-quarters at Jerusalem, which was really not yet recovered. (See the comment on *v.* 2.)

there appeared before them on horseback.] Compare the apparitions in chs. iii. and x.

one in white clothing.] White symbolised purity. Hence the garments of the Levitical priests were almost wholly white (Ex. xxviii. 40–43), even those of the High Priest ordinarily. Angels have white raiment (Ezek. ix. 2; Matt. xxviii. 3; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10, x. 30), and saints in the glorified state (Rev. iii. 4, 5; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14, &c.). So our Lord at His transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 2).

shaking his armour of gold.] Literally, "his *panoply*." "Panoply" is used by our author, in its etymological sense, for all the arms, both offensive and defensive, that a warrior wears. Here he is thinking especially of the shield and spear (or sword) in the two hands of the angel, which he "shook" as he led the way.

9. *to pierce through walls of iron.*] *I.e.* "walls however strong." (Compare Jer. i. 18; xv. 20.) The expression was almost proverbial.

10. *they marched forward in their armour.*] Rather, "in **preparation for battle.**"

having an helper from heaven.] Rather, "having (with them) **their** helper from heaven."

11. *like lions.*] Compare 1 Macc. iii. 4, and the comment *ad loc.*

they slew eleven thousand footmen and sixteen hundred horsemen.] The Syro-Macedonian loss, according to the author of the First Book (1 Macc. iv. 34), was "about five thousand"—a far more probable number.

12. *Many of them also being wounded.*] Rather, "of these **the greater part** being wounded."

escaped naked.] *I.e.* "without their arms," having thrown them away.

§ 5. Terms of Peace agreed upon between Judas and Lysias.

13–15. According to the author of the First Book, Lysias was so far from entertaining thoughts of peace in his heart at this time, that on his return to Antioch he immediately set to work to hire a vast number of mercenaries, with the object of invading Judæa as soon as possible with an army more numerous than the defeated one (1 Macc. iv. 35). The present writer has apparently confused the first expedition of Lysias with the second, at the end of which peace was actually concluded (ibid. vi. 55–61); or else he has been misled by the documents which he appends (*v.* 16–38), which he believed to be genuine and to belong to this year.

13. *as he was a man of understanding.*] Literally, "as he was not without intelligence"—an instance of *meiosis.*

what loss he had had.] Rather, "**the defeat which he had suffered.**"

B. C. cir. 164. God helped them, he sent unto them,

14 And persuaded them to agree to all reasonable *conditions*, and [c] *promised* that he would persuade the king that he must needs be a friend unto them.

[c] 1 Mac. 6. 58, 59, 60.

15 Then Maccabeus consented to all that Lysias desired, being careful of the common good; and whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews, the king granted it.

16 For there were letters written unto the Jews from Lysias to this effect: Lysias unto the people of the Jews *sendeth* greeting:

B. C. cir. 163.

17 John and Absalon, who were sent from you, delivered me the petition subscribed, and made request for the performance of the contents thereof.

18 Therefore what things soever were meet to be reported to the king, I have declared them, and he hath granted as much as might be.

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because the Almighty God helped them.] Lysias is scarcely likely to have been actuated by a religious motive. He *may* have thought that the God of the Hebrews was a protector not to be despised; but it is more probable that he put aside altogether the religious aspect of the matter, and merely viewed the Jews as a brave and determined mountain people, whom it was very difficult to subdue. Still, he looked to succeed, if he could collect a larger and a better army (1 Macc. iv. 35).

14. *persuaded them to agree to all reasonable conditions.*] Rather, "persuaded them to **make peace upon perfectly just** conditions."

that he must needs be a friend unto them.] The Greek idiom will not permit of this translation. Ἀναγκάζειν is "to compel," and βασιλέα must be its object, not its subject. Lysias promised either to persuade or to compel the king to be their friend. One of the two verbs is redundant, and is probably a gloss, suggested by a scribe, who thought to improve upon his author.

15. *whatsoever Maccabeus wrote unto Lysias concerning the Jews.*] Maccabæus is supposed to have accepted the proposal of Lysias, and then to have represented to him what he thought must be understood by the phrase "upon perfectly just conditions" (ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις). Eupator, according to our author, accepted the interpretation of Maccabæus.

the king granted it.] Eupator is viewed by our author as in full possession of the kingly power. (See above, ch. x. 11, 13; xi. 18, 22–33.)

§ 6. LETTER OF LYSIAS TO THE JEWS.

16–21. This letter is clearly unsuitable to the time when Lysias had just suffered a severe defeat (*vv.* 11, 12). But it may well be a misdated document of the year B.C. 163–2, when Lysias's career of victory was stopped by intelligence of Philip's occupation of Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 55), and he patched up a hasty peace with the Jews (ibid. *vv.* 58–61). Its form and language, setting aside the date, are unexceptionable.

16. *For there were letters written.*] Rather, "**For the letter, which was written to the Jews from Lysias, was** to this effect."

Lysias unto the people of the Jews.] Compare 1 Macc. x. 25. The Syro-Macedonians had not yet acknowledged any right or authority as belonging to the Jewish leaders. Alexander Balas was the first to make such recognition, when he addressed Jonathan as "his brother" (ibid. *v.* 18).

17. *John and Absalon.*] "John" may have been the brother of Maccabæus, whom the writer has hitherto, by mistake, called Joseph (ch. viii. 22; x. 19). "Absalon" is not elsewhere mentioned. A forger would scarcely have invented, without necessity, two names.

delivered me the petition subscribed.] The "petition" is probably the document which Judas sent to Lysias, summing up what he considered to be the just claims of the Jews. (See the comment on *v.* 15.) It was "subscribed," *i.e.* appended to Lysias's letter, as sent, though not reported by our author. (Compare ch. ix. 25.)

made request for the performance of the contents thereof.] Rather, "**made inquiry concerning** the contents thereof;" *i.e.* asked whether the claims of the Jews, as stated by Judas, were allowed or no.

18. *what things soever were meet to be reported to the king.*] Some reference to Eupator had, no doubt, to be made, at any rate as a formality. (See 1 Macc. vi. 60, 61.) But it was probably Lysias himself who determined which of the Jews' demands were, and which were not, admissible.

B. C. cir. 163.

19 If then ye will keep yourselves loyal to the state, hereafter also will I endeavour to be a means of your good.

20 But of the particulars I have given order both to these, and the other that came from me, to commune with you.

21 Fare ye well. The hundred and eight and fortieth year, the four and twentieth day of *the month* [f]Dioscorinthius.

f Or, *Dioscorus.*

22 Now the king's letter contained these words: King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias *sendeth* greeting:

23 Since our father is translated unto the gods, our will is, that they that are in our realm live quietly, that every one may attend upon his own affairs.

B. C. cir. 163.

24 We understand also that the Jews would not consent to our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Gentiles, but had rather keep their own manner of living: for the which cause they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.

25 Wherefore our mind is, that this nation shall be in rest, and we have determined to restore them their temple, that they may live

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20. *both to these.*] *I.e.* to the Jewish envoys, John and Absalon.

and the other that came from me.] Rather, "the **others** that **come** from me"—*i.e.* the envoys whom I am now sending to you.

to commune with you.] Or "hold a discussion with you." Small matters of detail were to be settled between the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem and envoys whom Lysias sent to convey his letter.

21. *The hundred and eight and fortieth year.*] It has been already noticed (see the comment on *vv.* 1–12) that this was the year before the death of Epiphanes, which fell in the 149th year of the Seleucid era, B.C. 164–3. The expedition of Lysias, which terminated in a peace, fell into the 150th year (1 Macc. vi. 20; vii. 1), or B.C. 163–2. The present date is one year too late for the first, and two years too early for the second, expedition of Lysias.

the month Dioscorinthius.] No such month was known to the Greeks. There was a Macedonian month, Dius, the sixth of the year, corresponding nearly to our March, and a Cretan month, Dioscurus, which fell at the same time. But a month called Dioscorinthius is wholly unknown to the ancients. Our author has fallen into a mistake.

§ 7. Supposed Letter of Eupator to Lysias.

22–26. The genuineness of this letter is generally disallowed. In the first expedition of Lysias, he could hold no communication with the king, who was absent in Persia. In the second, letters were out of place, since the king was in the same camp with Lysias (1 Macc. vi. 28, 33, 47, 50, 57, &c.). The letter itself contains also inappropriate expressions, and at least one untrue statement.

22. *King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias.*] It is inconceivable that either Epiphanes or Eupator should have addressed Lysias as his "*brother.*" As "cousin" expresses equality of rank among modern European sovereigns, so did "brother" among the Asiatics. (See 1 Macc. x. 18, and compare 1 Kings xx. 32.) Lysias was a subject, and, though of the blood royal, would certainly not have been addressed as "brother" even by Eupator.

23. *Since our father is translated unto the gods.*] One Seleucid monarch (Antiochus I.) had taken the title of Θεός during his lifetime, and there is reason to believe that all were, more or less, objects of worship, at least to some of their subjects. Eupator might thus perhaps assume the apotheosis of his father after death.

they that are in our realm.] Rather, "of our realm," *i.e.* dependent upon it.

24. *the custom of the Gentiles.*] Rather, "of the **Greeks**." Compare 2 Macc. i. 54–59, ii. 15–18; 2 Macc. iv. 9–15, &c.; and for a similar mistranslation, see *v.* 2.

they require of us, that we should suffer them to live after their own laws.] This was, beyond a doubt, the main requirement made by Judas in his letter to Lysias (*v.* 15). Its concession by Lysias and Eupator is vouched for by the author of the First Book (1 Macc. vi. 59–61).

25. *we have determined to restore them their temple.*] The Syro-Macedonians never "restored their temple" to the Jews. Maccabæus recovered it by force of arms in B.C. 165–4, and from that time it remained continuously in the possession of the patriotic party. It is inconceivable that Eupator should have made the misstatement here ascribed to him.

that they may live according to the customs

B. C. cir. 163. according to the customs of their forefathers.

26 Thou shalt do well therefore to send unto them, and ‖grant them peace, that when they are certified of our mind, they may be of good comfort, and ever go cheerfully about their own affairs.

‖ Or, *give them assurance.*

27 And the letter of the king unto the nation of the Jews was after this manner: King Antiochus *sendeth* greeting unto the council, and the rest of the Jews:

28 If ye fare well, we have our desire; we are also in good health.

29 Menelaus declared unto us, that your desire was to return home, and to follow your own business:

30 Wherefore they that will depart shall have safe conduct till the thirtieth day of Xanthicus with security. B. C. cir. 163.

31 And the Jews shall use their own kind of meats and laws, as before; and none of them any manner of ways shall be molested for things ignorantly done.

32 I have sent also Menelaus, that he may comfort you.

33 Fare ye well. In the hundred forty and eighth year, *and* the fifteenth day of *the month* ‖Xanthicus. ‖ Or, *April.*

34 The Romans also sent unto them a letter containing these words: Quintus Memmius and Titus Man-

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of their forefathers.] This was, in fact, one of the main conditions of the peace of B.C. 163–2. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

§ 8. SUPPOSED LETTER OF EUPATOR TO THE JEWS.

27–33. Again, the genuineness of the document is suspected. Eupator was not in a position to write letters of any binding authority. He had only to give a formal assent to the terms which Lysias proposed. Suspicious points of detail in the letter are: 1, the employment of Menelaus as their ambassador by the Jews; 2, the Latin character of the opening salutation; 3, the permission to depart under safe conduct during fifteen days; 4, the date, *five months* after the letter of Lysias to the Jews.

27. *unto the council.*] Or "the senate." (See 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44.)

28. *If ye fare well, &c.*] Compare ch. ix. 20, and the comment *ad loc.*

29. *Menelaus declared unto us.*] Grimm assumes that this "Menelaus" is not the High Priest of ch. iv. 23-50; v. 5, 15, 23, but some entirely different person, otherwise unknown. But it is far more probable that our author, or the inventor of the letter, whoever he was, intended the High Priest, the only known Menelaus of the day. The Jews, however, can scarcely have in fact employed so bitter an adversary as their ambassador.

30. *they that will depart shall have safe conduct.*] This permission in no wise suits the circumstances of either expedition of Lysias. In both, the Syro-Macedonians took a hasty departure, leaving the Jews to themselves. The Jews had on neither occasion any reason to wish to "depart," nor any need of "safe conduct" if they departed.

the thirtieth day of Xanthicus.] "Xanthicus" was the sixth Macedonian month, and corresponded nearly with the Jewish Nisan. It was the fifth month after Dius, which corresponded with Marchesvan.

31. *the Jews shall use their own kind of meats.*] Literally, "of expenses" (see Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 8); but "meats" are no doubt intended. (Compare Polyb. ix. 42, § 4.)

for things ignorantly done.] *I.e.* for infractions of the law through ignorance or accident. (Compare 1 Macc. xiii. 39.)

33. *the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.*] Nearly five months after the date of the letter of Lysias (*supra, v.* 21). The concocter of the letter has supposed Eupator to be at Antioch, Lysias in Judæa, and has therefore taken care to put an interval between the letters. But the interval is in any case too long, and Eupator was really in Judæa with Lysias (1 Macc. vi. 57–63).

§ 9. SUPPOSED LETTER OF TWO ROMAN COMMISSIONERS TO THE JEWS.

34–38. This fourth document is a manifest forgery. Judas had not as yet entered into communication with the Romans (1 Macc. viii. 17–32); nor did he do so till after the landing of Demetrius and the death of Nicanor (ibid. vii. 47; ix. 1). Moreover, neither of the two names given is found among the *legati* of Rome in Asia at the period.

34. *Quintus Memmius.*] The Memmii were a respectable Roman family of the time

B. C. cir. 163.

lius, [1]ambassadors of the Romans, *send* greeting unto the people of the Jews.

[1] Or, *consuls.*

35 Whatsoever Lysias the king's cousin hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased.

36 But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king, after ye have advised thereof, send one forthwith, that we may declare as it is convenient for you: for we are now going to Antioch.

37 Therefore send some with speed, that we may know what is your mind.

38 Farewell. This hundred and eight and fortieth year, the fifteenth day of *the month* Xanthicus. B.C. cir. 163.

CHAPTER XII.

1 *The king's lieutenants vex the Jews.* 3 *They of Joppe drown two hundred Jews.* 6 *Judas is avenged upon them.* 11 *He maketh peace with the Arabians,* 16 *and taketh Caspis.* 22 *Timotheus' armies overthrown.*

WHEN these covenants were made, Lysias went unto the king, and the Jews were about their husbandry.

2 But of the governors of several places, [a]Timotheus, and Apollonius the *son* of Genneus, also Hieronymus, and Demophon, and beside them Nicanor the governor of Cyprus, cir. 163. [a] See ch. 10. 37.

(Liv. xli. 25; xliii. 5, &c.); but no *Quintus* Memmius is found, nor any Memmius at all among the commissioners sent into Asia. These are:

C. Sulpicius	in B.C. 165
Ma. Sergius	— — —
Cn. Octavius	— — —
Sp. Lucretius	— — —
L. Aurelius	— — —
Tib. Gracchus	— — 163
L. Lentulus	— — —
Servilius Glaucia	— — —

Titus Manlius.] A "Titus Manlius Torquatus" was Roman commissioner in Egypt in B.C. 163; but his colleague was Cneius Merula (Polyb. xxxi. 18, § 9); and he had no authority in Asia.

ambassadors of the Romans.] Rather, "commissioners." The Roman *legati* of this period were representatives of the republic, empowered to act very much as they pleased for the purpose of advancing Roman interests in the quarter to which they were sent. They had more practical functions, and far more freedom of action, than ambassadors ordinarily possess.

36. *touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king.*] See above, *v.* 18.

38. *the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.*] This letter is very improbably dated on the same day as that of Eupator (*v.* 33), nearly five months after that of Lysias (*v.* 21). If an authentic document, it would naturally have followed close upon Lysias's letter, on which it is a comment. An interval would then have occurred, during which Roman influence would have been used, and then Eupator would have announced his final decision. As it is, the Jews are asked to consult together, and to inform the Romans of their wishes after the final decision has been taken.

CHAPTER XII.

§ 10. THE JEWS VEXED BY THE PROVINCIAL COMMANDANTS. JUDAS ATTACKS JOPPA AND JAMNIA.

1–9. According to our author, though peace had been made between Judas on the one hand, and Lysias and Eupator on the other, yet hostilities continued between the Jews and the provincial commandants. Particular captains and particular towns set themselves to vex and harass the obnoxious nation, which, while living in their midst, conformed to none of their usages, but maintained pertinaciously its own religion and its own customs. Among the towns which shewed the most violent hostility were Joppa and Jamnia, the latter contemplating, and the former executing, a treacherous outrage, and thus calling down on themselves the vengeance of Judas, who burnt the havens of the two towns.

1. *Lysias went unto the king.*] See the comment on ch. xi. 33.

2. *the governors of several places.*] Rather, "the commandants" (στρατηγοὶ, not ἐπιστάται).

Timotheus.] This is probably the same leader who is mentioned as an adversary of the Jews in ch. viii. 30–32, and ch. x. 24–37. In the latter place our author has wrongly represented him as slain. (See the comment on ch. x. 37.)

Apollonius the son of Genneus.] The epithet, "son of Genneus," distinguishes this Apollonius from two others—the "son of Thraseas," mentioned in ch. iii. 5, iv. 4, &c.; and the "son of Menestheus," mentioned in ch. iv. 21.

Nicanor the governor of Cyprus.] Rather, "the Cypriarch"—probably the highest *reli-*

B. C. cir. 163. would not suffer them to be quiet, and live in peace.

3 The men of Joppe also did such an ungodly deed: they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt.

4 Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing: but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them.

5 When Judas heard of this cruelty done unto his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him *to make them ready.*

6 And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew. B. C. cir. 163.

7 And when the town was shut up, he went backward, ‖as if he would return to root out all them of the city of Joppe. ‖ Or, *with a purpose to return.*

8 But when he heard that the Jamnites were minded to do in like manner unto the Jews that dwelt among them,

9 He came upon the Jamnites also by night, and set fire on the haven and the navy, so that the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem two hundred and forty furlongs off.

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gious official in Cyprus during the time that Antiochus Epiphanes held the island, Crates having been the civil governor (ch. iv. 29). Compare the terms "Asiarch" (Acts xix. 31), "Syriarch," &c. This "Nicanor" is most likely a different person from "the son of Patroclus," mentioned in ch. viii. 9–24, 34, 35; xiv. 12–39; xv. 1–37.

3. *The men of Joppe.*] Joppa was at this time in the possession of the Syro-Macedonians, who maintained a garrison there (1 Macc. x. 75). The inhabitants were of mixed race, in part Jewish, in part Syrian, probably also in part Greco-Macedonian. In the present passage, the non-Jewish element is spoken of as preponderating, the Jewish as a sort of colony of foreign settlers. (Compare 1 Macc. xiv. 34.)

did such an ungodly deed.] Rather, "did **the following** ungodly deed."

4. *Who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city.*] These words shew that the massacre was not the private act of certain irresponsible persons, but was publicly determined on by the State. The Jews must have at first misdoubted the offer made to them, and have hesitated to accept it; whereupon a formal decree was passed to reassure them; and it was in reliance on this public act of the people that they embarked and met their doom. We cannot be surprised that Judas visited such a treachery with extreme severity (*v.* 6).

6. *calling upon God the righteous Judge.*] Compare Gen. xviii. 25; Ps. vii. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 8.

he . . . burnt the haven by night.] *I.e.* whatever was inflammable in it, as docks, wooden piers, landing-places, &c.

he slew.] Or, "put to the sword."

7. *when the town was shut up.*] *I.e.* "when he found that the gates of the town were closed, and that it could not be taken by surprise during the night."

as if he would return.] Rather, "**intending to** come again."

8. *the Jamnites.*] The inhabitants of Jamnia. On the position of Jamnia, see the comment on 1 Macc. iv. 15; and, on its importance, compare 1 Macc. v. 58, x. 69, xv. 40, with Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 8, § 6; 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18.

were minded to do in like manner.] Not, probably, to drown them treacherously—a plan which could scarcely prove successful twice—but to massacre them in one way or another. On the massacres of Jews in towns where they formed a minority of the population, see Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xviii. 9, §§ 8, 9.

9. *two hundred and forty furlongs.*] Yebna, the modern representative of Jamnia, is about 28 miles from Jerusalem, or 243 stades. The port is distant from the town about two miles, or 17 stades, more, making a total of 260 stades. The conflagration must have been very great to have been seen from such a distance.

§ 12. A BODY OF ARABS ATTACKS JUDAS, AND IS DEFEATED. HE MAKES PEACE WITH THEM.

10–12. It has been suggested that this is a variant account of the transactions related in 1 Macc. v. 37–39 (Grimm); but the scene of

B. C. cir. 163.

10 Now when they were gone from thence nine furlongs in their journey toward Timotheus, no fewer than five thousand *men on foot* and five hundred horsemen of the Arabians set upon him.

11 Whereupon there was a very sore battle; but Judas' side by the help of God got the victory; so that the Nomades of Arabia, being overcome, besought Judas for peace, promising both to give him cattle, and to pleasure him otherwise.

12 Then Judas, thinking indeed that they would be profitable in many things, granted them peace: whereupon they shook hands, and so they ‖departed to their tents.

‖ Or, *went from place to place with their families and cattle.*

13 He went also about to make a bridge to a certain strong city, which was fenced about with walls, and inhabited by people of divers countries; and the name of it was Caspis.

B. C. cir. 163.

14 But they that were within it put such trust in the strength of the walls and provision of victuals, that they behaved themselves rudely toward them that were with Judas, railing and blaspheming, and uttering such words as were not to be spoken.

15 Wherefore Judas with his company, calling upon the great Lord of the world, [b]who without any rams or engines of war did cast

[b] Josh. 6. 20.

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that encounter is the Transjordanic region, while the battle here mentioned took place little more than a mile from Jamnia. Wandering Arabs might be met with in almost any part of southern or eastern Palestine, and would be apt to attack any force to which they thought themselves superior. There is no evidence that these Arabs were in league with Timotheus.

10. *in their journey toward Timotheus.*] Having punished Joppa and Jamnia, Judas next proceeded against this powerful captain, the chief of the commandants left by Lysias to maintain the authority of Eupator in Palestine. (See *v.* 2.) He had, apparently, betaken himself to the Transjordanic territory, and was greatly harassing the Jews in those parts (1 Macc. v. 6, 11, 34, 40).

five thousand men on foot.] That the 5,000 were "men on foot" is not expressed, but is gathered from the context, and from the practice of the author to omit πεζοὶ in his estimates of the numbers of an army. (See ch. x. 31; xi. 2, 11.)

11. *Whereupon there was a very sore battle.*] Rather, "a stout fight." If Judas had, as appears from 1 Macc. v. 20, eight thousand men with him, it might have been expected that he would have gained an easy victory. But Arab troops often fight with desperation, even against superior numbers.

promising . . . to give him cattle.] Almost the whole wealth of the nomadic Arabs consists in cattle. Tributary Arab tribes paid their tribute in beasts (2 Chr. xvii. 11; G. Smith, 'History of Asshur-bani-pal,' pp. 287, 288).

12. *they shook hands.*] Rather, "they joined hands;" *i.e.* pledged their faith to each other, by each grasping the other's right hand.

§ 13. JUDAS BESIEGES AND TAKES CASPIN.

13–16. The "Caspis" or "Caspin" of this passage is probably the "Casphon" of 1 Macc. v. 36, which was a strong city of the Transjordanic region, and is probably identified with Heshbon. The details here given are exegetical of the brief statement in the passage above quoted, that "Judas took Casphon."

13. *He went also about to make a bridge.*] It has been proposed to read γεφύραις for γεφυροῦν, and to translate (with the Vulgate) "a city strong through bridges" (Grimm). But there is no need of any change. If the city was protected by a deep moat or by ravines, Judas may have designed to make his approaches by means of a mound of earth carried across the obstacle. Γεφύραις would not readily pass into γεφυροῦν.

inhabited by people of divers countries.] The population was very mixed in the Transjordanic region. Amorites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabs were intermingled throughout the territory, which contained also a large number of Jews. (Compare 1 Macc. v. 9, 25, 39, 45.) There was also, no doubt, a sprinkling of Syro-Macedonians.

the name of it was Caspis.] The Vulgate has "Caspin;" and the Greek admits of this rendering. (Compare the "Casphon" of 1 Macc. v. 36.)

14. *behaved themselves rudely.*] Literally, "*somewhat* rudely."

15. *calling upon the great Lord of the world.*] Literally, "the great *Dynast*,"—*i.e.*

B. C. cir. 163. down Jericho in the time of Joshua, gave a fierce assault against the walls,

16 And took the city by the will of God, and made unspeakable slaughters, insomuch that a lake two furlongs broad near adjoining thereunto, being filled full, was seen running with blood.

17 Then departed they from thence seven hundred and fifty furlongs, and came to Characa unto the Jews that are called Tubieni. B. C. cir. 163.

18 But as for Timotheus, they found him not in the places: for before he had dispatched any thing, he departed from thence, having left a very strong garrison in a certain hold.

19 Howbeit Dositheus and Sosipater, who were of Maccabeus' captains, went forth, and slew those that

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the sovereign ruler of the universe. The expression used is a rare one.

without any rams.] The battering-ram was employed by the Assyrians as early as the time of Asshur-nazir-pal (B.C. 880). The Greeks used it in the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. ii. 76); and the Macedonians employed it with great effect from the time of Philip. By the Greeks and Romans the head of the implement was actually fashioned in the shape of a ram's head, whence the names κριός and *aries*.

engines of war.] Other "engines of war" known to the ancients were the *balista*, which hurled stones; the catapult, which threw darts; and the *helepolis*, which was a complicated machine of great size, combining the several engines already mentioned.

did cast down Jericho.] See Josh. vi. 20.

gave a fierce assault.] Literally, "rushed against the walls like wild beasts." Compare ch. x. 35, where a similar expression is used. In both cases the soldiers of Judas are represented as lashed into fury by the "blasphemies" of their adversaries.

16. *a lake two furlongs broad.*] There is a large reservoir near Heshbon, towards the south, a few yards from the base of the hill (Burckhardt, 'Travels in Syria,' p. 365), which seems to be alluded to in Cant. vii. 4, and which may have been the original basis of this "lake two stades broad." The description is marked by our author's vice of exaggeration.

§ 14. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS AGAINST CHARAX. DEFEAT OF TIMOTHEUS, WHO IS ALLOWED BY DOSITHEUS AND SOSIPATER TO ESCAPE.

17–25. The expedition against Charax for the relief of the Jews called "Tubieni," is omitted by the author of the First Book, who however mentions the sufferings of certain "brethren" who dwelt "in the places of Tobie" (1 Macc. v. 13). The defeat of Timotheus here given with some detail seems to be that mentioned by the author of the First Book in ch. v. 37–43. Our author, as usual, exaggerates the numbers of the troops engaged, and of the slain (*vv.* 19, 20, 23).

17. *seven hundred and fifty furlongs.*] This is a distance of somewhat over 86 miles, and is quite incompatible with the "Charax" intended being "Charax-Moab," or Karak; since that place is less than forty miles from Heshbon. Some other "Charax" must be sought for, in a northerly direction (where lay the "land of Tob"), not very far from Ashtoreth-Karnaim (*v.* 26). Charax, "palisaded camp," is a name which may well have belonged to many distinct localities.

to Characa.] Rather, "to **Charax**." "Characa" is merely the accusative case of the word.

the Jews that are called Tubieni.] Compare 1 Macc. v. 13. The "Tubieni"—"men of Tub"—correspond to the Ish-Tob, "men of Tob," mentioned in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. Their country, the "land of Tob" (Judg. xi. 3), was a portion of Gilead, probably towards the north-west.

18. *as for Timotheus.*] See above, *v.* 10. Judas had set out from Jamnia with the intention of engaging the army of Timotheus.

they found him not in the places.] He was neither at Caspin nor at Charax.

for before he had dispatched any thing.] Rather, "for **having failed to accomplish** anything." The word ἄπρακτος conveys the idea of an attempt which had ended in failure.

he departed.] Rather, "he **had** departed." He had quitted Charax before Judas and his army arrived.

19. *Dositheus and Sosipater.*] The prevalence of Grecian names, even among the chief officers of Judas, is an indication of the extent to which the Hellenizing mania had affected even the soundest part of the nation. (Compare 1 Macc. viii. 17.)

who were of Maccabeus' captains.] Judas did not allow himself to be diverted from the

B. C. cir. 163. Timotheus had left in the fortress, above ten thousand men.

20 And Maccabeus ranged his army by bands, and set [1]them over the bands, and went against Timotheus, who had about him an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot, and two thousand and five hundred horsemen.

21 Now when Timotheus had knowledge of Judas' coming, he sent the women and children and the other baggage unto a fortress called [c]Carnion: for the town was hard to besiege, and uneasy to come unto, by reason of the straitness of all the places.

22 But when Judas his first band came in sight, the enemies, being smitten with fear and terror through the appearing of him that seeth all things, fled amain, one running this way, another that way, so as that they were often hurt of their own men, and wounded with the points of their own swords.

23 Judas also was very earnest in pursuing them, killing those wicked wretches, of whom he slew about thirty thousand men.

24 Moreover Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, whom he besought with much craft to let him go with his life, because he had many of the Jews' parents, and the brethren of some of them, who, if they put him to death, should not be regarded.

25 So when he had assured them with many words that he would restore them without hurt, according to the agreement, they let him go for the saving of their brethren.

B. C. cir. 163.

[1] *Dositheus and Sosipater.*

[c] 1 Mac. 5. 43, *Carnaim.*

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pursuit of Timotheus by the garrison which that commander had left behind him to threaten Charax, but, detaching a force under two of his principal officers to attack the garrison in its stronghold, himself pressed forward against the main army and the chief commander. (See *v.* 20.)

20. *set them over the bands.*] Rather, as in the Syriac, "set **captains** over the bands." Αὐτοὺς is a wrong reading, and should be changed into τοὺς.

an hundred and twenty thousand men of foot.] This is a very improbable number. The highest estimate of footmen elsewhere, even in a *royal* Syro-Macedonian army, is 110,000 (2 Macc. xiii. 2), which the author of the First Book reduces to 100,000 (1 Macc. vi. 30). It is therefore quite inconceivable that a mere "commandant" (see *v.* 2) should have collected 120,000. *All* the numbers in this chapter are greatly exaggerated. (See *vv.* 19, 23, 26, 28, &c.)

21. *a fortress called Carnion.*] The subsequent mention of the "temple of Atargatis" at Carnion (*v.* 26) identifies this place with the "Carnaim" of the First Book (1 Macc. v. 26, 43), which is generally allowed to be the "Ashtoreth-Karnaim" of Gen. xiv. 5. On the probable site, see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 26.

uneasy to come unto.] Guarded, as we learn from the First Book (1 Macc. v. 39–43), by a deep ravine or watercourse, dry in the summer time, which had to be crossed before an attack could be made on the fortress.

22. *Judas his first band.*] Compare *v.* 20. Judas had divided his troops into several "bands."

through the appearing of him that seeth all things.] A miraculous manifestation of the Divine presence is clearly intended, on a par with those mentioned in chs. iii. 25, 33; x. 29; xi. 8; xv. 27. The author of the First Book, though he mentions the battle (1 Macc. v. 43), says nothing of any such manifestation.

24. *Timotheus . . . fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater.*] This is not stated in the First Book, and is, apparently, disbelieved by Ewald and Dean Stanley, who say nothing of it. But the tale is not one which it would have been worth while to invent; and it may fairly be regarded as one of our author's contributions to the history of the period.

with much craft.] Rather, "with much **imposture**." The author means that Timotheus invented the whole story of his having Jewish captives in his power, who would be ill-treated if he were put to death.

§ 15. CAPTURE OF THE ATARGATEUM AT CARNION—FALL OF EPHRON—RETURN OF JUDAS BY WAY OF SCYTHOPOLIS TO JERUSALEM.

26–31. This passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. v. 44–54, with which it agrees in all the main particulars. It adds the facts, that Lysias had a house in Ephron, and that the inhabitants of Scythopolis (Beth-shan) lived on friendly terms with the Jews of the vicinity.

B. C. cir. 163.

26 Then Maccabeus marched forth to Carnion, and to the temple of [1]Atargatis, and there he slew five and twenty thousand persons.

[1] That is, *Venus.*

27 And after he had put to flight and destroyed them, Judas removed the host toward Ephron, a strong city, wherein Lysias abode, and a great multitude of divers nations, and the strong young men kept the walls, and defended them mightily: wherein also was great provision of engines and darts.

28 But when Judas and his company had called upon Almighty God, who with his power breaketh the strength of his enemies, they won the city, and slew twenty and five thousand of them that were within.

B. C. cir. 163.

29 From thence they departed to Scythopolis, which lieth six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.

30 But when the Jews that dwelt there had testified that the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them, and entreated them kindly in the time of their adversity;

31 They gave them thanks, desiring them to be friendly still unto them: and so they came to Jerusalem, the feast of the weeks approaching.

Its estimates of the numbers slain by Judas are of the usual exaggerated character. (See the comment on *v.* 20.)

26. *the temple of Atargatis.*] The author of the First Book has "the *holy precinct* (τέμενος) in Carnaim" (ch. v. 43), which was evidently large enough to afford a camping-ground to the remnant of the defeated army. Atargatis, or Derketo (Derketis), was the great Syrian nature goddess (Dea Syra), corresponding to the Phœnician Ashtoreth and the Babylonian Ishtar or Nanæa. The chief seats of her worship were Hierapolis (Mabog) and Aphek or Aphaca. On its essential impurity, see Euseb. 'Vit. Constant.' iii. 56; Lucian, 'De Dea Syra,' §§ 4–10.

27. *Ephron, a strong city.*] On the identity of "Ephron" with Gephrun (Polyb. v. 70) and its probable position, see the comment on 1 Macc. v. 46.

wherein Lysias abode.] The writer does not intend to say that Lysias was in Ephron at the time of the siege, but that he had a house there, in which he sometimes resided. There is no improbability in this statement.

and a great multitude of divers nations.] Compare *v.* 13.

28. *when Judas . . . had called upon Almighty God.*] Literally, "upon the Dynast." Compare *v.* 15.

29. *Scythopolis.*] Called "Beth-shan" in 1 Macc. v. 52, as in Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27, and generally in the canonical Books of the Old Testament—"Scythopolis" only here and in Judith iii. 10. Anciently the city belonged to the Canaanites, and from them probably received its name of Beth-Shean or Beth-Shan. The name "Scythopolis" (Σκυθῶν πόλις) is first found given to it in Polybius (v. 70, § 4), who wrote about B.C. 140, and afterwards occurs as the regular Greco-Roman name in Strabo, Pliny, Eusebius, Josephus, and the Itineraries ('Itin. Ant.' p. 197; 'Itin. Hierosol.' p. 586), maintaining itself till the time of William of Tyre, after which the old name recurs in the form of Beisan. Scythopolis is thought to have derived its name from a settlement of Scythians at the spot, made perhaps at the time of the great Scythic invasion of Palestine mentioned by Herodotus (i. 106), which took place about B.C. 600. It was at all times more a heathen than a Jewish city (Judg. i. 27; Mishna 'Aboda Zara,' i. 4; Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' ii. 18, § 3, &c.).

six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem.] This estimate is fairly correct. Beisan is distant from Jerusalem, as the crow flies, nearly 500 stades, and could not be reached by any ordinary route without an augmentation of the distance by at least one-fifth.

30. *the Scythopolitans dealt lovingly with them.*] This was not so at a later date. On the breaking out of the last Roman war, A.D. 65, the heathen inhabitants rose up against their Jewish fellow-citizens, and massacred them to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' *l. s. c.*).

31. *they came to Jerusalem.*] Compare 1 Macc. v. 54. It is a new fact, contributed by the writer of this Book, that the return immediately preceded the Feast of Pentecost. On the appellation "Feast of Weeks," see Deut. xvi. 10, 16, and compare Lev. xxiii. 15, 16.

§ 16. EXPEDITION OF JUDAS INTO IDUMÆA. GORGIAS IS NEARLY CAPTURED. DEFEAT OF HIS ARMY.

32–37. The expedition touched on by the author of the First Book in ch. v. 65 is here

B. C. 163.

32 And after the *feast*, called Pentecost, they went forth against Gorgias the governor of ‖Idumea,

‖Or, *Jamnia*, 1 Mac. 5. 58.

33 Who came out with three thousand men of foot and four hundred horsemen.

34 And it happened that in their fighting together a few of the Jews were slain.

35 At which time Dositheus, one of Bacenor's company, who was on horseback, and a strong man, was still upon Gorgias, and taking hold of his coat drew him by force; and when he would have taken that cursed man alive, a horseman of Thracia coming upon him ‖smote off his shoulder, so that Gorgias fled unto Marisa.

B. C. cir. 163.

‖Or, *put by his arm:* or, *wounded him in the shoulder:* or, *struck him in the shoulder.*

36 Now when they that were with ‖Gorgias had fought long, and were weary, Judas called upon the Lord, that he would shew himself to be their helper and leader of the battle.

‖Or, *Esdrin.*

37 And with that he began in his own language, and sung psalms with a loud voice, and rushing unawares upon Gorgias' men, he put them to flight.

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given with some detail. It appears that Gorgias was the leader against whom Judas contended. Judas had only a small army (*v.* 33), and was in danger of suffering defeat, but by an appeal to the religious feeling of his troops gained the victory. In the struggle Gorgias was almost captured by Dositheus, but escaped through the latter being wounded. No mention is made of Hebron, which, according to the author of the First Book, was captured by Judas.

32. *after the feast called Pentecost.*] Compare Tobit ii. 1. The name is a translation of the Hebrew יוֹם חֲמִשִּׁים, which was given to the Festival because it fell on the fiftieth day after the Passover sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16).

Gorgias the governor of Idumea.] Gorgias has been already mentioned as in league with the Idumæans against Judas (ch. x. 14, 15). He had, shortly before this, inflicted a defeat on a body of Jews who had attacked Jamnia under Azarias and Joseph (1 Macc. v. 56–60). His command seems to have extended over Idumæa and northern Philistia.

33. *Who came out with three thousand men.*] This translation makes the estimate one of the army of Gorgias. But there can be little doubt that the author intends to give the numbers of the army of Judas. (See Grimm *ad loc.*) Gorgias's forces were probably far more numerous. Translate—"**Now he** came out with three thousand men."

35. *Dositheus, one of Bacenor's company.*] It would seem that this "Dositheus" is not the commander of *vv.* 19, 24, or he would not have been called "a certain Dositheus" (Δωσίθεός τις), "one of Bacenor's men." He was, apparently, a common soldier.

was still upon Gorgias.] Rather, "**attached himself to** Gorgias;" *i.e.* made a set upon him—challenged an encounter, and would not be denied.

taking hold of his coat.] Rather, "catching hold of his **cloak.**" The *chlamys* was a sort of cloak or scarf, fastened round the neck, and hanging loosely behind the warrior. (See Smith's 'Dict. of Antiquities,' cuts on pp. 196, 275, 276, 519, &c.) It was easily caught hold of, and gave the man who seized it a grasp of his foe which was not easily escaped.

a horseman of Thracia coming upon him.] The Thracians were renowned as light-armed troops, and served both on foot and horseback. They were constantly enrolled as mercenaries by the Epigoni, or "successors" of Alexander, and are found serving in almost all the large armies collected by them (See Polyb. v. 65, § 10; 79, § 6, &c.)

smote off his shoulder.] *I.e.* his arm at the shoulder. (Compare ch. xv. 30.)

Gorgias fled unto Marisa.] "Marisa," the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew "Mareshah," was the name of a city of Judah situated in the low Philistine plain, or Shefêlah. It was distant from Hebron about thirteen miles to the north-west, on the direct route to Ashdod. It seems to be represented by the modern "Marash" (Robinson, 'Researches,' vol. ii. pp. 67, 68). The Syriac alteration of "Marisa" into "Samaria" is quite indefensible.

36. *when they that were with Gorgias had fought long and were weary.*] "Gorgias" is the reading of a few MSS. only; the great majority have "Esdris." A Jewish, and not a Syro-Macedonian, commander is certainly intended. Note that "Ezri" (= Esdris) occurs as a Jewish name in 1 Chr. xxvii. **26.**

37. *with that he began in his own language and sung psalms.*] Rather, "with that he **led off, in the national tongue, the war-cry that was joined with** psalms." Some well-known war-song must be meant.

Gorgias' men.] The army which Gorgias had just deserted. (See *v.* 35.)

B. C. cir. 163. 38 So Judas gathered his host, and came into the city of Odollam. And when the seventh day came, they purified themselves, as the custom was, and kept the sabbath in the same place.

39 And upon the day following, Or, *at such time, &c.* as the use had been, Judas and his company came to take up the bodies of them that were slain, and to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.

40 Now under the coats of every one that was slain they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which is forbidden the Jews by [a] the law. Then every man saw that this was the cause wherefore they were slain. B. C. cir. 163. [a] Deut. 7. 25, 26.

41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble

§ 17. BURIAL OF THE JEWISH SLAIN. DISCOVERY OF IDOL-OFFERINGS UPON THEIR PERSONS. ATONEMENT MADE FOR THEM.

38–45. Judas, after the battle, occupied "Odollam" or "Adullam," and there rested during the Sabbath. On the day following he proceeded to bury the bodies of those soldiers belonging to his own side who had fallen in the fight. According to our author, it was found that all the slain had, concealed on their persons, objects which had been carried off from the idol temples of Jamnia. Hence their deaths were regarded as Divine judgments. Judas, having improved the occasion to warn the people against idolatry, made a collection for an offering to be sent to Jerusalem, in expiation of the sin which his soldiers had committed.

38. *the city of Odollam.*] Adullam appears as a Canaanite city in Josh. xii. 15 (compare Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12). In the division of the Holy Land it was assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 35). The place appears to have been in the Shefêlah. It is probably identified with the "Aid-el-Ma" discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, near which is a cave, "sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band were garrisoning the hold or fortress" ('Quarterly Statement' of Pal. Explor. Fund for Jan. 1881, p. 44). Aid-el-Ma is marked in the twenty-first sheet of the great map published by the Fund.

they purified themselves.] Contact with the heathen would have made most of them "unclean," more especially such as had killed an enemy (Num. xxxi. 19). The purification would be by means of ablution.

39. *as the use had been.*] Rather, "**according as necessity required.**" The burial of the slain could not be longer deferred without danger to the living from the setting in of decomposition.

to bury them with their kinsmen in their fathers' graves.] This would scarcely have been possible in many cases, since the slain were, no doubt, from various and distant localities. They were probably all interred on the field of battle.

40. *under the coats.*] The χιτὼν is the close-fitting inner garment, corresponding to the modern "shirt," and in no way resembles our "coat." Evidently the soldiers sought to conceal the idol-offerings which they wore, as much as possible.

things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites.] Votive offerings in silver or gold, such as abounded in every heathen temple, are probably intended. A superstitious feeling had induced the soldiers of Judas to carry these off from the temples of the Jamnites, and suspend them about their persons as amulets, which would avert dangers. The fact is very important, as indicating an undercurrent of heathenish feeling and belief, even among those Jews who, on the whole, clave to the Law, and ventured their lives in its defence. Judas would naturally be shocked by the discovery, and, to check such a departure from true religion, he made it public, and put it before his soldiers, that the amulets, instead of averting danger, had attracted it, and been "the cause" wherefore those who wore them had been slain.

which is forbidden the Jews by the law.] The Law was very strict in forbidding any adoption of even innocent heathen rites, or any conformity with heathen religious practices. (See Ex. xx. 4, 23, xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Deut. xiv. 1, &c.) The particular practice here mentioned is not, however, forbidden in the Law expressly.

41. *the Lord, the righteous Judge.*] Compare above, *v.* 6.

who had opened, &c.] Rather, "who **makes manifest** the things which have been hid." The statement is quite general, though, no doubt, a special reference to the recent discovery is intended.

42. *might wholly be put out of remembrance.*] Literally, "might be completely

B. C. cir. 163. Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.

43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. B. C. cir. 163.

45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 *Eupator invadeth Judea.* 15 *Judas by night slayeth many.* 18 *Eupator's purpose is defeated.* 22 *He maketh peace with Judas.*

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wiped out." Sin is "wiped out" by being forgiven, rather than by being forgotten. God can really never forget anything.

43. *two thousand drachms of silver.*] About eighty pounds of our money. Some MSS. give "three thousand;" the Vulgate, "twelve thousand." The money would be employed in the purchase of victims.

to offer a sin-offering.] On the law of sin-offerings, see Lev. iv. 2–35; v. 1–19; vi. 2–7. There is no indication in the Law that they were intended to be offered for the dead, nor any evidence to shew that they had ever been so offered before this occasion. Hence the anxiety of the writer to justify the act of Judas, which he does on general grounds.

doing therein very well and honestly.] Rather, "very well and **rightly**." Ἀστεῖος in the later Greek has the general sense of what is right and good.

he was mindful of the resurrection.] See the comment on ch. vi. 26; vii. 9.

44. *to pray for the dead.*] Offerings were supposed to be always accompanied by prayer. When a "sin-offering" was offered, it was, as a matter of course, accompanied by prayer that the sin for which the offering was made might be forgiven. (Compare *v.* 42.) The Jewish liturgies contain a form of "Prayer for the dead," called "the *Kaddish*," which is believed to be at least as old as the time of our Lord. (Farrar, 'Eternal Hope,' p. 216.)

45. *And also, &c.*] Verse 44 is parenthetic, being exegetical of the assertion in *v.* 43, that Judas "was mindful of the resurrection." Verse 45 is to be closely connected with the last clause of *v.* 43.

there was great favour laid up.] Compare ch. vii. 9, 11, 14, 23. The conviction of a happy future beyond the grave as reserved for the righteous was one of the chief animating principles of the Maccabæan revolt, and seems to have been confidently held by all classes. Judas regarded the sinners who had fallen as purged from their sin by the sin-offering and the prayers of the people, so that they passed into the class of those who "died"—or rather "**slept**"—in godliness, and became possessors of the "favour" laid up for that class.

it was an holy and good thought.] This clause is best detached from the preceding one, and taken as a sort of summary. The entire conception which Judas had formed on this matter was "holy and good."

he made a reconciliation.] Rather, "**the** reconciliation"—that which had been already mentioned (*v.* 43).

CHAPTER XIII.

§ 18. Great Expedition of Eupator and Lysias into Judæa.

1–26. This expedition is, beyond a doubt, identical with that which the author of the First Book describes in ch. vi. 23–63, and which he assigns to the 150th Seleucid year (ib. *v.* 20). It was provoked by attacks, which Judas was continually making, upon the Acra of Jerusalem, and the Syro-Macedonian garrison which held it (ib. 18–27). The army collected by Lysias was the largest ever brought against Judæa by the Syro-Macedonians. It was composed of foot, horse, chariots (2 Macc. xiii. 2), and elephants. The main campaign was on the Idumæan border, about the city of Beth-sura (1 Macc. vi. 31–50; 2 Macc. xiii. 19). The Syro-Macedonians had greatly the advantage over the Jews in the struggle; and the latter were only saved from complete subjugation by the sudden march of Philip on Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 35; 2 Macc. xiii. 23), which forced Lysias to bring the war to an end by a peace, under which the Jews were granted very favourable terms (1 Macc. vi. 59). The facts wherewith the author of the present Book enriches the history are his accounts of the

B. C. cir. 162. IN the hundred forty and ninth year it was told Judas, that Antiochus Eupator was coming with a great power into Judea,

[a] ch. 11. 1. 2 And with him [a] Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs, having either of them a Grecian power of footmen, an hundred and ten thousand, and horsemen five thousand and three hundred, and elephants two and twenty, and three hundred chariots armed with hooks. B. C. cir. 162.

3 Menelaus also joined himself with them, and with great dissimulation encouraged Antiochus, not for the safeguard of the country, but because he thought to have been made governor.

4 But the King of kings moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked

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execution of Menelaus (*vv.* 3–8), of the prayer and fast of Judas (*vv.* 10–12), of his night attack on the Syrian camp near Modein (*vv.* 14–17), and of the disturbance at Ptolemaïs on the return of the Syrians from Judæa to Antioch (*vv.* 25, 26). The details of the great battle between Lysias and Judas are given only in the First Book (ch. vi. 33–47).

1. *In the hundred forty and ninth year.*] Really in the 150th year, which began in October, B.C. 163, and terminated in October, B.C. 162. It is conjectured that the author of the Second Book counts the Seleucid years from B.C. 313, instead of from B.C. 312.

that Antiochus Eupator was coming.] As in ch. xi., so here, the writer speaks of Eupator as if he had an actual part in the conduct of affairs, whereas he was a mere boy, entirely under the direction and control of Lysias. Lysias took him to the war in order that he might not lose sight of him.

2. *Lysias his protector, and ruler of his affairs.*] Compare ch. xi. 1, and 1 Macc. vi. 17.

having either of them a Grecian power of footmen.] It is not at all likely that the Syro-Macedonian forces were, in any sense, partitioned between Eupator and Lysias. Lysias was in command of the entire army.

an hundred and ten thousand.] The component elements of the army of Lysias at this time are stated somewhat differently in the First and Second Books of Maccabees:—

In the First Book.		*In the Second Book.*	
Foot . .	100,000	Foot . .	110,000
Horse .	20,000	Horse .	5,300
Elephants	32	Elephants	22
		Chariots .	300

Josephus contradicts himself as to the numbers (comp. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 3, with 'Bell. Jud.' i. 1, § 5), and cannot be regarded as a trustworthy authority. The numbers of the Second Book are here, on the whole, the most probable.

three hundred chariots armed with hooks.] Rather, "with **scythes**" or "**sickles.**" Scythed chariots were employed by the Persians at Cunaxa (Xen. 'Anab.' i. 8, § 10) and at Arbela (Q. Curt. 'Vit. Alex.' iv. 9; Diod. Sic. xvii. 53). In B.C. 220 they are said to have been brought by Molo against Antiochus the Great (Polyb. v. 53, § 10); and in B.C. 190 they were brought by Antiochus himself against the Romans (Liv. xxxvii. 41). There is thus nothing improbable in their employment by Eupator in B.C. 162. The number (300) seems, however, excessive; since Codomannus brought but 200 to Arbela (Arrian, 'Exp. Alex.' iii. 11).

3. *Menelaus also joined himself with them.*] Nothing is said of Menelaus having joined the expedition by the author of the First Book. It is conceivable, however, that he may have done so. Alcimus joined the expedition of Bacchides in the year following (1 Macc. vii. 9, 12). Menelaus's functions had ceased when the Temple was profaned (ch. vi. 2–4); and he had probably remained at Antioch during the interval between B.C. 168 and 162.

with great dissimulation.] Εἰρώνεια here is "simulation" rather than "dissimulation." Translate "with great **pretence of patriotism.**"

not for the safeguard of the country.] *I.e.* "not really for the salvation of his country, as he pretended, but from a personal motive." Menelaus doubtless professed to see in the destruction of the Maccabean party and the full re-establishment of the Syrian yoke the only chance of prosperity for his unhappy country. So traitors argue at all times.

he thought to have been made governor.] Literally, "he thought to be established in his office." The "office" intended is that of High Priest, from which he had been, practically, deposed for five years.

4. *But the King of kings.*] This is probably the earliest application to God of a title frequently assumed by earthly sovereigns. It is found also in 3 Macc. v. 35, and in the Book of Enoch (ix. 4). The writers of the New Testament have adopted it, and given it the highest possible consecration. (See 1 Tim. vi. 5; Rev. xvii. 14, xix. 16.)

moved Antiochus' mind against this wicked

B. C. cir. 162. wretch, and Lysias informed the king that this man was the cause of all mischief, so that the king commanded to bring him unto Berea, and to put him to death, as the manner is in that place.

5 Now there was in that place a tower of fifty cubits high, full of ashes, and it had a round instrument, which on every side hanged down into the ashes.

6 And whosoever was condemned of sacrilege, or had committed any other grievous crime, there did all men thrust him unto death.

7 Such a death it happened that wicked man to die, not having so much as burial in the earth; and that most justly: B. C. cir. 162.

8 For inasmuch as he had committed many sins about the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy, he received his death in ashes.

9 Now the king came with a barbarous and haughty mind to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father's time.

10 Which things when Judas perceived, he commanded the multitude to call upon the Lord night and day, that if ever at any other time, he would now also help them, being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple:

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wretch.] The execution of Menelaus, if it took place as here narrated, must have been the work of Lysias far more than of Eupator, whose consent to it would be a mere matter of form, like the signature, by modern constitutional sovereigns, of a death-warrant. How Menelaus had offended Lysias, or why the latter wished him to be put to death, is not apparent.

the cause of all mischief.] Rather, "the cause of all the mischief." It is quite conceivable that this might be asserted, especially as the real originator of the mischief, Jason (ch. iv. 7–26), was a fugitive in a distant land (ch. v. 8), and could not be made the scapegoat.

unto Berea.] The "Bercœa" here intended is, no doubt, that which lay halfway between Hierapolis and Antioch (Plin. 'H. N.' v. 19; Strab. xvi. p. 751), on the site of the modern Aleppo. It was not a place of much importance in ancient times.

as the manner is in that place.] We have no other evidence of the existence of this cruel custom *at Berœa;* but suffocation in a pit full of ashes was a recognised Persian punishment, and one frequently inflicted on offenders of a high class. (See Ctesias, 'Persic. Excerpt.,' §§ 48, 52; Val. Max. ix. 2, § 7.)

5. *a round instrument.*] Rather, "an instrument that turned round;" a sort of wheel, whereon a man could be placed, which turned with him, and, after making half a revolution, dropped him off it into the ashes.

6. *whosoever was condemned of sacrilege.*] Menelaus had been guilty of sacrilege (ch. iv. 32), but it is scarcely likely that he was condemned for it, since his sacrilege consisted in his plundering the *Jewish* temple. He was probably executed as a traitor. Still there was an appropriateness in his being awarded a punishment specially assigned by custom to sacrilegious persons.

there did all men thrust him unto death.] A tumultuary proceeding seems to be intended, when a man, taken in the act, was hurried by a mob to the tower, and violently pushed against the machine described above, which caught him, and bore him to his death.

8. *he had committed many sins about the altar.*] Menelaus had accompanied Epiphanes into the Temple and given the sanction of his authority to the profanation of the sanctuary and the altar then begun, and carried afterwards to such lengths (ch. v. 15, 23; vi. 2–5, &c.). In the view of the Jews he was guilty of the entire series of pollutions to which his acts had led the way, and which he had at no time withstood. His death at this time, at the instance of Lysias, and the scene of it, Bercœa, are confirmed by Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7). The author of the First Book passes the matter over in silence.

9. *the king came . . . to do far worse to the Jews, than had been done in his father's time.*] Rather, "to do to the Jews the worst that had been done in his father's time." It would not have been possible to "do worse" than Epiphanes, who had profaned the Temple, put down the religion, set up idolatry, and commanded Lysias to slay or sell for slaves the entire nation (1 Macc. iii. 35–42). Eupator, or rather Lysias, came now with similar intentions (see *v.* 10).

10. *being at the point to be put from their law, from their country, and from the holy temple.*] This does not appear from the First Book. In collecting, however, the unusually large army brought against Judæa on this

B. C. cir. 162.

11 And that he would not suffer the people, that ‖had even now been but a little refreshed, to be in subjection to the blasphemous nations.

‖ Or, *had had a little respite.*

12 So when they had all done this together, and besought the merciful Lord with weeping and fasting, and lying flat upon the ground three days long, Judas, having exhorted them, commanded they should be in a readiness.

13 And Judas, being apart with the elders, determined, before the king's host should enter into Judea, and get the city, to go forth and try the matter *in fight* by the help of the Lord.

B. C. cir. 162.

14 So when he had committed *all* to the ‖Creator of the world, and exhorted his soldiers to fight manfully, even unto death, for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth, he camped by Modin:

‖ Or, *Lord.*

15 And having given the watchword to them that were about him, Victory is of God; with the most valiant and choice young men he went in into the king's tent by night, and slew in the camp about four thousand men, and the chiefest of the

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occasion (see *v.* 2 and the comment), Lysias can scarcely have had any other design than to carry out fully the object with which he had entered on his first expedition, which was the complete extirpation of the entire people (1 Macc. iii. 35). So far as human foresight can judge, the design would have been triumphantly carried out and the Jewish nation swept from the earth, had not Philip, at the most critical moment, marched on Antioch and forced Lysias to turn all his attention towards him. (See especially 1 Macc. vi. 47–54, where the extremity to which Judas was reduced is made far more apparent than it is by the present writer.)

11. *but a little refreshed.*] Rather, "but **for a short time** refreshed." It was three years only since the recovery of the Temple.

12. *lying flat upon the ground.*] The ordinary prostration in prayer is intended. (Compare 1 Macc. iv. 40; 2 Macc. x. 4.)

commanded they should be in a readiness.] Rather, "commanded that they should **come to him.**"

13. *with the elders.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33. This is the first indication of Judas having so far organised a civil government as to have established a council of "elders." No doubt, however, from the time of the recovery of the Temple hill, the national character of the outbreak was recognised, and, while Judas commanded in the field, something like a civil power held possession of eastern Jerusalem. With this civil power he from time to time took counsel.

before the king's host should . . . get the city.] *I.e.* recapture the part of Jerusalem which Judas had recovered (ch. x. 1).

to go forth and try the matter.] *I.e.* to march against the enemy—not to wait within walls for the royal assault, but to take the field, and seek an opportunity for attack, as he had always done previously (1 Macc. iii. 11, 23; iv. 12; v. 33, 43; 2 Macc. viii. 6, 23, &c.).

14. *the Creator of the world.*] Compare ch. i. 24; vii. 23. The "Creator of the world" could not but be all-powerful, and able to give the victory to whomsoever He pleased.

for the laws, the temple, the city, the country, and the commonwealth.] For all that they valued, either in Church or State—for the Divine laws, the Temple, Jerusalem, Judæa, their new freedom and self-government.

he camped by Modin.] The Syrian line of march was along the coast from Carmel, through the low plains of Sharon and Philistia. (See the comment on 1 Macc. vi. 31.) They were wont to attack Judæa either from the west or from the south. Judas therefore marched westward to the commanding position of Modin or Modeïn, whence he could observe the movements of Lysias, and watch his opportunity for striking a blow.

15. *the watchword . . . Victory is of God.*] Compare the watchword given in the battle with Nicanor (ch. viii. 23)—"Help is from God." It was especially necessary to give a watchword before a night attack.

he . . . slew in the camp about four thousand men.] It is strange that the author of the First Book says nothing of this daring exploit. Perhaps he omitted it, since it did not affect the result of the war. Lysias continued his march, only with greater caution than previously, and took up the position in Idumæa which he had probably from the first intended. It was the same position which he had occupied in his previous attack upon Judas (1 Macc. iv. 29).

the chiefest of the elephants.] It is not at

B. C. cir. 162. elephants, with all that were upon him.

16 And at last they filled the camp with fear and tumult, and departed with good success.

17 This was done in the break of the day, because the protection of the Lord did help him.

18 Now when the king had taken a taste of the manliness of the Jews, he went about to take the holds by policy.

19 And marched toward Bethsura, which was a strong hold of the Jews: but he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men: B. C. cir. 162.

20 For Judas had conveyed unto them that were in it such things as were necessary.

21 But Rhodocus, who was in the Jews' host, disclosed the secrets to the enemies; therefore he was sought out, and when they had gotten him, they put him in prison.

22 The king treated with them in Bethsura the second time, gave his hand, took their's, departed, fought with Judas, was overcome;

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all clear how this could be known, in the confusion and darkness of a night attack. One is led to suspect some confusion between this exploit of Judas and the later one of his brother Eleazar, who in broad daylight singled out the biggest of the elephants in the army of Eupator, attacked him and slew him, sacrificing his own life in the encounter (1 Macc. vi. 43–46).

with all that were upon him.] Literally, "with the crowd that was in his house." The "house" is the wooden tower on the elephant's back. This was believed by the Jews of Maccabæan times to have been occupied by above *thirty* men! (See 1 Macc. vi. 37.)

17. *This was done in the break of the day.*] Or, "This took place when the day was already breaking." Though the protection of the darkness was withdrawn, God's protection saved Judas from disaster.

18. *Now when the king had taken a taste, &c.*] A change of policy is indicated. The Syrians had started forth on their expedition confident in their overwhelming strength. Judas's slaughter of 4000 men in their camp not far from Modeïn, had dispelled this confidence and made them see the necessity of proceeding with caution. The rest of the campaign was carried on according to the most approved rules of military art (*διὰ μεθόδων*).

19. *And marched toward Bethsura.*] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 31.

which was a strong hold of the Jews.] Judas had seized it and fortified it, after the failure of Lysias's first expedition (1 Macc. iv. 61). Previously it seems to have been held by the Idumæans (ib. *v.* 29).

he was put to flight, failed, and lost of his men.] This does not appear in the narrative of the First Book, where we have a description of a great battle between the hosts of Judas and Lysias in the vicinity of Bethsura, in which, though Lysias suffered certain losses, he was in the end completely victorious, forcing the army under Judas to retreat and leave Bethsura to its fate (1 Macc. vi. 42–47). It may be true, however, that Lysias made one assault upon the place which failed.

20. *For Judas had conveyed unto them.*] Rather, "**And** Judas [hereupon] **conveyed** unto them." It is meant that Judas took advantage of Lysias's failure to throw provisions into the town.

21. *Rhodocus.*] Nothing more is known of this traitor; for it is a wild fancy of Hitzig's that he was the author of the 86th and 88th Psalms.

disclosed the secrets.] Rather, "**their** secrets"—as their numbers, plans, weak points, and the like. Having to acknowledge, grudgingly, certain successes on the part of Lysias (*v.* 22), the author seeks to minimise the credit attaching to him for them by suggesting that they were attributable to treachery in the Jewish camp.

22. *The king treated with them in Bethsura, &c.*] In point of fact, Bethsura seems to have surrendered at discretion. The provisions were exhausted, and it was impossible to make any further resistance. (See 1 Macc. vi. 49, 50.)

fought with Judas, was overcome.] It is impossible to characterise this statement otherwise than as an absolute falsehood. Both the author of the First Book (1 Macc. vi. 47) and Josephus ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 5) admit the complete defeat of Judas, who retired with the remnant of his army to Jerusalem, whereupon Lysias, dividing his forces, pressed the siege of Bethsura to a successful issue, while at the same time he advanced upon Jerusalem and besieged Judas within its walls. Jerusalem itself must have surrendered, being well-nigh starved out, had not the news of Philip's march upon Antioch made it imperative upon Lysias to forego his

B. C. cir. 162.

23 Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, ‖was desperately bent, confounded, intreated the Jews, submitted himself, and sware to all equal conditions, agreed with them, and offered sacrifice, honoured the temple, and dealt kindly with the place,

‖ Or, *rebelled.*

24 And accepted well of Maccabeus, made him principal governor from Ptolemais unto the Gerrhenians;

25 Came to Ptolemais: the people there were grieved for the covenants; for they stormed, because they would make their covenants void:

B. C. cir. 162.

26 Lysias went up to the judgment seat, said as much as could be in defence of the cause, persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch. Thus it went touching the king's coming and departing.

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prize, and return in all haste to the Syrian capital. (See 1 Macc. vi. 48–60.)

23. *Heard that Philip, who was left over the affairs in Antioch, was desperately bent.*] Rather, "heard that Philip, **who had been left over the affairs, was entered on desperate courses at Antioch.**" Philip, "left over the affairs" of the empire by Epiphanes in his last moments (1 Macc. vi. 14, 15), returned to Antioch during Lysias's absence in Palestine, and there took the desperate, or at any rate the dangerous, course of setting himself up as actual ruler of the kingdom (ib. *vv.* 56, 63). Lysias, finding his position challenged, had to meet his rival without delay.

confounded.] Rather, "**was** confounded." "The king" is the grammatical, Lysias the rightful subject. At the receipt of the intelligence concerning Philip, Lysias was for a time "confounded," and scarcely knew what he should do. He soon, however, recovered himself, and took the needful steps.

intreated the Jews, submitted himself.] These terms are somewhat too strong; but they perhaps fairly represent the construction which the Jews put on Lysias's sudden change of front, and spontaneous offer of terms of peace to them (1 Macc. vi. 60).

sware to all equal conditions.] Compare 1 Macc. vi. 59, 61. The chief proviso was, that the Jews should be allowed to "live after their own laws, as they did before."

offered sacrifice.] This statement is additional to those made in the First Book; but it is quite in harmony with them. Of course the act of sacrifice was performed by the Jewish priests.

dealt kindly with the place.] The writer of the First Book notes one exception. When the strength of the fortifications was seen, the Syro-Macedonian leaders, though they had sworn to leave all intact, broke their oaths, and demolished great part of the defences (1 Macc. vi. 62, 63). We must understand the present writer as meaning that they did no wanton injury to the sacred buildings.

24. *made him principal governor.*] Rather, "made Hegemonidas governor." (So the Syriac Version, and, among commentators, Wernsdorf, Hasse, Scholtz, and Grimm.) It is very unlikely that Judas would have been made governor, and still more unlikely that, if he had been made governor, the author of the First Book would not have mentioned it. The word ἡγεμονίδης, moreover, is not found elsewhere as an adjective.

unto the Gerrhenians.] The "Gerrhenians" should be the inhabitants of Gerrha, which lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura. But as even Rhinocolura belonged at this time to Egypt (Polyb. v. 80, § 3), it is impossible that Gerrha can be intended. Perhaps Γερρηνοί is a corruption of Γεραρηνοί (found in one MS.), and Gerar, not Gerrha, is pointed out as the southern limit of the Syro-Macedonian dominion.

25. *Came to Ptolemais.*] On the site and history of Ptolemaïs, see the comment upon 1 Macc. v. 15.

the people there were grieved for the covenants.] Ptolemaïs, as one of the most rising cities of these parts, was especially jealous of Jerusalem. It had taken a prominent part in the general rising which had followed the recovery of the Temple by Judas (1 Macc. v. 15), and had suffered shortly afterwards at the hands of Simon (ib. *v.* 22). Hence there was great indignation at Ptolemaïs when the favourable terms of peace granted to the Jews were made known to the inhabitants.

their covenants.] Rather, "**the** covenants"—*i.e.* the terms of peace between Judas and Eupator.

26. *Lysias went up to the judgment seat.*] Rather, "to the tribune"—the *rostra*—the place from which speeches were made to the people.

persuaded, pacified, made them well affected, returned to Antioch.] The extreme brevity of the style in *vv.* 19–26 is very remarkable, and recalls the author's observations, in ch. ii. 29–32, on the duty of an epitomator.

B. C. cir. 161.

CHAPTER XIV.

6 *Alcimus accuseth Judas.* 18 *Nicanor maketh peace with Judas.* 39 *He seeketh to take Razis,* 46 *who, to escape his hands, killeth himself.*

AFTER three years was Judas informed, that Demetrius the [a] *son* of Seleucus, [a] having entered by the haven of Tripolis with a great power and navy,

[a] 1 Mac. 7. 1.

2 Had taken the country, and killed Antiochus, and Lysias his protector. B. C. cir. 161.

3 Now [b] one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling *with the Gentiles*, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar, [b] 1 Mac. 7. 5.

CHAPTER XIV.

PART V.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE JEWS IN THE REIGN OF DEMETRIUS SOTER.

§ 1. DEMETRIUS HAVING MADE HIMSELF KING, ALCIMUS COMPLAINS TO HIM OF JUDAS. NICANOR COMMISSIONED BY DEMETRIUS TO KILL JUDAS AND ESTABLISH ALCIMUS AS HIGH PRIEST.

1–14. Omitting the contest between Lysias and Philip (briefly touched in 1 Macc. vi. 63), our author passes to the time when Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV., having escaped from Rome, landed on the Syrian coast and commenced his struggle for the crown. At first he met with great success, defeating Lysias, and killing both him and Eupator. Being established as king at Antioch, he received an application from a certain Alcimus, who claimed that the high priesthood belonged to him of right, and besought Demetrius to establish him in the office, at the same time deposing Judas from his high position. Demetrius adopted the advice, and sent Nicanor against Judas, with orders to kill him and establish Alcimus as High Priest. The passage runs parallel with 1 Macc. vii. 1–26, but contains some remarkable differences from that narrative. According to the present writer, Demetrius responded to the appeal of Alcimus by the immediate appointment of Nicanor to the chief command against Judas, and that commander began by attempts to negotiate a peace. According to the author of the First Book and Josephus, the person sent to instal Alcimus was Bacchides (1 Macc. vii. 8; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xii. 10, § 2); and it was at a considerably later date that, on a special application from Alcimus, who found his position in Judæa untenable, Nicanor was sent. Nicanor's relations with Judas are also very differently represented by the two writers. According to the First Book, he was "a man that bare deadly hate unto Israel" (ch. vii. 26); according to the Second, he was altogether friendly, and was forced by Demetrius against his will to adopt hostile measures. On the whole, the representations of the author of the First Book appear to be most worthy of credit.

1. *After three years.*] Demetrius effected his landing, as our author intimates below (*v.* 4), in the 151st Seleucid year, or B.C. 162–1. The expedition of Eupator and Lysias was, according to him, in the 149th year (ch. xiii. 1)—B.C. 164–3, or only two years earlier. Thus our author must mean by his "three years" one entire year and fractions of two others.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus.] See the comment on 1 Macc. vii. 1.

having entered by the haven of Tripolis.] "Tripolis," now represented by Tarablous, was a port on the Syrian coast, about 70 miles north of Sidon, and 115 south of Seleucia. It was an old Phœnician settlement, said to have been a joint colony from Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus (Strab. xvi. 2); but had by this time been thoroughly Hellenized. The landing of Demetrius *at Tripolis* is confirmed by Porphyry ('Excerpt.' p. 71) and Eusebius ('Chron. Can.' i. xl. § 15).

with a great power and navy.] The author of the First Book says, on the contrary, that he landed "with a few men" (1 Macc. vii. 1), which is far more in accordance with the narrative of Polybius and with probability. His success was consequent on the revolt of the Syrian army, which seized its leaders, Lysias and Eupator, and went over in a body to Demetrius (ib. *v.* 2).

2. *Had . . . killed Antiochus and Lysias.*] The rebel army actually killed them, on Demetrius hinting a wish that they should so do (ib. *vv.* 3, 4).

3. *one Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully, &c.*] The writer seems to mean that Alcimus had held the high priesthood some time previously—perhaps before Jason—and now claimed to be reinstated in it; not that he had received the office from Lysias, as Josephus imagines ('Ant. Jud.' xii. 9, § 7).

in the times of their mingling.] The time when Hellenism was rampant and a fusion of the Jews with the Syro-Macedonians was almost brought about. (See 1 Macc. i. 41–57; 2 Macc. iv. 7–19, vi. 1–9.)

by no means he could save himself.] Lite-

B. C. cir. 161.

4 Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year, presenting unto him a crown of gold, and a palm, and also of the boughs which were ‖used solemnly in the temple: and so that day he held his peace.

‖ Or, *thought to be of the temple.*

5 Howbeit, having gotten opportunity to further his foolish enterprize, *and* being called into counsel by Demetrius, and asked how the Jews stood affected, and what they intended, he answered thereunto:

6 Those of the Jews that be called Assideans, whose captain is Judas Maccabeus, nourish war, and are seditious, and will not let the realm be in peace.

B. C. cir. 161.

7 Therefore I, being deprived of mine ancestors' honour, I mean the high priesthood, am now come hither:

8 First, verily for the unfeigned care I have of things pertaining to the king; and secondly, even for that I intend the good of mine own countrymen: for all our nation is in no small misery through the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.

9 Wherefore, O king, seeing thou knowest all these things, be careful

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rally, "there was no safety for him." If he had, like Jason, used his office to further the destruction of Judaism, he would no doubt have provoked a hostile feeling on the part of the more religious Jews, which he may have felt as continually threatening his life.

nor have any more access to the holy altar.] Of course, while the Maccabæan party had possession of the Temple, it was impossible that a renegade from the faith should be allowed to officiate at the altar.

4. *Came to king Demetrius in the hundred and one and fiftieth year.*] See the comment on *v.* 1.

presenting unto him a crown of gold.] Such presents were common at the time (Polyb. xxii. 13, § 10; 17, § 4; xxiv. 1, § 7;—Liv. xxxviii. 14, &c.), and without them no applicant could expect to obtain favour at the Syrian court.

and a palm.] A golden vine (Herod. vii. 27) and a golden plane-tree (Athen. 'Deipn.' xii. p. 414, F) were among the most precious ornaments of the great palace of the Persian kings. A golden palm is probably here intended, a work of art possessing the double value of precious material and artistic workmanship.

and also of the boughs which were used, &c.] Palm boughs are probably meant, such as were used at the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 15) and at the Feast of the Dedication (*supra*, ch. x. 7). This presentation to Demetrius might be regarded as a mode of congratulating him on his successes, since to the Greeks the palm was the sign of victory.

that day he held his peace.] Alcimus did not at once prefer his request, lest it should be too palpable that the present was a bribe. Menelaus had not been so scrupulous (ch. iv. 24).

5. *and being called into counsel.*] Rather, "**since he was** called into counsel." This was the opportunity.

6. *Those of the Jews that be called Assideans.*] On the meaning of the word "Assidean," see the comment on 1 Macc. iii. 43. Originally it was the name of a strict sect, but Alcimus now applies it to the whole of the patriotic party under Judas.

nourish war and are seditious.] *I.e.* are determined to resist to the uttermost the overthrow of their religion.

will not let the realm be in peace.] The realm could "be in peace" at any time, by the concession to the Jews of the right to retain the use of their own laws and religion. This both the Syrians and Alcimus knew very well. (See 1 Macc. vi. 59.)

7. *being deprived of my ancestors' honour.*] It is allowed on all hands that Alcimus was "of the seed of Aaron" (1 Macc. vii. 14), and so had had one of his ancestors a High Priest; but it is not clear that any other of his ancestors had ever enjoyed the honour. The statement that he had been "deprived" rests on the view put forward in *v.* 3, which is not borne out either by Josephus or by the author of the First Book.

8. *First, verily, &c.*] Alcimus puts forward two motives as actuating him: (1) regard for the king's interests; and (2) regard for the well-being of his countrymen. He keeps his own aggrandisement, which was his true motive, wholly in the background.

the unadvised dealing of them aforesaid.] *I.e.* of the Assideans—the party that supported Judas (see *v.* 6).

9. *seeing thou knowest.*] Rather, "**when thou hast acquired a knowledge of.**" The suggestion is that the king should first inquire into the truth of Alcimus's assertions, and then, if he found them true, act upon them—a reasonable course to recommend.

B. C. cir. 161. for the country, and our nation, which is pressed on every side, according to the clemency that thou readily shewest unto all.

10 For as long as Judas liveth, it is not possible that the state should be quiet.

11 This was no sooner spoken of him, but others of the king's friends, being maliciously set against Judas, did more incense Demetrius.

12 And forthwith calling Nicanor, who had been master of the elephants, and making him governor over Judea, B. C. cir. 161. [c] he sent him forth,

13 Commanding him to slay Judas, and to scatter them that were [c] 1 Mac. 7. 26. with him, and to make Alcimus high priest of the great temple.

14 Then the heathen, that had fled out of Judea from Judas, came to Nicanor by flocks, thinking the harm and calamities of the Jews to be their welfare.

15 Now when the Jews heard of Nicanor's coming, and that the hea-

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our nation, which is pressed on every side.] It must be admitted that there was ground for this representation. The policy of Judas, whenever he was left to himself by the Syrians, was to harass and oppress, and so far as possible root out, the opposite party. No sooner was the peace made with Lysias than he proceeded to "make havock" among his adversaries (1 Macc. vii. 7), to put to death some and banish others (ibid. *v.* 6; compare ch. iii. 8, vi. 24, vii. 24, &c.), so that the opposite side had reason to complain.

11. *others of the king's friends.*] Rather, "**the remainder** of the king's friends." Alcimus, having been "called into counsel" (*v.* 5), is reckoned among the number of such persons. On the details of the complaints made, see 1 Macc. vii. 5–7.

12. *And forthwith calling Nicanor.*] It has been already noticed that, according to Josephus and the writer of the First Book, Demetrius called in the first instance, not on Nicanor, but on Bacchides. Bacchides, at the head of an army, accompanied Alcimus to Jerusalem, and installed him in the western city under the protection of the garrison of the Acra, after which, having met with no resistance in the field, he returned to Antioch (1 Macc. vii. 8–20). All this the present writer omits, being, apparently, unaware of it.

who had been master of the elephants.] Rather, "who had been **made** master of the elephants;" *i.e.* who had received this appointment on the accession of Demetrius to power. It has been argued that Nicanor could not have been appointed to the office at this time, since the elephants had been destroyed by the Romans before Demetrius landed in Syria (Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46); but we may question whether Rome was ever able to obtain the complete execution of her orders with regard to the Syrian elephants. Lysias had a number in Judæa in B.C. 162 (1 Macc. vi. 20, 30), and Nicanor seems to have had some in the same country in B.C. 161 (2 Macc. xv. 21). The younger Demetrius had an elephant corps in B.C. 145 (1 Macc. xi. 56).

making him governor over Judea.] Rather, "commandant in Judæa." A military, not a civil, office is intended.

13. *high priest of the great temple.*] Alcimus had been granted the high-priestly office by Demetrius, and proclaimed by Bacchides; but he had not been given possession of the Temple. It is possible that Nicanor was commanded to complete his installation by taking the Temple from the partisans of Judas, and handing it over to Alcimus as its proper master.

§ 2. EXPEDITION OF NICANOR. HIS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH JUDAS. ORDERED BY DEMETRIUS TO ARREST JUDAS, HE BREAKS WITH HIM AND THREATENS TO DESTROY THE TEMPLE.

15–36. According to the writer of the First Book, Nicanor, on reaching Jerusalem, made some attempts at negotiations with Judas, [c] but without any honest intent, his design being to get possession of his person (1 Macc. vii. 27–30). Judas avoided his snares, and soon broke off communications with him. Our present author puts before us an entirely different view. According to him, Nicanor "loved Judas from his heart" (*v.* 24), and acted in the most friendly manner towards him, until Alcimus complained to Demetrius of his conduct; and Demetrius, having expressed disapproval of the negotiations, required his officer to break off friendly relations with the arch-rebel, to seize him, and send him a prisoner to Antioch. It was in consequence of these peremptory orders that Nicanor took a hostile tone towards Judas, required the patriots who held the Temple to give him up, and, when they professed inability, threatened the Temple itself with destruction.

15. *they cast earth upon their heads.*] Compare ch. x. 25.

B. C. cir. 161.

then ‖were up against them, they cast earth upon their heads, and made supplication to him that had established his people for ever, and who always helpeth his portion with manifestation of his presence.

‖ Or, *were joined to them.*

16 So at the commandment of the captain they removed straightways from thence, and came near unto them at the town of Dessau.

17 Now Simon, Judas' brother, had joined battle with Nicanor, but was somewhat discomfited through the sudden silence of his enemies.

18 Nevertheless Nicanor, hearing of the manliness of them that were with Judas, and the courageousness that they had to fight for their country, durst not try the matter by the sword. B. C. cir. 162.

19 Wherefore he sent Posidonius, and Theodotus, and Mattathias, to make peace.

20 So when they had taken long advisement thereupon, and the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith, and it appeared that they were all of one mind, they consented to the covenants,

21 And appointed a day to meet in together by themselves: and when the day came, and stools were set for either of them,

22 Judas placed armed men ready in convenient places, lest some treachery should be suddenly practised

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him that had established his people for ever.] See Deut. xxviii. 9; xxix. 13. The promise was, however, conditional, and was forfeited when the conditions were broken.

who always helpeth his portion.] Israel is called God's "portion" (*khêleq*) first in Deut. xxxii. 9. A similar phrase is used by Jeremiah (xii. 10) and Zechariah (ii. 12). The word implies a peculiar right of exclusive ownership.

with manifestation of his presence.] The writer has probably in his mind, especially, the sensible manifestations in which he believes so firmly. (See ch. iii. 25, 26, 33, 34; x. 29, 30; xi. 8; xii. 22.) But he no doubt intended to include spiritual manifestations also.

16. *the captain.*] *I.e.* Judas.

they removed . . . from thence.] From the place where they were assembled, probably Jerusalem, *i.e.* the eastern city.

came near unto them at the town of Dessau.] The "town" or rather "**village**" of Dessau is otherwise unknown, unless we identify it (as Ewald suggests) with the "Adasa" of 1 Macc. vii. 40.

17. *Simon . . . had joined battle with Nicanor.*] We have no other mention of this encounter. It probably took place while Nicanor was on the march. (See Ewald, 'Hist. of Israel,' vol. v. p. 321, note 2.)

through the sudden silence of his enemies.] Ἀφασία is not simple "silence," but "speechlessness" caused by consternation. Such "speechlessness" on the part of an enemy could not produce a defeat. Probably we should translate, with Grimm, "through the sudden consternation into which they were thrown by their enemies." The ἀφασία was on the part of Simon's men—not of Nicanor's.

18. *the courageousness that they had to fight for their country.*] Rather, "their courage **in the battles that they had fought** for their country."

durst not try.] Rather, "**shrank from trying.**"

19. *he sent Posidonius . . . to make peace.*] The writer of the First Book admits the fact of the negotiations (1 Macc. vii. 27–29), but represents them as broken off almost immediately, on the discovery that they were not sincere, but a device for seizing the person of Judas. Our present author allows that Judas had suspicions, but represents Nicanor as honest, and declares that peace was actually made. It is difficult to suppose that the circumstances related in *vv.* 20–29 are wholly fictitious.

20. *when . . . the captain had made the multitude acquainted therewith.*] By "the multitude" must be meant the mass of the troops. (Compare *v.* 41.)

21. *appointed a day to meet in together by themselves.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 29.

when the day came.] It is doubtful whether the words used can have this sense. Grimm translates, "And Judas came to the discussion."

stools.] *I.e.* "seats of honour."

22. *Judas placed armed men ready.*] As a measure of precaution. On any appearance of treachery, they would have started from their hiding-places, and rushed forward to give him protection. According to our author, the suspicions of Judas were unfounded, and the precautions taken unnecessary.

B. C. cir. 161. by the enemies: so they made a peaceable conference.

23 Now Nicanor abode in Jerusalem, and did no hurt, but sent away the people that came flocking unto him.

24 And he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight: for he loved the man from his heart.

25 He prayed him also to take a wife, and to beget children: so he married, was quiet, and [1]took part of this life.

[1] Or, *lived together with him.*

26 But Alcimus, perceiving the love that was betwixt them, and considering the covenants that were made, came to Demetrius, and told him that Nicanor was not well affected toward the state; for that he had ordained Judas, a traitor to his realm, to be the king's successor.

27 Then the king being in a rage, and provoked with the accusations of the most wicked man, wrote to Nicanor, signifying that he was much displeased with the covenants, and commanding him that he should send Maccabeus prisoner in all haste unto Antioch. B. C. cir. 161.

28 When this came to Nicanor's hearing, he was much confounded in himself, and took it grievously that he should make void the articles which were agreed upon, the man being in no fault.

29 But because there was no dealing against the king, he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.

30 Notwithstanding, when Maccabeus saw that Nicanor began to be churlish unto him, and that he entreated him more roughly than he was wont, perceiving that such sour behaviour came not of good, he gathered together not a few of his men, and withdrew himself from Nicanor. cir. 161.

31 But the other, knowing that he

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23. *Nicanor . . . sent away the people that came flocking unto him.*] Rather, "that **had come** flocking to him." The reference is to the "heathen" that had come to him "by flocks," when he set out on his expedition against Judas (*v.* 14). These he now dismissed to their homes, either as a blind, or honestly thinking that he would have no need of their services.

24. *he would not willingly have Judas out of his sight.*] Literally, "he kept Judas in sight continually." Contrast the statement made by the writer of the First Book: "After it was known to Judas, that he (Nicanor) came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and *would see his face no more*" (1 Macc. vii. 30).

25. *He prayed him also to take a wife.*] He represented to him that the time of war and struggle was over, and that it would be well for him now to contract the ties which every Jew was expected to contract—to marry and have children. According to our author, Judas followed his advice, "married, and was quiet, and took part of this life,"—*i.e.* became a peaceable citizen.

26. *Alcimus . . . considering the covenants that were made.*] Rather, "**taking with him** the treaty that had been made." Alcimus contrived to get a copy of the treaty, and took it with him to shew to the king.

he had ordained Judas . . . to be the king's successor.] Such a design as this could never have entered into the head of Nicanor or of any one else, and Alcimus would have been very silly to have accused him of it. The design really imputed is an intention to instal Judas as "**his own** successor" in the government of Palestine. Alcimus desired this post for himself.

28. *he was much confounded in himself.*] Rather, "**perplexed.**" "Confounded" is too literal a translation.

the man.] *I.e.* Judas.

29. *he watched his time to accomplish this thing by policy.*] Here the writer of the Second Book becomes of accord with the author of the First. He admits that Nicanor, while still pretending friendship towards Judas, sought to arrest him (1 Macc. vii. 29, 30). Judas perceived the change in Nicanor's sentiments, though no doubt he intended to conceal them.

30. *withdrew himself from Nicanor.*] Literally, "concealed himself." The author of the First Book says that he quitted Jerusalem and went to Caphar-salama, whither Nicanor followed him at the head of his army. A battle was fought between the two, and Nicanor was defeated with the loss of 5000 men (1 Macc. vii. 31, 32). Nicanor and his beaten troops returned to Jerusalem.

31. *knowing that he was notably prevented by Judas' policy.*] Literally, "perceiving that

B. C. cir. 161. was notably prevented by Judas' policy, [a] came into the great and holy temple, and commanded the priests, that were offering their usual sacrifices, to deliver him the man.

[a] 1 Mac. 7. 33, &c.

32 And when they sware that they could not tell where the man was whom he sought,

33 He stretched out his right hand toward the temple, and made an oath in this manner: If ye will not deliver me Judas as [†] a prisoner, I will lay this temple of God even with the ground, and I will break down the altar, and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus. B. C. cir. 161.

[†] Gr. *bound.*

34 After these words he departed. Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven, and besought him that was ever a defender of their nation, saying in this manner;

35 Thou, O Lord of all things, who hast need of nothing, wast pleased that the temple of thine habitation should be among us:

36 Therefore now, O holy Lord of all holiness, keep this house ever undefiled, which lately was cleansed, and stop every unrighteous mouth.

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he was notably *out-generalled* by Judas"—*i.e.* "outwitted, overreached."

came into the great and holy temple.] The author of the First Book tells us that he "went up *to Mount Sion*," and that there "certain of the priests and elders *came out of the sanctuary* to him," and proposed to shew him the burnt sacrifice that was offered continually for the Syrian king, but says nothing of Nicanor being received within the Temple walls. Still it is possible that he may have been admitted into the outer court. But the party of Judas remained masters of the Temple, which Nicanor could only impotently threaten. (See *v.* 33.)

commanded the priests . . . to deliver him the man.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 35. Nicanor seems to have supposed that Judas was somewhere within the Temple fortress.

33. *He stretched out his right hand toward the temple.*] Rather, "toward the sanctuary" (εἰς τὸν νεώ). The ναὸς of this passage is to be carefully distinguished from the ἱερὸν of *v.* 31. Nicanor was in the one; he stretched out his hand towards the other.

break down.] Rather, "raze—utterly destroy."

and erect a notable temple unto Bacchus.] The Syro-Macedonian worship of Dionysus, or Bacchus, has already appeared in ch. vi. 7. It was evidently felt that there was something specially repugnant to Jewish ideas in the cult, which was therefore both threatened and, when opportunity served, actually enforced upon the nation. Dionysiac orgies were of the most disgusting character. (See Döllinger, 'Jew and Gentile,' vol. i. pp. 154–156.)

34. *Then the priests lifted up their hands toward heaven.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 36, where we are told that the priests "entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping." The threat of Nicanor was felt as a terrible blasphemy.

a defender of their nation.] Literally, "of *our* nation"—a transition from the third to the first person which gives the narrative greater liveliness.

35. *O Lord of all things.*] Rather, "O Lord." The phrase τῶν ὅλων is not to be attached to Κύριε, but to ἀπροσδεής.

who hast need of nothing.] Compare 3 Macc. ii. 9, and Josephus, 'Ant. Jud.' viii. 3, § 3, where a similar clause is introduced into Solomon's consecration prayer. The αὐτάρκεια of God has been a favourite theme with theologians (Clem. Alex. 'Homil.' ii. 44; Pearson, 'Exposition of the Creed,' Art. 1, pp. 94, 95, &c.).

the temple of thine habitation.] Even in the absence of the Shechinah, which, according to Jewish tradition, never shewed itself in the second Temple, the building was still regarded as the "habitation" of God—His house, in which He dwelt. (See Ezra vii. 15, 19; Ps. cxxxv. 21; Zech. ii. 12, 13, vii. 2, &c.) Hence the extreme wickedness of profaning it, or even threatening it.

36. *O holy Lord of all holiness.*] *I.e.* "holy Lord, the source and fount of all other holiness in things or beings."

and stop every unrighteous mouth.] This clause is omitted in some MSS. It is, of course, an allusion to the "unrighteous mouth" of Nicanor (*v.* 33). The author of the First Book makes the prayer of the priests mainly an imprecation of evil on Nicanor's head (1 Macc. vii. 38).

§ 3. NICANOR ORDERS THE ARREST OF RAZIS, WHO, RATHER THAN BE MADE PRISONER, COMMITS SUICIDE.

37–46. The story of Razis rests solely on the authority of the present writer, being

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37 Now was there accused unto Nicanor one Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem, a lover of his countrymen, and a man of very good report, who for his kindness was called a father of the Jews.

38 For in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles, he had been accused of Judaism, and did boldly jeopard his body and life with all vehemency for the religion of the Jews.

39 So Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews, sent above five hundred men of war to take him:

40 For he thought by taking him to do the Jews much hurt.

41 Now when the multitude would have taken the tower, and violently broken into the outer door, and bade that fire should be brought to burn it, he being ready to be taken on every side fell upon his sword;

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wholly untouched by either Josephus or the author of the First Book. Though probably exaggerated in its details, it is likely to be true in respect of its main substance, since so full and circumstantial an account of the death of a Jew of rank under such extraordinary and painful circumstances is not likely to have been invented. The name Razis may be compared with the Reesaias of 1 Esdr. v. 8. The temper displayed is not unsuitable to a Jew of the period—an age when heathen sentiments and rules of conduct penetrated deeply among the mass of the more religious Jews and largely influenced their conduct. (Compare the comment on 1 Macc. ii. 51.)

37. *one of the elders of Jerusalem.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 33, where certain of the elders of Jerusalem are said to have gone out to meet Nicanor.

who . . . was called a father of the Jews.] See Job xxix. 16, "I was a father to the poor;" and compare Ecclus. iv. 10; 1 Macc. ii. 65. In the East a protector is commonly called a "father."

38. *in the former times, when they mingled not themselves with the Gentiles.*] Not the times before the Hellenizing movement, especially promoted by Jason (ch. iv. 7–22), set in, but the early days of the persecution, when the religious Jews fled from the cities of Judah into "secret places" (1 Macc. i. 53; ii. 31), in order to continue the exercise of their religion, and thus separated themselves wholly from the Gentiles.

he had been accused of Judaism.] Judaism, the mere confessing oneself to be a Jew, had been made a crime by Epiphanes (ch. vi. 6), just as Christianity was by the early Roman emperors. Death was the punishment of persistence, as appears by the narratives in chs. vi. 18–31, vii. 1–42.

did boldly jeopard his body and life.] It does not appear how Razis escaped; but we may be sure that it was by no unworthy compliances.

39. *Nicanor, willing to declare the hate that he bare unto the Jews.*] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 26. Nicanor probably felt it necessary to rebut the accusations of Alcimus (*v.* 26) by some act of violence which should be sure to come to the king's ears. It does not appear that he was really actuated by hatred of the Jewish people.

sent above five hundred men of war to take him.] This can scarcely have been necessary. It must almost certainly have been done to draw attention and remark.

41. *when the multitude.*] *I.e.* the 500 soldiers. Compare *v.* 20.

would have taken the tower.] Rather, "**were at the point of taking** the tower." It is difficult to explain the use of the article before the word "tower," unless by supposing the abbreviator to follow his author in so doing, but to have omitted a previous reference to the fact that Razis took refuge in a tower. Gorionides says that he took refuge in his private house, which may, however, have possessed a "tower" or "keep" of its own.

and violently broken into the outer door.] Rather, "and **were forcing** the outer door." The αὐλαία (or αὐλεία) θύρα is the door leading from the street into the αὐλή, or main court of the mansion. It consisted of two flaps or valves meeting in the middle. Hence the singular θύρα of this clause is followed by the plural, θύραι, in the next.

and bade.] Rather, "and **were commanding.**"

he . . . fell upon his sword.] Suicide was most rare among the Jews until the time of the Zealots (Joseph. 'Bell. Jud.' iii. 7; iv. 1). Saul's suicide is doubtful (compare 1 Sam. xxxi. 4 with 2 Sam. i. 6–10). Samson's act, if it is to be considered a suicide, is that of a very mixed and imperfect character. There is no praise, no approval, no allowance of suicide in the inspired Scriptures. Even a heathen (Plato) could see that it was desertion of the post in which a man had been placed by God ('Phædo,' § 6). The author of the present Book evidently approves of

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42 Choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth:

43 But missing his stroke through haste, the multitude also rushing within the doors, he ran boldly up to the wall, and cast himself down manfully among the thickest of them.

44 But they quickly giving back, and a space being made, he fell down into the midst of the void place.

45 Nevertheless, while there was yet breath within him, being inflamed with anger, he rose up; and though his blood gushed out like spouts of water, and his wounds were grievous, yet he ran through the midst of the throng; and standing upon a steep rock,

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46 When as his blood was now quite gone, he plucked out his bowels, and taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again, he thus died.

CHAPTER XV.

5 *Nicanor's blasphemy.* 8 *Judas encourageth his men by his dream.* 28 *Nicanor is slain.*

BUT Nicanor, hearing that Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria, resolved without any danger to set upon them on the sabbath day.

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it under certain circumstances. He admires Razis, who acts "manfully" (*v.* 42), "boldly" (or "nobly") and "courageously" (*v.* 43). It has been forcibly argued from this, that he is not an inspired writer. (See Grimm *ad loc.*)

42. *to be abused otherwise than beseemed his noble birth.*] Grimm translates—"otherwise than beseemed his *nobility of character*." In either case, the motive is a low and selfish one, resting upon pride and self-conceit, not a motive that could in any way justify even a doubtful action.

43. *through haste.*] Literally, "through the haste *of the struggle*;" *i.e.* the haste which the struggle necessitated.

the multitude also.] Compare *v.* 41. "The multitude" are the 500 men-at-arms (*v.* 39).

up to the wall.] Rather, "up on the wall." He ran up the steps which led to the top of the tower and mounted on the parapet of the wall.

44. *he fell down into the midst of the void place.*] Κενεῶν has this meaning in Nonnus and the Greek Anthology. Among the classical writers it means "the flank"—"the hollow between the ribs and the hip." Some would translate here—"he fell on his loins" or "on his belly." But the A.V. is probably right.

45, 46. The description of these last two verses is in the worst possible taste. It is disgusting, horrible, and a heap of impossibilities. If the narrative up to the end of *v.* 44 is true, we may be quite certain that Razis was killed by his fall, and did not rise from the ground after he struck it. The author has an unfortunate habit of gloating over the details of horrid deaths (ch. vii. 3–13; ix. 5–10, &c.), and here outdoes himself in coarseness and ferocity of description.

46. *calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again.*] Compare ch. vii. 11. The doctrine of the "resurrection of the body" is evidently held by the writer in its plainest and most literal sense.

CHAPTER XV.

§ 4. NICANOR DESIGNS TO ATTACK JUDAS ON THE SABBATH, BUT IS BALKED OF HIS PURPOSE.

1–6. The author does not seem to be aware that it had been determined, even under Mattathias, that defensive warfare was permissible on the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 41); since which time no Syro-Macedonian leader could expect to gain much by choosing that day for attacking the patriots. Apparently, he supposes that Judas would not have offered resistance on the Sabbath. But, had that been the case, the insurrection must have been strangled in its birth. The present passage has thus no historical value.

1. *Judas and his company were in the strong places about Samaria.*] Capharsalama, where Nicanor engaged Judas before his denunciations against the Temple (1 Macc. vii. 31–35), was on the Samaritan border; but Adasa, where Judas had now stationed himself (ib. *v.* 40), was much nearer Jerusalem, being in the immediate vicinity of Beth-horon, and not far from Bethel. Thus the writer's geography is at fault, no less than his history.

resolved without any danger to set upon them.] This had been done once, and once only, in the course of the war—viz. at its very commencement. (See 1 Macc. ii. 32–38.) The Jews had then offered no resistance and been massacred. Subsequently a common-sense view prevailed; and while the Jews,

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2 Nevertheless the Jews that were compelled to go with him said, O destroy not so cruelly and barbarously, but give honour to that day, which he, that seeth all things, hath honoured with holiness above *other days*.

3 Then the most ungracious wretch demanded, if there were a Mighty one in heaven, that had commanded the sabbath day to be kept.

4 And when they said, There is in heaven a living Lord, and mighty, who commanded the seventh day to be kept:

5 Then said the other, And I also am mighty upon earth, and I command to take arms, and to do the king's business. Yet he obtained not to have his wicked will done.

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6 So Nicanor in exceeding pride and haughtiness determined to set up a publick monument of his victory over Judas and them that were with him.

7 But Maccabeus had ever sure confidence that the Lord would help him:

8 Wherefore he exhorted his people not to fear the coming of the

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whenever they could, rested on the Sabbath, they held themselves free to fight if attacked. It is certainly strange that the writer did not know this.

2. *the Jews that were compelled to go with him.*] This, too, is probably unhistorical. It was not the habit of the Syro-Macedonian commanders to impress the devout Jews into their service, and force them to bear arms against their compatriots. They do not seem even to have enrolled in their armies the Jews who sided with them.

he that seeth all things.] Rather, "He that overseeth all things"—that has the oversight and management of them.

3. *the most ungracious wretch.*] See the comment on ch. viii. 34. It is sinfulness, not ungraciousness, that is charged against Nicanor.

if there were a Mighty one.] Literally, "a Dynast," "a Ruler." Nicanor does not doubt the existence of a dynast in heaven—he would probably have admitted many such dynasts: what he doubts is, whether any one of them has commanded the observance of the seventh day.

4. *they said, There is in heaven, &c.*] Their reply was—"The Lord who liveth in heaven is himself a Mighty one, who has commanded the observance of the Sabbath day."

5. *And I also am mighty upon earth.*] Rather, "a mighty one." The point of the story is that Nicanor, in a certain sense, places himself on a par with God. "There is perhaps a Mighty one in heaven who has commanded one thing; but there is also a Mighty one upon earth—myself—who commands the contrary. Which will you obey?" It is implied that the Jews in his army (*v.* 2) preferred to obey God, and that, in consequence, his design came to nought. Grimm's objection, that their number cannot have been large enough to induce him to alter his plans, is an objection, not to this view of the author's meaning, but to the historical character of his narrative.

6. *So Nicanor . . . determined.*] Rather, "Now Nicanor had determined." He had made up his mind to destroy the whole party of Judas at one fell swoop, and then to set up a grand monument to commemorate his victory. The monument was to follow the general character of the Greek "trophee."

§ 5. MACCABÆUS RAISES THE SPIRITS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN BY PUTTING BEFORE THEM VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS, AND ESPECIALLY BY RELATING TO THEM A VISION WHICH HAS APPEARED TO HIM.

7–16. There is nothing improbable in this narrative. Judas, reduced to great straits, at the head of a force consisting of no more than 3000 men (1 Macc. vii. 40), and opposed to a large army of Syro-Macedonians under a leader of repute, was likely to use every effort to raise the spirits of his soldiers, and may well have encouraged them to engage, not only by employing the ordinary topics, but by telling them of a vision that he had had. On the eve of a battle, great commanders of a sensitive temperament are liable to have strange dreams. (See 'Records of the Past,' vol. iv. p. 43; Plut. 'Vit. Alex.' § 24; Joseph. 'Ant. Jud.' xi. 5, &c.) And, as the thoughts of Judas during the day were turned especially toward the subject of Divine aid (*v.* 7), they may well have shaped his dreams at night into the form here given. We may even go further, and say that the occasion would not have been an unworthy one for an actual Divine vision. Israel was brought very low. Had the three thousand not been animated by a confident hope, they would probably have suffered complete defeat, and the national movement might have been crushed. This was not in accordance with the Divine

B. C. cir. 161. heathen against them, but to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven, and now to expect the victory and aid, which should come unto them from the Almighty.

9 And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets, and withal putting them in mind of the battles that they won afore, he made them more cheerful.

10 And when he had stirred up their minds, he gave them their charge, shewing them therewithal the falsehood of the heathen, and the breach of oaths.

11 Thus he armed every one of them, not so much with defence of shields and spears, as with comfortable and good words: and beside that, he told them a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed, which did not a little rejoice them.

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12 And this was his vision: That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in condition, well spoken also, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, holding up his hands prayed for the whole body of the Jews.

13 This done, in like manner there appeared a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty.

14 Then Onias answered, saying, This is a lover of the brethren, who

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will, and something beyond natural means may have been employed to prevent it.

8. *to remember the help which in former times they had received from heaven.*] See above, ch. viii. 5, 6, 18, 23, 24, 36; x. 16, 17, 25, 29; xii. 22, &c.

the victory and aid which should come unto them.] Judas was confident on account of his vision. He was not always so certain of victory. (See 1 Macc. iv. 10, ix. 10; 2 Macc. xi. 7.)

9. *And so comforting them out of the law and the prophets.*] There is no "so" in the original. A fresh mode of encouragement is intended, additional to those previously mentioned. This was probably the reading of certain appropriate passages from the Law and the Prophets aloud before the people. (Compare ch. viii. 23.)

that they won afore.] Rather, "that they had won"—the battles against Apollonius (1 Macc. iii. 11), Seron (ib. *vv.* 23, 24), Gorgias (ib. iv. 14, 15), Lysias (ib. *vv.* 34–36), Timotheus (ib. v. 43; 2 Macc. viii. 30), and others.

10. *he gave them their charge.*] Probably to seize their arms and begin the march (Grimm).

shewing them . . . the falsehood . . . the breach of oaths.] According to our author, there had been an actual peace concluded between Judas and Nicanor, which the latter had been compelled by Demetrius to "make void" without having any excuse to offer for so doing (ch. xiv. 27, 28). If this were so, Judas had ample foundation for his complaints, without raking up such bygone matters as the treachery of Apollonius in B.C. 168 (ch. v. 25) or the misdeed of the Joppites in B.C. 164 (ch. xii. 3, 4).

11. *a dream worthy to be believed, as if it had been so indeed.*] It is not very clear what our translators meant by this. The MSS. have two readings—*ὄνειρον ἀξιόπιστον ὕπαρ τι* and *ὄν. ἀξ. ὑπέρ τι.* If we prefer the former, we must translate "a dream worthy of belief, which was a sort of waking vision;" if the latter, "a dream worthy of belief beyond aught else." In neither case is any doubt intended to be cast on the reality of the vision.

12. *Onias, who had been high priest.*] Compare ch. iii. 1. Onias III. is meant, who held the high-priestly office from B.C. 198 to B.C. 175.

a virtuous and a good man.] On the character of Onias, see above, ch. iii. 1, 4, 5; iv. 2. On his murder by Andronicus, see ch. iv. 34, 35.

gentle in condition.] Rather, "in behaviour."

13. *a man with gray hairs and exceeding glorious.*] Literally, "a man conspicuous for gray hairs and glorious appearance."

14. *Onias answered, saying.*] Judas had recognised Onias, whom he had doubtless known, but could not tell who was his companion. Onias "answered" his thought or look of inquiry.

This is a lover of the brethren.] Literally, "the lover," *i.e.* the one among the saints who loves them beyond all others. It is not clear why Jeremiah should have been assigned so prominent a position; but there are several

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prayeth much for the people, and for the holy city, *to wit*, Jeremias the prophet of God.

15 Whereupon Jeremias holding forth his right hand gave to Judas a sword of gold, and in giving it spake thus,

16 Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.

17 Thus being well comforted by the words of Judas, which were very good, and able to stir them up to valour, and to encourage the hearts of the young men, they determined not to pitch camp, but courageously to set upon them, and manfully to try the matter by conflict, because the city and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger.

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18 For the care that they took for their wives, and their children, their brethren, and kinsfolks, was in least account with them: but the greatest and principal fear was for the holy temple.

19 Also they that were in the city took not the least care, being troubled for the conflict abroad.

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indications that he occupied a leading place in the thoughts of the later Jews. (See ch. ii. 1–8; Matt. xvi. 14; 2 Esdras ii. 18.) Dean Stanley says that he "had come to be regarded as almost the Patron Saint of Palestine" ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 321).

15. *Jeremias . . . gave to Judas a sword of gold.*] The "sword" of this passage (ῥομφαία) is to be distinguished from the "sword" (μάχαιρα) of 1 Macc. iii. 12, which Judas had hitherto employed. The ῥομφαία was the long broadsword of the Thracians—a much more formidable weapon than the short μάχαιρα or ξίφος; and though given only in vision, indicated an increased power of slaughtering enemies. By "a sword of gold" we are to understand a sword with a golden hilt, and with the blade also, perhaps, inlaid partly with gold. On the appropriation of gold to the dress, arms, and accoutrements of divine personages, see the comment on ch. x. 29.

16. *with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries.*] Rather, as Dean Stanley translates, "And with it thou shalt **crush thine enemies**." The whole idea of the vision was, that such a powerful aid was vouchsafed from heaven as would utterly crush and destroy the entire force of the Syro-Macedonians.

§ 6. THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TO THE CONFLICT. THE PRAYER OF JUDAS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE ENGAGING.

17–24. Animated to the highest pitch of confident daring by the exhortations of Judas, and especially by his narrative of his vision, the small company of Jews insisted on marching at once against the enemy, being eager to engage. They felt that the battle would be decisive of their fate as a nation. If they were successful, all would be well; if the contrary, the country, city, Temple would be lost. The writer represents them as chiefly anxious about the Temple—so lately recovered, so greatly in danger of being again lost, so blasphemously threatened by their proud enemy. Friends, brethren, kinsfolk, even wife and children, were of less account than the recently purified sanctuary (ὁ καθηγιασμένος ναός). At Jerusalem the peril was equally clearly seen, and the issue expected with even greater anxiety. The two armies drew near. Judas, "with his small band, saw the large and variegated host of the Syrians approach, the furious elephants snorting in the centre, the cavalry hovering on the wings. It was, if ever, a time and place to invoke the Divine aid which supports the few against the many" (Stanley). Judas's prayer is given with substantial agreement by the authors of both the First and the Second Book (1 Macc. vii. 41, 42; 2 Macc. xv. 22–24). It invoked upon the proud blasphemer of the day the fate of Sennacherib.

17. *the words of Judas, which were very good.*] Rather, "which were **altogether noble**."

to encourage the hearts of the young.] Rather, "to **revive the spirits**." It is implied that they had been drooping and depressed.

they determined not to pitch camp.] The author of the First Book says, that Judas "pitched in Adasa" (ch. vii. 40). The present writer does not contradict the statement. He only means that, after hearing the account of the vision, the army on the same day encountered the enemy.

the sanctuary.] Grimm translates, "the religion;" but it is better to understand by τὰ ἅγια, "the Temple building," and by τὸ ἱερὸν, "the sacred enclosure."

18. *the care that they took.*] Rather, "the **anxiety** that they **felt**."

was in least account.] Rather, "in **less** account." No doubt it was very great; but it was not *so* great as their anxiety for the Temple.

19. *they that were in the city took not the least*

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20 And now, when as all looked what should be the trial, and the enemies were already come near, and the army was set in array, and the beasts conveniently placed, and the horsemen set in wings,

21 Maccabeus seeing the coming of the multitude, and the divers preparations of armour, and the fierceness of the beasts, stretched out his hands toward heaven, and called upon the Lord that worketh wonders, knowing that victory cometh not by arms, but even as it seemeth good to him, he giveth it to such as are worthy:

22 Therefore in his prayer he said after this manner; O Lord, [a]thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias king of Judea, and didst slay in the host of Sennacherib an hundred fourscore and five thousand:

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[a] 1 Mac. 7. 40, 41. ch. 8. 19.

23 Wherefore now also, O Lord of heaven, send a good angel before us for a fear and dread unto them;

24 And through the might of thine arm let those be stricken with terror, that come against thy holy people to blaspheme. And he ended thus.

25 Then Nicanor and they that

care.] Dean Stanley notes that the hills about Beth-horon, near which the fight took place, "are visible from Jerusalem." Thus the city was in the greatest excitement. Translate, "They that were in the city **experienced no common agony.**"

20. *when as all looked what should be the trial.*] Rather, "what should be the **decision**"—how the matter should end.

the beasts conveniently placed.] By "the beasts" are clearly meant "the elephants." It has been argued that Nicanor could have had no elephants, since, shortly before Demetrius obtained the throne, certain Roman commissioners had forced Lysias to surrender the Syrian elephant-force, and had massacred the unfortunate animals (Grimm on 2 Macc. xiv. 12). Such a massacre certainly took place (Polyb. xxxi. 12; Appian, 'Syriac.' § 46). But it is open to question, (1) whether Lysias surrendered the *whole* force; and (2) whether Demetrius did not supply the place of those that were killed by fresh purchases. The onerous conditions of the treaty of Magnesia were, as much as possible, evaded by the Syrian kings.

the horsemen set in wings.] Rather, "**on the wings.**" Compare the arrangement of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia (Liv. xxxvii. 40).

21. *the divers preparations of armour.*] Livy says of the army of Antiochus the Great at Magnesia—"Regia acies *varia* magis multis gentibus, *dissimilitudine armorum* auxiliorumque erat" (*l. s. c.*). Nicanor's army probably presented a similar variety on a smaller scale.

called upon the Lord that worketh wonders.] Or, according to another reading, "called upon the wonder-working, **all-seeing** God."

22. *thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias.*] See 2 Kings xix. 35; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21; Is. xxxvii. 36.

and didst slay.] Some MSS. give καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, "and he slew," for καὶ ἀνεῖλες, "and didst slay." The difference is unimportant.

23. *send a good angel before us.*] Compare ch. xi. 6.

24. *those . . . that come against thy holy temple.*] Rather, "that **came**." The reference is to the past action of Nicanor recorded in ch. xiv. 31–33.

§ 7. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF NICANOR. TREATMENT OF HIS BODY. APPOINTMENT OF NICANOR'S DAY.

25–36. The two armies advanced to the encounter, the Syrians with trumpets and singing, the Jews with calling on God and prayer. There was scarcely any struggle. Nicanor fell in the first onset (1 Macc. vii. 43), and his army "cast away their weapons and fled" (ib. *v.* 44). The rout was complete. Our author calculates the slain at 35,000; but the older historian does not venture on any estimate. On the return from the pursuit, Nicanor's body was found, and on account of his blasphemies was treated with indignity. The head and right arm were struck off and carried to Jerusalem, where they were held up before the Syrian garrison in the Acra by way of derision. The head, after the tongue had been cut out, was actually nailed to the wall of the heathen fortress. The tongue which had blasphemed was chopped into small pieces and thrown to the birds. The hand and arm that had been stretched out to threaten the Holy Place was fastened to the "Beautiful Gate"—thence called "the Gate of Nicanor." Finally, in commemoration of the victory, the day of its occurrence, the 13th of Adar, was appointed for annual observance, and became known as "Nicanor's day."

25. *Nicanor and they that were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.*] On

B. C. cir. 161. were with him came forward with trumpets and songs.

26 But Judas and his company encountered the enemies with invocation and prayer.

27 So that fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts, they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men: for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

28 Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew
[b] 1 Mac. 7. 43. that [b] Nicanor lay dead in his harness.

29 Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language.

30 And *Judas*, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens both B. C. cir. 161. in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to [c] strike [c] 1 Mac. 7. 47. off Nicanor's head, and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem.

31 So when he was there, and had called them of his nation together, and set the priests before the altar, he sent for them that were of the tower,

32 And shewed them vile Nicanor's head, and the hand of that blasphemer, [d] which with proud brags [d] ch. 14. 33. he had stretched out against the holy temple of the Almighty.

33 And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanor, he

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the use of "trumpets" by the Syrians see ch. v. 31. The "songs" intended are war-songs—properly "songs of triumph after a victory" (Liddell and Scott *ad voc.*), but sometimes also sung before one (Thuc. i. 50, iv. 43; Æsch. 'Pers.' l. 393; Xen. 'Cyrop.' iv. 1, § 6; Plut. 'Vit. Lycurg.' § 22), in anticipation of it. Nicanor and his men were no doubt confident of victory.

27. *fighting with their hands, and praying unto God with their hearts.*] Dean Stanley compares the conduct of Cromwell's Ironsides ('Lectures on the Jewish Church,' vol. iii. p. 322).

they slew no less than thirty and five thousand men.] Compare the estimates in ch. x. 17, 23; xii. 23, 26, 28. The graduation by sums each 5000 more or less than the others (20,000, 25,000, 30,000, 35,000) indicates the roughness of the estimate. At the same time the fact that this is the largest amount of slain recorded by the author indicates that he considered the defeat to be the most crushing that the Syrians suffered at the hands of Judas.

for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.] Once more a miraculous appearance, generally visible to the army, seems to be meant—an appearance whereof the earlier historian has no knowledge. (Compare ch. iii. 25, 33; ch. x. 29, 30; ch. xi. 8; and ch. xii. 22.)

28. *when the battle was done.*] Literally, "when they were come from the business." The "business" of the pursuit and slaughter is intended.

they knew that Nicanor lay dead.] Rather, "they **perceived**." Dean Stanley supposes that he was recognised by the splendour of his armour ('Lectures,' &c., vol. iii. p. 323).

29. *in their own language.*] The use of this phrase seems to imply that Greek was already the tongue most frequently spoken by the Jews.

30. *Judas . . . who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life.*] Rather, "who still retained the love for his countrymen **that he had in his youth**."

to strike off Nicanor's head and his hand.] The head and hand had both sinned—the head, in that the brain conceived the blasphemous thought of ch. xiv. 33, and the mouth uttered it; the hand, in that it was stretched out threateningly against the Most High. It was not the habit of the Jews to mutilate the bodies of the slain; but the case of Nicanor was regarded as exceptional, and so as justifying exceptional treatment.

with his shoulder.] Rather, "with the **arm**." Compare ch. xii. 35.

31. *he sent for them that were of the tower.*] The chief men of the Acra are evidently intended. They were certainly not under his authority, and he could not *require* their attendance. But he may have sent for them on the plea of negotiations (Grotius), or simply telling them that he had something of importance to communicate. It was for them to attend or not as they pleased. According to our author, they obeyed his summons.

32. *shewed them vile Nicanor's head and the hand, &c.*] Not only certifying to them Nicanor's death, but making them aware, at any rate in part, of the punishment with which it had been determined to visit his blasphemy.

which . . . he had stretched out against the holy temple.] See ch. xiv. 33, and compare 1 Macc. vii. 47.

33. *when he had cut out the tongue of that*

B. C. cir. 161. commanded that they should give it by pieces unto the fowls, and hang up the reward of his madness before the temple.

34 So every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord, saying, Blessed be he that hath kept his own place undefiled.

35 He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower, an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord.

36 And [e]they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before [f]Mardocheus' day.

37 Thus went it with Nicanor: and from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power. And here will I make an end.

38 And if *I have done* well, and as

B. C. cir. 161.

[e] 1 Mac. 7. 49.

[f] Esth. 9. 17, 21.

ungodly Nicanor.] The object was to emphasize the guilt of this particular member, which had committed the chief sin. No doubt there was a ghastly horror and savagery about the act; but it was striking, dramatic, and well calculated to make the Syrians cautious of repeating such wild threats as those which Nicanor had uttered. Compare the alleged treatment of the head of Cyrus by Tomyris (Herod. i. 214) and the Parthian treatment of the head of Crassus (Florus, iii. 11, § 11; Dio Cass. xl. 27).

unto the fowls.] *I.e.* "the birds of the air."

and hang up the reward of his madness before the temple.] "The reward" (or rather "punishment") of Nicanor's madness seems to be the severed right hand and arm, which, according to tradition, was "nailed to the main eastern entrance of the inner court of the Temple, known long after as the Gate Beautiful, but also as 'the Gate of Nicanor' from this terrible reminiscence" (Stanley, 'Lectures,' *l. s. c.*).

34. *every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord.*] "Crying toward heaven" is a common expression in the First Book, where the name of God is generally avoided. "Praising toward heaven" is a rare expression, but may be understood to mean, "with eyes and hands lifted up heavenwards." The word translated "glorious" means probably "present to aid," and glances back at *v.* 27.

35. *He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower.*] *I.e.* upon the external wall of the Acra. Compare the fastening of Saul's body by the Philistines to the wall of Beth-shan (1 Sam. xxxi. 10).

36. *they ordained all with a common decree.*] A decree of the Council of Elders, which was the chief civil authority at Jerusalem (ch. x. 8; xi. 27; xiv. 37), is probably intended. It was recognised that the civil power might lawfully appoint days for commemoration of events important to the nation with a religious ceremonial. (See Hooker, 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' v. 81, § 6.)

to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month.] Compare 1 Macc. vii. 49.

which in the Syrian tongue is called Adar.] "Adar" (Addaru) was the name of the twelfth month in the Babylonian Calendar ('Records of the Past,' vol. i. p. 164); and this name seems to have been adopted by the Jews during the Captivity from the Babylonians. Still it is quite possible that the Syrians knew the month by the same name. Or the writer may call the language which the Jews brought back from Babylon "the Syrian tongue."

the day before Mardocheus' day.] See Esther ix. 21.

§ 8. Epilogus, or concluding Remarks of the Author.

37–39. The author states his reason for concluding his work at this point, and invites the judgment of his readers on the manner in which he has accomplished his task. He has sought to give them a tempered draught, neither too stimulating nor too tasteless. The proof that he has succeeded will be in their satisfaction.

37. *from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their power.*] This is scarcely true, if the entire city is meant; since the Acra and the whole western hill remained in the possession of the Syrians until the time of Simon, B.C. 142–1. (See 1 Macc. xiii. 49–51; xiv. 36.) It may have been true of the eastern city, if the author wrote before the time of John Hyrcanus, who was forced to surrender the entire city to Antiochus Sidetes in B.C. 133. Most critics, however, suppose that he wrote considerably later than this.

And here will I make an end.] In the original this clause stands in the closest connection with what precedes. Translate—"Matters having thus gone with Nicanor and the Hebrews having from that time forth

B. C. cir. 161. is fitting the story, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.

39 For as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste: even so speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story. And here shall be an end. B. C. cir. 161.

had the city in their power, I also will here bring my relation to an end." The author means that he ends where the danger to the (eastern) city and Temple ended.

38. *if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.*] Observe that the writer claims no inspiration—no divine assistance at all. The work is his own composition, and if defective is so through his defects. He only claims to have done as well as he could.

39. *as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone.*] To drink wine untempered with water would be regarded in the East as naturally leading to intoxication. To drink water alone was probably reckoned unwholesome. (See 1 Tim. v. 23.)

speech finely framed.] Rather, "the arrangement of the narrative." The pleasure, *i.e.*, of reading a history depends on the arrangement of its various facts and circumstances by the author, who must mingle "wine" with "water"—or highly-wrought and exciting passages with others of a more level and tamer cast—if he would give satisfaction to the reader. How far he has done this, the author leaves the reader to say.

THE END OF THE APOCRYPHA.

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